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dissertation entitled  
RACIAL/CULTURAL ATTITUDES IN  
ADOLESCENT CHILDREN IN  
OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

presented by

EDWIN ROGERS

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

SECONDARY EDUCATION  
Ph.D. degree in Curriculum and  
Instruction

Major professor

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RACIAL/CULTURAL ATTITUDES IN ADOLESCENT  
CHILDREN IN OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

By

Edwin Rogers

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Secondary Education and Curriculum

1981

ABSTRACT

RACIAL/CULTURAL ATTITUDES IN ADOLESCENT  
CHILDREN IN OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

By

Edwin Rogers

Many of the children attending Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools have parents of mixed cultural and/or racial heritages. These children have difficulty in finding a niche in one or both of the parental cultures. This may cause identity problems as the children become more aware of the differences between themselves and their peers. Such a situation may also affect the adolescent's social, cultural, and sexual attitudes and awareness.

The purpose of this study was to explore racial and cultural attitudes and acceptance in adolescent students in the Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools. The research was concerned with the aspects of the learning process as applied to value judgments made in determining social acceptance and rejection as well as racial and cultural awareness of students in the overseas schools and the perceptions of racial and cultural attitudes.

In this study, a total of 361 students was surveyed. The ages of these students ranged from 11 to 20 years. They were identified as being in grades 7 through 12; however, there were no eighth-grade participants. Selection was made within the population

of grades 7 through 12 within the schools at the two study sites, Korea and the Republic of the Philippines. Teachers who volunteered their classes asked the students if they wished to participate in the study survey. The major study was completed in the Dependent Schools at Clark Air Force Base in the Republic of the Philippines, while the pilot study was conducted with seventh-grade students attending the Overseas Military Dependent School at Yongsan Army Garrison in Seoul, Korea.

Participants in this study were dependents of sponsors assigned to duty at the respective study site. The sponsors for these participants were either enlisted officer or civilian personnel who were citizens of the United States.

An attempt was made to obtain attitudes about the racial, cultural, and sexual reactions that adolescents had about being placed in a situation in which they would be paired with another person of the same and/or different sex, and the same and/or different racial or cultural background.

Photographic slides of role models were used and the accompanying pre-recorded tape explained a given setting. The respondents were asked to record their reaction to this setting on a Likert scale, which ranged from 1 through 5, with 1 being "greatly likes" and 5 being "greatly dislikes."

The situations were designed to have the adolescents paired by themselves and then in a situation with others being present. Situations involved a family setting, a school sports or group setting, a classroom setting, and a nonschool socially oriented setting.

An analysis of the data indicated that racial or cultural backgrounds were not the criteria for accepting or rejecting the person under the prescribed situations that were tested. The data did not show rejection on the basis of sex for social situations involving group interactions of a nonschool social situation.

This study is dedicated to the lasting memory of my father, Theodore, whose untimely demise just prior to the completion of this study did not allow him to share the dream of having a family member attain the highest educational achievement. In addition, this work is also dedicated to my mother, Sarah Allean, and to my sister and brothers, whose assistance and support will always be cherished.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to extend my appreciation to my committee members, Dr. Bruce Cheney, Dr. Lois Bader, Dr. George Myers, and the committee chairman, Dr. Stanley Wronski, who has been my long-suffering and patient advisor these many years through two previous degree programs.

There are many other people who have in some way affected my progress in the completion of this degree program. Undoubtedly, I have left out some of those who have contributed their time and effort, and I trust that they will forgive me for being remiss. First of all, I want to extend my appreciation to the teachers and school administrators who assisted in the administration of the study survey, and to Dr. Vincent Hoffman and Ms. Glo Williamson for their encouragement, support, and advice. I also appreciate the efforts of Mrs. Sue Cooley, who had the monumental task of editing and typing this dissertation.

Finally, I want to extend a very special thanks to Dr. John Chapman and Dr. Lois Bader, whose encouragement started me on this quest and who have shared with me my depth of depression as well as those few moments of exhilaration. They provided the needed encouragement as well as the need for realistically analyzing my emotional reactions.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| LIST OF TABLES . . . . .                                     | vi   |
| <br>Chapter  |      |
| I. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY . . . . .                       | 1    |
| Introduction . . . . .                                       | 1    |
| Identification of the Problem . . . . .                      | 1    |
| Purpose . . . . .  | 3    |
| Background . . . . .   | 4    |
| Summary of Related Literature . . . . .                      | 6    |
| Statistical Design . . . . .                                 | 13   |
| Hypotheses . . . . .   | 13   |
| Research Question 1 . . . . .                                | 13   |
| Research Question 2 . . . . .                                | 14   |
| Research Question 3 . . . . .                                | 14   |
| Research Question 4 . . . . .                                | 14   |
| Overview . . . . .   | 15   |
| II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE . . . . .                           | 16   |
| Introduction . . . . .                                       | 16   |
| Race . . . . .   | 18   |
| History of Bigotry . . . . .                                 | 20   |
| Bigotry in the United States . . . . .                       | 23   |
| Awareness in Children . . . . .                              | 26   |
| Bigotry in the Military . . . . .                            | 28   |
| The Korean Community . . . . .                               | 33   |
| Children in Korea . . . . .                                  | 36   |
| The Effect of the American Military on Korean Life . . . . . | 36   |
| The Amerasian Child . . . . .                                | 37   |
| The Military Community . . . . .                             | 39   |
| The Child in a Military Family . . . . .                     | 39   |
| Summary . . . . .  | 41   |
| III. METHODOLOGY . . . . .                                   | 42   |
| Introduction . . . . .                                       | 42   |
| Population . . . . .   | 42   |
| Selection of Participants . . . . .                          | 43   |

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| Selection of Role Models . . . . .  | 44   |
| Audio Instruction for Use in This Study . . . . .                                   | 44   |
| Summary . . . . .   | 45   |
| IV. DATA ANALYSIS . . . . .   | 47   |
| Introduction . . . . .  | 47   |
| Demographic Data . . . . .  | 47   |
| Reference Analyses . . . . .  | 49   |
| Hypotheses and Statistical Tests . . . . .  | 51   |
| Summary . . . . .   | 55   |
| V. INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR<br>FURTHER RESEARCH . . . . . | 57   |
| Introduction . . . . .  | 57   |
| Limitations . . . . .   | 57   |
| Major Results . . . . .   | 59   |
| Implications . . . . .  | 64   |
| Recommendations . . . . .   | 65   |
| Chapter Summary . . . . .   | 65   |
| APPENDIX . . . . .  | 66   |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .  | 68   |

## LIST OF TABLES

| Table   | Page |
|---|------|
| 1. Demographic Data for the Sample Respondents . . . . .  | 48   |
| 2. One-Way Analysis of Four Settings Tested to Determine<br>the Effect of the Combination of Race and Sex as a<br>Single Variant . . . . .              | 50   |
| 3. T-test of Four Settings to Determine Interaction<br>Between These Settings . . . . .   | 51   |
| 4. Family Setting Involving Race and Sex as Factors for<br>Individual Respondents Making Home Visits . . . . .  | 52   |
| 5. School Sports/Social Setting Involving Race and Sex<br>as Factors in Attendance . . . . .  | 53   |
| 6. School Settings Involving Race and Sex as Factors in<br>Selecting Partners in Academic Activities . . . . .  | 54   |
| 7. Nonschool Setting Involving Race and Sex as Factors in<br>the Selection of Partners in Attending Nonschool<br>Socially Oriented Activities . . . . . | 55   |

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### Introduction

Many studies of racial and cultural awareness have shown that children soon become aware of the difference between individuals and make associative observations of others around them.<sup>1</sup> This awareness can occur as early as 15 to 18 months of age. Comparing themselves with others becomes a continuous process. Because of this comparison, children become aware of and look for similarities and differences between themselves and others, which they use as models in determining where they fit into the social and cultural organization.

#### Identification of the Problem

Children can be harsh and unkind to one another, but they can also be understanding and loving if these feelings are reciprocated. Attitudes depend on interaction with others; family, culture, peers, and media contribute to or engender attitudinal change. The question to which this research was devoted is whether there is a change in racial or cultural awareness during adolescence. Some of the factors that might influence attitudinal changes were

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<sup>1</sup>Kenneth Morland, "Racial Awareness in Northern and Southern Children," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 36 (1966): 22-31.

explored, as these factors may be the result of one group's ignorance of the cultural and ethnic behavioral patterns of another group.

Two questions that immediately arise are the age at which attitudes about peer-group acceptance produce change and the part that the molding influence of the family and society plays in these changes. Children who are educated in schools outside the United States have the distinct advantage of viewing other cultures and reflecting on the sophistication that such an experience provides. A question that might be asked at this time is: To what extent does such sophistication affect the perception, tolerance, and decision-making processes in the development of social skills for children living abroad as compared to children growing up in the inner city or in a small town, who have not traveled very far from their original home-site?<sup>2</sup>

Many of the children attending Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools have parents of mixed cultural and/or racial heritages. These children may have difficulty in finding a niche in one or both of the parental cultures. This may cause identity problems as the children become more aware of the differences between themselves and their peers. Such a situation may also affect the children's social, cultural, and sexual attitudes and awareness.

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<sup>2</sup>Charles Bullock, "Maturation and Change in the Correlates of Racial Attitudes," Urban Education 12 (July 1977): 229-38.

### Purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore racial and cultural attitudes in adolescent students in the Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools. The researcher was concerned with the aspects of the learning process as they apply to the value judgments made in determining social acceptance and rejection. In addition, the investigator looked at the racial and cultural awareness of students in these overseas schools and their perceptions of racial and cultural attitudes.

A pilot study group was examined, and the data obtained from that group were combined with information obtained from the major study group, which comprised primarily seventh, ninth, and eleventh grade students from selected overseas schools. The participating students were boys and girls between the ages of 11 and 19. The researcher addressed himself to the question of whether there is a difference in perception and behavior between children of different ages and sexes and how these factors might relate to race.

To look at this problem, a pilot study group was identified in Korea. The teacher volunteered this group for the study. Students were asked if they would like to participate, and those indicating a willingness to participate were given the survey.<sup>3</sup> The responses of this pilot study group were reviewed to ascertain probable problem areas in the survey. The responses of the pilot study

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<sup>3</sup>At the time this survey was given in Korea, the September 7, 1978, issue of the Junior Scholastic Magazine carried an article by Jeffrey Shear entitled "Must Everyone Be the Same?" As the teacher was previously aware of and had agreed to pilot test the Awareness Survey, the Junior Scholastic article was used to introduce the unit on attitudes.

group were then included with those of the major study group of students who participated in the study at Clark Air Force Base in the Republic of the Philippines. Data were also compared with results obtained by Ohsaka in a study conducted in Michigan, which was concerned with adolescent perceptions of racial and cultural attitudes and awareness.<sup>4</sup>

### Background

Oscar Hammerstein wrote the lyrics for a song entitled "You've Got to Be Carefully Taught," which reflects the intricacies of teaching prejudice.<sup>5</sup> This song depicts the process of passing prejudices from adults to children to make the younger generation aware of physical differences among people. In the melting pot that has formed much of America's background and culture, there are many racial/cultural facets that, over the years, have blended into the fabric that today is referred to as "American culture." Some of these qualities are easy to observe, whereas others are more subtle in nature. Some are considered to be negative characteristics.

With children's development and inevitable passage into adolescence, they also experience social pressure to conform. Associations with people who differ in cultural background or physical appearance may be discouraged through peer pressure, parental attitudes, pressure from members of the social group of which these children are members, or a combination of all these factors.

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<sup>4</sup>Toshio Ohsaka, "Racial Awareness in Eight, Ten, and Twelve Year Old Boys" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1973).

<sup>5</sup>Oscar Hammerstein, South Pacific: A Musical Play, music by Richard Rodgers, lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein (New York: Random House, 1949).



In his book Black Like Me, Griffin pointed out that while he was growing up in Georgia, he, like many children, was practically raised by the family maid.<sup>6</sup> He reflected on the deep attachment he held for this black surrogate mother who had cared for him during his formative years. However, society and social pressure made it necessary for him to reevaluate this relationship. When Griffin was about eight years old, his grandmother told him he was too old to sit on the lap of this woman who had cared for him since he was a baby. This comment deeply disturbed him because it shattered the deep feeling of attachment he had held for the maid.

According to Griffin, even though white and black children may play together as they grow up, when they reach the age at which they are aware of racial differences (although the color difference is noticed at an early age, the awareness referred to here occurs around the age of puberty), the social order forces the children to be separated. In some situations, play may still continue, but with severe restrictions; all other social intercourse may be disrupted, and a hierarchy may be established in the relationship.

Griffin further related that when he asked why he could no longer associate with the black people as before, he was told that the black people preferred to be with their own kind and to be treated in a certain way to avoid embarrassment.

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<sup>6</sup> John Griffin, Black Like Me (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1961).

### Summary of Related Literature

In various studies, younger children have been observed when they first notice racial differences. Orost, Patchen, Gittner, and Libarkin conducted studies with preschoolers and/or early-elementary elementary-school children.<sup>7</sup> They found that when children enter school they are generally aware of each other's differences. These children recognize that there are differences in skin color, but such differences are not important to them.

As children approach adolescence, the significance of both sex and race differences becomes more focused in their awareness, and attitudes involving race and sex take on new importance. Schmitt and Koslin found that sex and race were significant in their studies of adolescents.<sup>8</sup> Koslin found that sex was more significant than race in white male adolescents, whereas black males were more uncomfortable with members of another race than with members of the opposite sex.

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<sup>7</sup>Jean Orost, "Racial Attitudes Among White Kindergarten Children From Three Different Environments" (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, January 1971); Martin Patchen, "Determinants of Students' Interracial Behavior and Opinion Change" (Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University, December 1975); George Gittner, "Race and Sex Differences Among Children in Perception of Emotion" (Washington, D.C.: Office of Environmental Opportunity, September 1968); and Barbara Libarkin, "Interracial Living and Racial Attitudes of White Children in Grades 3 to 6: The White Child in a Black School System" (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, May 1976).

<sup>8</sup>Neal Schmitt, "Race and Sex as Determinants of the Mean and Variance of Performance Ratings," Journal of Applied Psychology 65 (1980): 428-35; and Sandra Koslin, "The Development of Normative Racial and Sexual Social Distance Beliefs" (New York: Riverside Research Institute, September 1971).

Similar observations can be drawn from the studies of Olivarez and Ricco.<sup>9</sup> Their studies on the reactions of high school students and their preferences of counselors suggested that in situations that required general information, students had no preference in regard to counselor selection. However, in situations involving the need for counseling about problems of a personal or intimate nature, the students chose a counselor of the same race (and the same sex, whenever possible).

Biased attitudes may be developed through literature, radio and television programming, or educational institutions.<sup>10</sup> Regardless of the source of these beliefs, the unfortunate aspect is the continuation of these attitudes. One of the cornerstones of the foundation of the United States was the philosophy of accepting the politically, socially, and religiously unwanted and/or oppressed of the world. Yet immigration had a negative effect on some of the communities in which these immigrants chose to live. People often held bigoted or stereotyped attitudes toward the immigrants. These attitudes resulted from

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<sup>9</sup> Carlos Luiz Olivarez, "An Analysis of the Influence of Race, Sex, and Skin Pigmentation on Student Preferences for Potential Counselors" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1971); and Anthony Ricco, "Counselor Preferences of Senior High School Students," Counselor Education and Supervision 13 (September 1973): 36-40.

<sup>10</sup> Ina H. Robertson, "An Investigation of the Effects of Reading Literature on the Racial Attitudes of Elementary School Children" (M.A. thesis, University of Illinois, 1979); Jannette Lake Dates, "The Relationship Between Race and Racial Attitudes and Adolescent Perception of Black Television Characters" (paper presented at the American Convention of the Association for Educational Communication and Technology, Denver, Colorado, April 1980); and June Meyer, "You Can't See the Trees for the School," Urban Review 2 (December 1967).

a failure to develop understanding through two-way communication and (often with lower socioeconomic groups) from competition for employment.

As a means of upward mobility, some immigrants joined the military.<sup>11</sup> However, although the social pressures in the armed services are somewhat less restrictive than those in civilian life, the military reflects the views of the conservative segment of American society. Mullen and Maier described some of the racial, cultural, religious, and sexual conflicts among military personnel.<sup>12</sup>

Such situations affect not only the military person but also members of his/her family. Community values may be reflected on the military reservation in the United States, and the service member and/or family may carry these attitudes to their overseas assignment. (It should be noted that the military services have an intensive program to try to combat discrimination. The program had its beginning in the early 1970s and is still in effect.) The present study was an attempt to look at the attitudes reflected by military dependents attending the Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools.

Although several studies on racial and cultural attitudes have been conducted, few of these studies involved children in the overseas schools. Chapman conducted a study of six- and seven-year-old

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<sup>11</sup>Milton Maier, "Differential Validity of the Army Aptitude Areas for Predicting Army Job Training Performance of Blacks and Whites" (Arlington, Va.: Army Research Institute, September 1978).

<sup>12</sup>Robert W. Mullen, Blacks in America's Wars (New York: Monarch Press, 1973); and Maier, op. cit.

elementary-school children attending the Overseas Dependent Schools in Okinawa, Japan.<sup>13</sup> The children's self-concepts were determined through the use of pictures they were asked to draw. Chapman found that children of mixed parentage had a lower self-concept than did children from nonmixed parental backgrounds.

Using parental involvement as a criterion for success in middle school, Jacobson studied the moral reasoning of students attending the Overseas Dependent School in Yokohama, Japan.<sup>14</sup> Behavior is modified by the learned concepts of moral reasoning, and in his study, Jacobson used the teachers and mothers as the stimuli for moral reasoning. Behavior, then, is colored by how individuals perceive or fail to perceive themselves in a given situation. Because self-awareness is an important aspect of self-concept and, in turn, both affects and is affected by success in school, Jacobson investigated the success of the students by interpreting the role that parental aspirations played in students' progress. His results indicated no significant differences between middle-school success, parental involvement, and moral reasoning. However, there was less need for discipline by the school administration for the Japanese-American students.

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<sup>13</sup>John Chapman, "Perceptions of Culturally-Racially Mixed and Non-mixed Six-Seven Year Old Children of American Dependents' Schools of Okinawa" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1975).

<sup>14</sup>Lowell Jacobson, "A Study of Relationships Among Mother, Student, and Teacher Levels of Moral Reasoning in a Department of Defense Middle School" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1977).

Hunter indicated that there was a significant problem with identity among children in the military community who were offspring of mixed marriages.<sup>15</sup> She used the example of American-Korean offspring, contrasting the feelings these children reflect if they lived in Korea with the feelings of children who had lived in the United States long enough to become "Americanized." Hunter found that children who had lived in Korea all their lives tended to gravitate toward other children who had spent most of their lives in Korea because they had more in common with one another. She also observed that these children were bilingual (frequently speaking English as a second language), and their families lived outside the military reservation--often in homes with extended-family members.

Hunter also found that children who had been to the United States tended to associate with other children who had lived in the United States, often lived on the military reservation or spent most of their free time on the reservation, and were generally accepted as "one of the gang." Hunter pointed out that there was a common bond among these children because they had lived in the United States, as well as the commonality of being a military dependent living in an overseas environment.<sup>16</sup>

Third-culture children are unique in that many of these children exist in and receive the best cultural attributes of the country in which they live as well as their native country. Often these children

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<sup>15</sup>Edna Hunter, "Children of Military Families: A Part and Yet Apart" (Washington, D.C.: Office of Naval Research, 1978).

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

find themselves in the particular country as a result of the employment of their sponsor (parent). Employment may be through a national, international, or multinational agency, business, or with military forces.

Occasionally there are problems. One of the first situations for the child in a third-culture relationship is that of communication. Many of these children look upon this as a challenge and take it upon themselves to learn to communicate with other children by learning phrases in the new language. In Useem's study of third-culture children, she indicated that "one-third of these youngsters are children of cross-cultural marriages and/or foreign born parents, and they use other than English at home or when visiting relatives."<sup>17</sup> Problems of identity may also be involved. If the child does not have the social and/or communicative skills to exchange ideas effectively and comfortably, he/she may withdraw from the mainstream and become solitary or tend to associate with others who have similar situations.

Spaulding and Cantrell, studying students attending Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools in Japan, found that about 50 percent of the children in these schools were the offspring of mixed marriages (kontetsu); hence they belonged to the third culture.<sup>18</sup> These children, according to Spaulding and Cantrell, tend to be quiet, nonaggressive, diligent, and cooperative. In addition, they do not question authority. Usually, they do not succeed academically or

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<sup>17</sup>Ruth Hill Useem, "Third Culture Kids," Today's Education 65 (September 1976): 105.

<sup>18</sup>Douglas Spaulding and Linda Cantrell, "Kontetsu: The Ideal Student," North Central Association Quarterly 49 (Winter 1975): 339-44.

socially. In attending the Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools, these children have a mutual bond with one another. Because many of these children have never been to the United States, their impressions of American life come from television, the peer group with U.S. origins, and stories they have read or heard. Therefore, there is a cultural gap that these children are unable to bridge.<sup>19</sup>

In referring to third-culture children, Spaulding and Cantrell indicated that "they either achieve academically well and participate in school activities as diligent, quiet workers, or they disregard school altogether."<sup>20</sup> The present writer observed this statement to hold true for many of the mixed-blood children he encountered in the Overseas Dependent Schools. In the high school environment, the writer found that a number of students were involved in the various academic and athletic activities offered as part of the school- or military-sponsored youth activities programs. The students who involved themselves began to make friends with other students and served as a bridge between the "Americanized" group and the students who had lived overseas all of their lives.<sup>21</sup>

Although this study was concerned with military dependents, the findings will be contrasted with those of a study that was conducted by Ohsaka.<sup>22</sup> He examined the attitudes and self-perceptions

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 340.

<sup>21</sup>This correlates with the finding of Olivarez and Ricco that students tend to gravitate toward others who have similar origins or strong identity factors.

<sup>22</sup>Ohsaka, op. cit.



of 8, 10, and 12 year olds, whereas the present study was designed to contrast the reactions of male and female adolescents from 11 through 18 years of age. The object was to try to determine if there was any variation in attitudes according to age, race, and sex of the respondents.

Because of the diverse backgrounds of children attending the Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools and the opportunity they have for social interaction, this study was designed to examine some of the aspects of racial and cultural awareness and acceptance among children in these schools.

### Statistical Design

A two-way analysis of variance was used to analyze the data in this study. Participants' responses were analyzed by race and sex to determine if there were significant variations in responses. A t-test was employed to determine how significant the variation was. The t-test was used to compare the dependent variables of sex and race with each of the participants' responses.

### Hypotheses

The following research questions were addressed as hypotheses in this study:

#### Research Question 1

In response to portrayals of four social situations involving white, black, or Oriental adolescents, there will be no difference among adolescents in their declared acceptance of family settings.

1.1 There will be no difference with regard to the sex of the respondents.

1.2 There will be no difference with regard to the race of the respondents.

#### Research Question 2

In response to portrayals of four social situations involving white, black, or Oriental adolescents, there will be no difference among adolescents in their declared acceptance of school sports (large-group) settings.

2.1 There will be no difference with regard to the sex of the respondents.

2.2 There will be no difference with regard to the race of the respondents.

#### Research Question 3

In response to portrayals of four social situations involving white, black, or Oriental adolescents, there will be no difference among adolescents in their declared acceptance of school (one-to-one) settings.

3.1 There will be no difference with regard to the sex of the respondents.

3.2 There will be no difference with regard to the race of the respondents.

#### Research Question 4

In response to portrayals of four social situations involving white, black, or Oriental adolescents, there will be no difference among adolescents in their declared acceptance of nonschool (one-to-one) settings.

- 4.1 There will be no difference with regard to the sex of the respondents.
- 4.2 There will be no difference with regard to the race of the respondents.

### Overview

In this chapter, the problem to be studied and the reason for the study were identified. A look at the background for this study and the results of other related studies were included. The hypotheses that are operative for this study and the statistical design were also discussed in this chapter. In Chapter II, a review of literature pertinent to this study is examined. Chapter III contains an explanation of the methodology used in the research. Included in Chapter IV are the findings of the study, and Chapter V contains the summary of the research, conclusions, and recommendations for further investigation.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### Introduction

In The Sins of Bias, Loeb referred to bias as a four-letter word!<sup>1</sup> Biases are determined by conceptual interpretations of observations, according to Loeb. Discrimination results from generalizations based on these interpretations and produces stereotyping behavior.

Stereotyping is a constantly occurring behavior pattern that develops in regard to situations that are observed prejudicially. Both Loeb and Count pointed out that as persons or groups are observed, they are given labels or identities concerning who they are, how they behave, and what can be expected from them.<sup>2</sup> Because this group of people has been codified, the tendency, according to Williams, is to ignore any minor perceptible differences among them and to think of them as all being alike.<sup>3</sup>

Education and socioeconomic status are often important factors in determining the level of tolerance that is present in a given

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<sup>1</sup>Robert H. Loeb, Jr., The Sins of Bias (New York: M. Evans and Co., Inc., 1970).

<sup>2</sup>Earl Count, This Is Race (New York: Henry Schman, 1957).

<sup>3</sup>Robin Murphy Williams, Jr., Strangers Next Door (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964).

sector of society. Generally, individuals with similar educational and financial status live in the same or similar locations.

Although racial and religious prejudices are the most obvious ones, MacCrone identified nationality, class, and sex prejudices as well.<sup>4</sup> His illustration of a scholarly Chinese writing to his son about his impressions of the Jesuit priests who first came to China in the sixteenth century reflects this kind of prejudice. The Chinese referred to the priests as Ocean Men who were tall beasts with deep, sunken eyes and beaklike noses. In regard to the priests' body hair, the Chinese scholar wrote that the lower part of the Ocean Men's faces, the backs of their hands, and perhaps their entire bodies were covered with mats of curly hair similar to the monkeys that lived in the southern forest. Finally, he observed that even the most bestial Chinese peasant was far more human than the Ocean Men, but perhaps with training and patience the Ocean Men could be taught to conduct themselves properly as human beings.<sup>5</sup> From this it can be seen that by viewing one group as being less than human, the responsibility for treating that group humanely is negated.

Prejudice has often given rise to national conflicts. The League of Nations and the United Nations were established in an attempt to resolve disputes between nations without resorting to combat. Culwick pointed out that during the 20-year period following the establishment of the United Nations, more than 40 wars were fought

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<sup>4</sup>Ian Douglas MacCrone, Group Conflicts and Race Prejudice (Johannseburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1947).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

involving both major and minor military forces of such countries as the United States, Great Britain, Russia, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, China, India, and Pakistan, as well as the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations itself.<sup>6</sup> The demise of the League of Nations occurred because some nations failed to comply with the terms under which the League had been established.

Communities have similar problems in meeting the needs of their residents. Agencies have been established to address such problems as discrimination in housing, worship, and working conditions; fair wages; admission to social activities; service standards at dining facilities; transport and comfort facilities; and other sources of difficulty involving the rights and privileges of citizens. The evolution of these agencies and the policies that have been developed resulted from restrictions that were placed on newcomers to the community by the residents. In general, the immigrant group was slowly absorbed into mainstream America, with one exception: the black American.

In looking at the subject of social and racial attitudes in adolescents, it is necessary to begin by examining the historical factors surrounding the concept of race. Historically, these factors have been tied to socioeconomic elements as well as to education.

### Race

The question of what guidelines to use in determining the facets to be included in racial-stock determination has long been

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<sup>6</sup>A. T. Culwick, Don't Feed the Tiger (Johannseburg: Nasionale Boekhandle, 1968).

debated. According to Loeb, who was supported by Leiris, MacCrone, Rose, and Rex, even the experts in the field cannot agree on the precise distinctions among the various racial groups or the number of racial groups in existence.<sup>7</sup> Characteristics that are frequently used to distinguish racial groups include skin pigmentation, stature, hair, and the shape and structure of the nose and skull.

Leiris indicated that "the concept of races is in essence that the species *Homo sapiens* can be subdivided into groups equivalent to botanical 'varieties' in terms of certain transmissible physical characteristics."<sup>8</sup> The analogy would perhaps be similar to separating varieties of flowers.

The position of Williams, Leiris, and MacCrone was that bigotry and prejudice feed on the stereotyping process. Unfortunately, educational attainment and immaturity are frequently reflected in the attitudes observed in individuals who have been caught up in the stereotyping process. To derive unbiased data when comparing groups of people, certain extenuating environmental factors as well as age, sex, education, and socioeconomic standards must be considered. Only then can such factors as the behavior, ability, and intelligence of the groups be compared.

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<sup>7</sup>Loeb, op. cit.; Michael Leiris, Race and Culture (Paris: UNESCO, 1946); MacCrone, op. cit.; Arnold Marshall Rose, Studies in Reduction of Prejudice (New York: American Council on Race Relations, 1948); and John Rex, Race, Colonialism and the City (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973).

<sup>8</sup>Leiris, op. cit., p. 14.

Leiris also pointed out that no simple characteristic can be identified as the criterion for defining a given race. To illustrate this point, he used the example of the dark skin color of the Hindu. In some cases, a Hindu may be darker than a black American, but other characteristics of the Hindu differentiate him from the black American.<sup>9</sup>

It appears that the subject of race is, at best, controversial, as there are no specific traits unique to any one group of people that can never be found in any other group. As has been seen, distinction of skin color is most obvious in American society, whereas the colonies governed by France and Portugal did not impose color restrictions.<sup>10</sup> Although the category of "mestizo" does occur in Latin and South American countries, social mobility regulated by color does not seem to have been as rigid there as in the United States.

#### History of Bigotry

International conflicts have resulted from differences of perception, as pointed out previously by MacCrone. Even in ancient Egypt, Jews and other conquered peoples became the slaves of their Egyptian conquerors. History has shown that ideologies produced conflict when peoples attempted to supplant one belief with another. Also, the strength of pagan beliefs occasionally necessitated taking

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Rex, op. cit., p. 50.



captives for use as bodily sacrifices to enhance or entreat the power of a particular diety.<sup>11</sup>

During the Middle Ages in Europe, deliberate and harsh reprisals were meted out to heathens and heretics. It was a time of religious intolerance, during which the Crusades were launched to carry conversion to the nonbelievers. Death and destruction were dealt to those who would not readily convert and to those holding shrines considered by the Crusaders to be holy.<sup>12</sup>

Literature reflecting impressions of the American founding fathers referred to the Indians as "savages" and "heathens." Later the importation of black slaves from Africa to be auctioned for work in the fields resulted in inhumane attitudes and their treatment as so many cattle.<sup>13</sup> Rex pointed out that plantations in the southern United States developed a caste or estate system, whereas in the Caribbean and Latin America a status-continuum system was developed.

During periods of depression in the economy, there tends to be an increase in racial incidents. According to Rose, "During times

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<sup>11</sup>See N. Ross Crumrine, Ritual Symbolism and Ceremonialism in the Americas: Studies in Symbolic Anthropology (Greeley: University of Northern Colorado, 1979); Arnold van Gennap, Rites of Passage (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); and Morton Herbert Fried, Transitions: Four Rituals in Eight Cultures (New York: Norton, 1980).

<sup>12</sup>See Paul Radin, Primitive Religion: Its Nature and Origin (New York: Dover Publications, 1957); William Howells, The Heathens: Primitive Man and His Religion (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1962); Leiris, op. cit.; and John Middleton, Gods and Rituals (Garden City, N.Y.: The Natural History Press, 1967).

<sup>13</sup>Rex, op. cit.

of business depression . . . there is an increase in violence against Negroes . . . and . . . spreading [of] hate against Jews."<sup>14</sup>

The intolerance of views and interpretation of dogma have led to religious disagreements. Occasionally, these differences among religious sects may lead to separation and violence. The emergence of the profusion of religious beliefs and practices has evolved from such schisms.<sup>15</sup>

Many of the problems facing the world today reflect religious, political, racial, and economic issues that have been allowed to degenerate into combat by the disagreeing participants. The strife in Northern Ireland; battles in Lebanon; the invasion of Chad and repercussions that have ensued; warring sects in India; the instability and incendiary incidents that occur in Korea, Vietnam, and Cambodia; and racial strife in the United States and Africa all stem from conflicting beliefs and values between people of differing cultures or geographical locations.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Arnold Marshall Stone, The Roots of Prejudice (Paris: UNESCO, 1951), p. 28.

<sup>15</sup>The New York Times, January 1, 1979, through June 30, 1981, various issues.

<sup>16</sup>Hana Umlauf Lane, ed., The World Almanac and Book of Facts (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1981); Robin Ranger, "Conflict in the Crescent," Britannica Book of the Year (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, p. 289; "Iranian-Iraq War," Facts on File 41 (February 6, 1981), p. 64; and "Nonaligned Nations," Facts on File 41 (February 20, 1981), p. 106.

### Bigotry in the United States

Unfortunately, the history of the United States has been filled with examples of bigotry. Early settlers from Western Europe, reflecting prejudicial attitudes toward people of other nationalities and cultures, frequently united in a common cause--to drive the native Indians off the land and into almost total annihilation.<sup>17</sup>

Economics played a major role in the arrival of some of the immigrants. Irish, Italian, and Jewish immigrants were among those who came to the United States for economic reasons.<sup>18</sup> Others came to the shores of the new land to escape religious persecution. Despite their original reasons for emigrating to America, many of these new arrivals became less than tolerant in the freedoms they allowed their fellow human beings.

The slave trade began as a solution to an economic need for cheap labor. The importation of slaves reflected a holdover from the Dutch feudal system. According to Brown, the system originally operated as an indentured-service arrangement between the slaveholder and the Dutch West India Company.<sup>19</sup> Under such an arrangement, the slave could work off the amount he owed for his passage. In the English colonies, however, slavery became a permanent institution.

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<sup>17</sup>Oscar Handlin, Race and Nationality in American Life (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1957).

<sup>18</sup>Williams, op. cit.

<sup>19</sup>Count, op. cit.

The only way a slave could secure freedom was to be set free by the owner or become a fugitive.

As was pointed out earlier, distinctions are necessary to differentiate between groups of people. To prove that one group is inferior to another, the usual procedure is to show that tendencies or activities normally associated with animal behavior can be ascribed to the group considered inferior, according to Handlin.<sup>20</sup>

Immigrants who came to the United States were sometimes described as possessing animal characteristics, because they were often dirty and emitted a rank odor following their ocean transit, usually in steerage. They often dressed differently, did not speak English, and consequently could not make themselves understood easily. Frequently, their religious practices differed from those of the residents already in the community, and this may have produced a feeling of isolation and sometimes overt hostility on the part of the original inhabitants.

Both Handlin and Count indicated that the process of artificially classifying people does not define what a typical American is; but by excluding certain groups of people on the basis of stereotypes, it is possible to determine which groups of people are not considered typically American. Of all possible differences, skin pigmentation is the major one that is easily recognizable and difficult to overlook. It is precisely for this reason that it has taken so long for black Americans to become integrated into the mainstream

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<sup>20</sup>Handlin, op. cit.

of American society. If adverse traits are attributed to one group of people and such assertions are repeated often and authoritatively, eventually, despite the irrationality of the reasoning, the group that has been singled out will be treated differently by the social majority.

The American Indian, in addition to being driven off the land, was the object of inhumane treatment different from that meted out to blacks. The black man was captured and brought to America to perform agrarian labor under the institution of slavery, whereas the Indian, having grown up in America, his native land, repeatedly attempted to escape, starved himself, or on occasion allowed himself to be subjected to severe treatment and ultimately to death, according to Handlin.

In the search for available cheap labor to fulfill the increasing demands required by the growing nation, Americans induced the Chinese to work on the railroads in the western United States and to perform needed personal services. The Chinese laborers were subjected to severe restrictions on their basic liberties. In addition, they were suspected of plotting rebellions. Fearful that physical violence would result from such schemes, the Americans passed laws forbidding intermarriage between the Chinese and whites, forbade their acquiring or retaining property, placed restrictions on their

living conditions and housing, and denied them the right to vote, while at the same time imposing heavy taxation on them.<sup>21</sup>

During the Second World War, Japanese-Americans were suspected of possible spying or collaboration with the enemy. Deportation orders were issued, and Japanese-Americans were assembled and transported to concentration camps. Of the hundreds of citizens arrested, not a single Japanese-American was found to be helping the enemy. According to Rose, the Japanese government, aware of prejudicial attitudes that prevailed in the United States, recruited only white Americans as spies.<sup>22</sup>

Suspicion, ignorance, and bigotry too often have held a dominant position in the development of the United States. Although the bigotry and hatred of several centuries cannot be eliminated overnight, it is interesting that parts of the Caribbean going through the integrative process have not had the extreme violence and hostility experienced in the United States.

#### Awareness in Children

The ability to perceive differences in one's environment is called awareness. However, the interpretation of these differences and the associative process involved in establishing patterns into which these interpretations can be fitted requires experience. All

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<sup>21</sup>Handlin pointed out that the privilege of bringing brides and/or relatives to the United States was rescinded. Mail was examined, and sending money and/or valuables to relatives in China was prohibited. Confiscation, or in some cases outright theft, from the Chinese was common.

<sup>22</sup>Rose, op. cit.

children perceive differences in their surroundings, and as they mature they have a natural tendency to look for explanations. Through this process, children become aware of the dissimilarities in people and question the reasons for these differences.

Investigators such as Goodman, Morland, and Clark have conducted numerous studies on the subject of human awareness and have stated that children show awareness at a very early age, often before they are 20 months old.<sup>23</sup> Most often, the sources of information available to young children are members of their immediate families. The explanations a child receives reflect his family's biases. Orost investigated the attitudes of early elementary school children; her study clearly illustrated the role of the family in promoting family-generated biases.<sup>24</sup> When asked if he played with black children, one child responded: "No, I don't even play with them, 'cause they [family members] all tell me . . . 'cause they're black. And that isn't their favorite color."<sup>25</sup> In her study, Orost asked another child if there were black children living near his home. His response was, "No. We had to move out of a place because it was all black.

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<sup>23</sup>Mary Ellen Goodman, Race Awareness in Young Children (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1952); Kenneth A. Moreland, "Racial Self-Identification: A Study of Nursery School Children," American Catholic Sociological Review 24 (Fall 1963): 231-42; and Kenneth B. Clark, "Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children," in Readings in Social Psychology, ed. Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley (New York: Henry Holt, 1947).

<sup>24</sup>Jean Orost, Racial Attitudes Among White Kindergarten Children From Three Different Environments (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1971).

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 9.

And my mother calls them black crows, and they ain't black crows, are they?"<sup>26</sup> This response indicates the obvious confusion this child felt. It is easy to develop stereotypes, and all too often the stereotype is then employed to justify the misinformation that originally generated the stereotype.

### Bigotry in the Military

As might be expected, the attitudes and biases that are held by society as a whole are reflected by the various segments of the social order. Before 1948, the United States military maintained strictly segregated units. The commanding officers of these units were usually white; the highest-ranking black member of the unit was the first sergeant or the sergeant-major. Bigotry and discrimination have always been prevalent in the United States military. Beginning with the Boston Massacre in 1770, in which the first casualty was Crispus Attucks, a black man,<sup>27</sup> there has been a policy of discrimination, exclusion, subjugation, and deceit toward blacks in the military.

Congress first established segregated military units in 1866. Black soldiers sent to Cuba actually prevented the annihilation of Teddy Roosevelt's "Rough Riders."<sup>28</sup> Roosevelt is said to have lavished praise on the black troops, but reneged later under pressure because

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Robert W. Mullen, Blacks in America's Wars (New York: Monad Press, 1973).

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.



black troops might have been thought to be superior fighters. In subsequent references to the Battle of San Juan Hill, Roosevelt dismissed the role of the black troops by stating that the victory had been the result of the leadership quality of the unit's officers, according to Mullen. Mullen also pointed out that during World War I, black troops were sent to Europe only after pressure had been brought to bear by black leaders, and then they were used only as support troops. To ensure that the black troops would not object to conditions in the United States upon their return, separate facilities were maintained for these troops by the U.S. military command.

To guarantee that the foreign allies were aware of the prevailing attitudes toward blacks in the United States, a secret memorandum was sent from General Pershing's office on August 7, 1918, entitled, "To the French Military Mission--Secret Information Concerning Black American Troops."<sup>29</sup> This memorandum requested that there be limited contact between the French and black officers; that there should be no eating together, shaking hands, or social contact outside of the military service; and that commendation of black troops should not occur in the presence of white Americans.

According to Mullen, racial violence flared up at virtually every post in the United States and abroad during World War II when black GIs attempted to use the normally superior facilities (i.e., entertainment, post exchanges, and mess facilities) provided for white GIs. Because of these incidents, the black GIs' gallantry in fighting

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 43-44.

for America was overshadowed by widely publicized incidents occurring in the southern United States, where these black GIs were refused service at restaurants that willingly served German prisoners of war.

Blacks were not the only group to feel the effects of specialized treatment during this period. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, the decision was made that Japanese living in the Hawaiian Islands and along the west coast of the U.S. mainland should be interned because they might be sympathetic with the militarists in Japan.<sup>30</sup> Concentration camps and relocation centers were established under the control of the military, and American citizens of Japanese descent were forced to leave their homes and move into these centers and camps. The Japanese who were placed in these encampments lost most of their possessions and often their homes and land, as they were allowed to keep only those things that could be carried with them.<sup>31</sup>

Discrimination also occurred during the Korean conflict as well as during the military action in Vietnam. Some black soldiers charged that they were sent to the front lines more often than white troops and that as the result of this unequal rotation, casualty statistics for black troops were higher than for white troops. In retaliation, blacks resorted to "fragging" (the deliberate tossing of fragmentation grenades into a commander's tent) as a means of resistance.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Rose, op. cit.; and Dorothy Swain Thomas, Japanese-American Evacuation and Settlement (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1954).

<sup>31</sup>Thomas, op. cit.

<sup>32</sup>The practice of "fragging" could not be documented in the literature as a procedure unique to black soldiers. This researcher,

Oriental serving in the military during the Second World War were also subjected to unwarranted suspicion. Often they came under severe pressure and taunting. This same pattern was to repeat itself during the Vietnam conflict. A Chinese-American related his experiences during the Vietnam conflict as a 17-year-old enlistee who dropped out of high school to join the Army.<sup>33</sup> The only Asian in basic training, he was sent to Vietnam as a heavy-equipment operator at a small supply post. Following a Viet Cong shelling attack, comments were made about his resemblance to the Viet Cong, that his ancestry was Chinese, and that the Chinese were assisting the Viet Cong. He was made a company cook, whereupon the mess sergeant began making unkind slurs and racial comments about his appearance and ancestry.

Following one of these bitter exchanges, the young man went to his tent and used his rifle to scare the mess sergeant into leaving him alone. Subsequently, he was placed in confinement for firing his rifle into the air, and according to his story, was repeatedly beaten by his guards. Court-marshalled and sentenced, he spent half of his 18-month sentence in Fort Leavenworth before he was discharged. He contends that his only problem was that he was born Chinese and wanted to do his patriotic duty for his country, the United States of America.

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being stationed in a location visited by military personnel on leave for rest and recuperation (R&R), had an opportunity to meet and discuss informally the subject of "fragging" with both officers and enlisted personnel. From these discussions, there was no indication that blacks were solely responsible for this action.

<sup>33</sup>Cheng-Tsu Wu, "Chink" (New York: World Publishing Co., 1972).

Although this incident involved a Chinese-American who just happened to be assigned to a unit that manifested an anti-Oriental prejudice, one can imagine a similar pattern occurring frequently when someone who is "different" is assigned to a homogeneous unit. As there is a higher percentage of blacks than Orientals in the military service, it can only be assumed that many black soldiers underwent similar experiences.

Following World War II and the independence of the Philippines, the military role of Filipinos was to serve as ship's cabin attendants for naval officers. Although diminishing somewhat, the practice still continues on board Navy ships today. In attempting to check on this situation, the researcher received denials by naval officers; however, some of the enlisted men and one Filipino sailor did affirm that the practice does occur.

Subsequent research uncovered the Military Bases Agreement of 1947, authorizing the United States to recruit or enlist personnel in a foreign country. The total annual enlistment of Filipinos was established at 1,000 in the 1947 Agreement. In the Agreement of 1954 the figure was increased to 2,000 for the Navy, with an additional 400 enlistees for the U.S. Coast Guard. It was stipulated that approximately two-thirds of these enlistments should be in steward ratings.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>U.S., Congress, House, Study of Population and Immigration Problems: Inquiry Into the Enlistment of Nationals of the Republic of the Philippines in the United States Navy and the United States Coast Guard, Hearings before a subcommittee of the House Committee of the Judiciary (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963).

As of May 31, 1963, there were 12,840 Filipinos in the U.S. Navy, and of the 12,000 sailors in the steward rating, more than 8,000 were Filipinos. The original intent of recruiting in the Philippines was to use the highly trained Filipinos in an attempt to reduce unemployment in that country.

The March 1947 Military Bases Agreement reads, in part, that there may be

voluntary enlistment in the United States Navy, for terms of either four (4) or six (6) years at the option of the applicant, (of) not more than 1,000 male Philippine citizens per calendar year, eighteen (18) to thirty (30) years of age inclusive.<sup>35</sup>

The Agreement may be reviewed on an annual basis, as agreed upon by the two governments.

In all fairness, the military is attempting to address the question of bigotry in the member services. A vigorous social-action program has been instituted in the various services. Vaughan's observation was that the programs seen to date tend to reflect an attitude of over-kill.<sup>36</sup>

#### The Korean Community

Although this study was designed to be used in any location, the Korean community was chosen as an example of an Oriental society to serve as a model for all Oriental societies in which there are many obvious differences but also numerous similarities.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Michael R. Vaughan, The Army Racial Awareness Program: A Case Study of Program Impact on Personal Values (Alexandria, Va.: Human Resources Research Organization, April 1975).

Until the nineteenth century, Korea was a closed society, earning the title "The Hermit Kingdom."<sup>37</sup> Many uniquely Korean beliefs may puzzle foreigners. Because the present research used children attending U.S. military schools for a pilot study, it is necessary to look at some of these unique situations that may not be duplicated but may possibly be reflected to a degree in other Oriental social systems. Much of this information was gleaned from works by Paul Crane, Shannon McCune, and Erna Moen, as well as through conversations with Korean college students, missionaries, and parish priests.<sup>38</sup>

In his book entitled Korean Patterns, Crane described the various strata of the Confucian social system. This system has at its apex the scholar. Business and commerce occupy lower levels of importance, as does hand labor. Near the bottom of this hierarchy is the military. The "unperson" category is the lowest level in the social order. According to McCune and Crane, if the individual fails to heed the basic rudiments and procedures of social order and intercourse, this individual is not a person; in fact, he is an "unperson." He "occurs," as he does not go through the normal or expected birth process. Considered somewhere between the characteristics of man and ape, the unperson just "happened" and is outside the human group. A non-Korean is considered to be an unperson; therefore his behavior is

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<sup>37</sup>Paul Shields Crane, Korean Patterns (Seoul: Kukje Publishers, 1967).

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.; Shannon McCune, Korea, Land of Broken Calm (Boston: D. Van Nostrand, 1966); and Erna Ingeborg Moen, Written in the Stars (Seoul: Korean Consolidated Corp., 1973).

of no concern to the well-bred Korean or to Korean society in general. The unperson may also be a beggar, prostitute, criminal, or butcher.

According to Crane, a Korean must adhere to certain attitudes and behavioral standards. The system is simple and forthright: if one violates the system, he is treated as an unperson. The feelings, comfort, and very existence of the unperson are worth little consideration. Care is taken to avoid or to minimize contacts with such an individual.

Another facet of the Korean lifestyle is its emphasis on family relationships. Within the family, the concern is for loyalty to the immediate family. After the immediate family, the concern is for blood relatives, and then comes loyalty to the clan. Within the family, the senior male must be devoted primarily to his father, then to his mother, older brothers in the order of age, younger brothers, sons, wife, and finally daughters.

The daughter is traditionally the lowest member of the family and of least importance. When the daughter marries, she leaves the family and join the husband's family and his clan. Marriage means that the daughter will leave the family home permanently. Under Confucian belief, the daughter, once married, would not cross her father's doorstep again. If a dispute occurred with her husband, she could be thrown out of the home and would have nowhere to go, as her former family would not accept her.

### Children in Korea

Children are important in Korean life. In keeping with Confucian philosophy, children usually experience few restrictions until they enter school. Seldom are strict corrective measures imposed on young children until their schooling begins.

So outreaching is the love for children that it is not unusual for older Korean women to approach a foreigner carrying a child and to nuzzle the child affectionately. In the Korean society, however, a distinction is made between children of Korean parents and those of mixed ancestry. All true Korean children have black eyes, high cheekbones, straight black hair, and lack a nose bridge. Children of mixed parentage may lack one or more of these distinguishing characteristics and are not therefore considered true Koreans.<sup>39</sup>

### The Effect of the American Military on Korean Life

Throughout the past 35 years, members of the U.S. military with whom the Koreans came into contact were models by which all Americans were evaluated. The normal tour of duty for all unaccompanied military personnel is usually 12 months. At the end of the tour, another person is moved in from the United States to fill the vacated military slot.

To maintain continuity, Korean civilians are often hired to augment the military personnel. This normally necessitates adjustments, not only for the incoming military person, but also for the Korean civilian. Because of differences in personality, performance

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<sup>39</sup>McCune, op. cit.



level, and basic ability to perform in the position assigned, major adjustments may be required on the part of both the military member and the Korean civilian. Not infrequently, the military person dislikes the Korean assignment,<sup>40</sup> may not like his duty assignment, and/or may not understand the thinking process and point of view of his Korean counterpart. Cultural differences, such as eating habits, greetings, and the removal of shoes when entering a building, may cause misunderstandings and engender biased reactions.

#### The Amerasian Child

Many of the Amerasian children have been fathered by American military personnel stationed in Asian countries, as a result of sexual encounters with Asian prostitutes. Both the unmarried mothers and the children are considered "unpersons" in Korea. Several terms have evolved to describe these children: "Amerasian," from the social worker's description; "mixed-blood"; and the term "Hapa," from a Hawaiian word meaning half-half, used by the children themselves.<sup>41</sup>

Children of mixed parentage have created a problem in the Korean community. Because of the Koreans' strong sense of identity, expressed in characteristically Korean facial features, children of mixed parentage have little hope of full acceptance in Korean society. The most probable future for girls of mixed parentage is prostitution; for boys, petty crime.

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<sup>40</sup>Crane, op. cit.

<sup>41</sup>Information provided by Dr. Carroll Hodges, Director, Korean-American Foundation, Seoul, Korea.

The position of the U.S. military toward children fathered by military personnel serving in foreign countries has been one of "sympathetic concern."<sup>42</sup> Although many of these children have been saved from the severe ostracism of Korean society by adoption, many others have not been adopted and are treated as orphans.

In traditional Korean society, an orphaned child was taken in by a relative and allowed to work as a servant in the home. The child was eventually set up in life by the relative. If the orphan was a boy, he was trained for some future endeavor; if a girl, a dowry and clothes were provided and a suitable marriage arranged. With the advent of the Korean War, the social structure was ruptured, and traditions had to be set aside for the duration of the war.

During the Korean War, orphans were placed in special camps. Orphanages set up around military bases became refuges for illegitimate or Amerasian children. Establishment of the orphanages broke down the traditional responsibilities previously assumed by the family. Many Korean families are no longer reluctant to release relatives to orphanages for care, and many poor families may place their children in orphanages, hoping to reclaim them when they have achieved more economic stability.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>"Department of Defense Position Regarding Children Born Out of Wedlock in Foreign Countries Where U.S. Armed Forces Are Assigned" (position paper, OASD [M & RA], MPP [L & SP]; Washington, D.C., 1971).

<sup>43</sup>Crane, op. cit.

### The Military Community

Some military personnel stationed in foreign communities choose to marry foreign nationals. Such marriages take place for a variety of reasons: financial security, convenience, loneliness or boredom, and/or sexual gratification. Whatever the reason for these marriages, they usually produce children. The offspring of such mixed marriages may experience second- or third-culture relationships.<sup>44</sup>

The overseas military community is generally more social than are military communities in the United States. An element of camaraderie exists in the overseas military community that is reflected only partially in its stateside counterpart. Such a variety of leisure-time activities is provided that it is not necessary for a married couple to leave the military reservation for recreation; hence the mixed couple is protected from the censure of the outside community. Frequently, the former prostitute or bar girl who has married an American GI avails herself of the educational and cultural opportunities offered through the military-service program and becomes a community leader who is invaluable in helping others in a similar situation.

### The Child in a Military Family

In many of the Overseas Dependent Schools, most of the students have parents--one or both--who were not born in the United States. In some of their homes English is spoken as a second language or, in some instances, not spoken at all. The child may be

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<sup>44</sup>Ruth Hill Useem, "Third Culture Kids," Today's Education 63 (September-October 1976): 103-105.

exposed to spoken English only during the period when he is attending school.

Separation in the military family becomes a way of life to which the family must adjust, although it can be extremely difficult for the children in the family. Often the father fulfills his tour of duty and leaves the family while he completes another assignment, returning after an absence of a year to 18 months.

Military families also encounter problems similar to other families in contemporary American society. Alcohol and drugs are accessible in the military community as they are in any other community, but on the foreign military reservation, one usually needs only go to the gate to find a drug peddler. In some countries, prescription medicines are as available as the nearest local "western" pharmacy. Chemical products that require a prescription in the stateside drugstore are sold over the counter to the customer who can identify the compound by its generic name.

In the military community there are also families that did not want to come overseas and resent the changes that had to be made in order to further the military career. Consequently, some families spend the entire overseas tour without venturing into the community around the reservation, except to travel from one installation to another on shopping trips. Too often, the children in such families are not taken on these excursions.

In spite of the drawbacks just mentioned, there are definite advantages to the military experience in an overseas location. As Gingras pointed out, dependents of military personnel are unique, and

the experiences they encounter in terms of culture, geography, history, and language provide a cosmopolitanism about which their stateside counterparts can only dream.<sup>45</sup>

In addition, just by living in an overseas environment, the dependent child experiences social situations involving protocol that can produce a degree of social and cultural sophistication. Because of the diverse backgrounds of children attending the Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools and the great opportunity for social interaction, this researcher attempted to examine various aspects of social behavior, with particular regard to racial and cultural attitudes and acceptance.

### Summary

The review of literature in this chapter introduced some of the problems involving race, stereotyping, and bigotry as found in American society and in the military. A look at child awareness and the Korean culture as a model for Asian society was also introduced.

The unique situation of the military-dependent adolescent and perceptions based on the influence of the military community, the interaction of foreign and American cultures, and the interaction with other adolescents in the overseas military community are the focuses of this study. In the following chapter, the methodology of the study is explained

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<sup>45</sup>Angela Gingras, What Every Military Kid Should Know (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stockpole Co., 1969).

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

The methodology used in this study was derived from literature reviews. This chapter delineates the population, the procedure used in sample selection, and the process used in role-model selection. In addition, the procedure used to analyze the data in this study is also described.

#### Population

The study was designed to be used with students attending the Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools in grades 7, 9, and 11 to see if any change in racial and/or cultural attitudes could be determined from this range of ages. The major study was completed in the Overseas Dependent Schools at Clark Air Force Base in the Republic of the Philippines, while the pilot study was conducted with students in grade 7 in the Overseas Dependent School located on Yongsan Army Garrison in Seoul, Korea.

Participants in this study were military dependent children of sponsors assigned to duty at the respective study sites. The sponsors for the participants were either enlisted, officer, or civilian personnel who were citizens of the United States attached to the U.S. military service.

### Selection of Participants

In Seoul the participants used in the pilot study were selected by the teacher who volunteered the use of a social studies class for participation in this study. This class had been involved in a project that reviewed the factors involved in developing stereotypes and prejudices.

In reviewing the responses to the pilot study, the investigator decided to attempt to limit the survey to students with sufficient background in English. As most high school students are "mainstreamed" (placed in regular classes to hasten the learning process through experiences they may use for future reference), those students with English deficiencies were not encouraged to participate in the survey. However, if a student had strong feelings about the study and wanted to participate, his/her request to take part in the study was reconsidered because exclusion might have placed a stigma (imaginary or real) on the student. The decision about whether the pupil could participate was left to the discretion of the student and the teacher or monitor.

The major study, in the Philippines, involved students in grades 7 through 12, who were selected at random by teachers who volunteered to participate in this study. Although the primary concern of the study focused on students in grades 7, 9, and 11, the participating classes had students in grade levels other than the target grades. It was decided that all students who had indicated a desire to participate would be allowed to do so.

### Selection of Role Models

A series of names was selected, and physical characteristics were assigned to these fictitious individuals. The following role models were developed:

Kuao was designed to be an Oriental male.

Mei Li was an Oriental female.

Curtis was a black male.

Gail was a black female.

Peter was a white male.

Heather was a white female.

The pilot study role models were selected by students in the Philippines for use in Korea. A series of photographs was taken and was shown to a panel of students. The students were asked to select the appropriate photograph that they felt best reflected the characteristics for each of the six role models. The same panel was asked to make the selection of photographs for the major study, using photographs taken from volunteer subjects in Seoul.

### Audio Instruction for Use in This Study

To produce instructions that would be consistent in each presentation of the study, it was decided to use an audio tape. A selection process was conducted to determine the vocal qualities that would be as neutral as possible for use in the study. A female voice was selected on the basis of clarity, modulation, diction, and accent-free qualities.



The survey used photographic slides in conjunction with a pre-recorded audio tape. The monitor or teacher distributed the Attitude Survey response sheets to the students, and the survey was conducted as a classroom group. The response sheet was divided into two parts: the biographical or demographic data and the survey responses. The pre-recorded audio tape contained the instructions (i.e., "What is your name?"; "Your teacher has written the 'Location' on the chalkboard. Write this location in the space provided on your response sheet marked 'Location.'"; "What is your grade?")

For the survey responses, the pre-recorded audio tape might state the following:

Peter and his father have an extra ticket to a football game and Peter has invited you to go along as his guest. How would you feel about attending this football game with Peter and his father?

In another situation, the respondents are advised that

Gail is giving a party and has invited you to attend and bring a date. How would you feel about attending Gail's party with a date?

Each situation depicted on the pre-recorded audio tape was accompanied by a photographic slide of one of the role models.

Script contents for the tape recording were designed to allow the students to listen and follow along with the tape as they progressed through the response sheet. Each instruction was given twice, with a pause between each instruction to allow students sufficient time to complete each item and still maintain the pace of the recorded tape. The recorded tape directed the students to follow along with

the instructions and requested that they not ask the monitor for assistance.

The response sheets (see Appendix) were designed to allow the data recorded on them to be transferred and coded on data-processing cards for computer analysis. The responses were then treated as a unit for purposes of analysis.

### Summary

The determination of the population and method of selection of student respondents and role-model selection was detailed in this chapter for use in this study. In addition, the method of data collection and processing was described. Chapter IV contains the findings of this study.

## CHAPTER IV

### DATA ANALYSIS

#### Introduction

The purpose of this study was to obtain and analyze data from adolescents in the Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools concerning their racial and cultural attitudes toward hypothetical study settings.

The preceding chapter detailed the processes used to select the sample for this study. In this chapter, the focus is on the data compiled from the respondents.<sup>1</sup>

#### Demographic Data

The demographic data relate to the personal information requested on the survey form. The intent in reporting the data is to delineate further the facts supplied by the respondents. The total sample used in this study was 361 individuals. The demographic data for the respondents are shown in Table 1. (See Appendix for the Survey Response Sheet, from which the demographic data were obtained.)

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<sup>1</sup>Originally, the data were to be treated with an analysis of variance technique. As there is an interaction with age of the respondents, an analysis of covariates was employed; this subject is addressed in Chapter V.

<sup>2</sup>Some of the respondents supplied incorrect or incomplete responses that could not be coded into machine language for tabulation. Depending on the data available during tabulation, the number of valid cases differed according to the type of treatment applied to the data.

Table 1.--Demographic data for the sample respondents.

| <u>Race (N=347)</u> |          |          | <u>Sex (N=347)</u> |          |          |
|---------------------|----------|----------|--------------------|----------|----------|
|                     | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |                    | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Black               | 45       | 12.97    | Male               | 158      | 45.53    |
| White               | 253      | 72.91    | Female             | 189      | 54.47    |
| Oriental            | 49       | 14.12    |                    |          |          |

  

| <u>Sex x Race (N=347)</u> |             |          |               |          |  |
|---------------------------|-------------|----------|---------------|----------|--|
|                           | <u>Male</u> |          | <u>Female</u> |          |  |
|                           | <u>n</u>    | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u>      | <u>%</u> |  |
| Black                     | 17          | 4.90     | 28            | 8.07     |  |
| White                     | 111         | 31.99    | 142           | 40.92    |  |
| Oriental                  | 30          | 8.65     | 19            | 5.47     |  |

  

| <u>Age in Years (N=323)</u> |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                             | <u>11</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>14</u> | <u>15</u> | <u>16</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>18</u> | <u>19</u> | <u>20</u> |
| n                           | 4         | 74        | 85        | 35        | 62        | 38        | 18        | 4         | 2         | 1         |
| %                           | 1.24      | 22.91     | 26.32     | 10.84     | 19.20     | 11.70     | 5.57      | 1.24      | .62       | .36       |

  

| <u>Grade in School (N=323)<sup>a</sup></u> |  |          |          |          |           |           |           |
|--|--|----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|  |  | <u>7</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>12</u> |
| n  |  | 179      | 0        | 84       | 19        | 35        | 6         |
| %  |  | 55.42    | --       | 26.0     | 5.88      | 10.84     | 1.86      |

  

| <u>Sponsor (N=318)</u> |  |          |          |
|------------------------|--|----------|----------|
|                        |  | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Black                  |  | 52       | 28.9     |
| White                  |  | 94       | 54.0     |
| Oriental               |  | 32       | 17.1     |

  

| <u>Sponsor x Age (N=347)</u> |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |
|------------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
|                              | <u>11</u> |          | <u>12</u> |          | <u>13</u> |          | <u>14</u> |          |
|                              | <u>n</u>  | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u>  | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u>  | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u>  | <u>%</u> |
| Black                        | 1         | .003     | 26        | .075     | 25        | .072     | 8         | .022     |
| White                        | 2         | .006     | 34        | .097     | 54        | .157     | 25        | .072     |
| Oriental                     | 1         | .003     | 20        | .060     | 12        | .035     | 6         | .016     |

Table 1.--Continued.

| <u>Sponsor x Age (cont'd)</u> |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |            |          |
|-------------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|------------|----------|
|                               | <u>15</u> |          | <u>16</u> |          | <u>17</u> |          | <u>18</u> |          | <u>19+</u> |          |
|                               | <u>n</u>  | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u>  | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u>  | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u>  | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u>   | <u>%</u> |
| Black                         | 20        | .058     | 14        | .041     | 6         | .016     | ..        | ..       | 1          | .003     |
| White                         | 40        | .116     | 20        | .057     | 8         | .022     | ..        | ..       | 2          | .006     |
| Oriental                      | 7         | .019     | 7         | .019     | 7         | .019     | ..        | ..       | ..         | ..       |

<sup>a</sup>In the alignment of classes in the Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools, the seventh and eighth grades are homogeneous; i.e., all seventh graders take seventh grade class subjects, etc. In the high schools, certain classes are open to all levels (grades 9 through 12). No eighth grade classes participated in the survey, which relied on teachers to volunteer the classes they wished to use.

#### Reference Analyses

The independent variables for this study were sex and race. To determine the significance of these two factors operating together, a one-way analysis of variance procedure was employed (see Table 2). The ANOVA indicated that for the social setting involving either individuals in group activities or the pairing of individual respondents, the F-ratio of 5.403 (df = 4, 341) was statistically significant ( $p < .001$ ). The analysis also showed that the nonschool social setting involving paired students of different races and sexes was significant ( $p < .0509$ ), with an F-ratio of 5.403 (df = 5, 341). In regard to the family setting involving individuals visiting homes of the respective respondents, neither sex nor race of the respondent was significant ( $p < .897$ ). The same result was observed for school

settings involving individuals either as paired participants or in a group; the results were not significant ( $p < .124$ ).

Table 2.--One-way analysis of four settings tested to determine the effect of the combination of race and sex as a single variant.

|                                   | df    | F-ratio | Probability<br>of F |
|-----------------------------------|-------|---------|---------------------|
| Family setting<br>individual      | 5,341 | .326    | .8971               |
| Social and sports<br>setting      | 5,341 | 5.403   | .0001               |
| School setting                    | 5,341 | 1.746   | .1235               |
| Nonschool setting<br>(one-to-one) | 5,341 | 2.231   | .0509               |

These data were also subjected to a t-test (see Table 3) to determine if the test groups reflected significance through combined interaction. The test indicated that there was a significant difference between the family setting and the nonschool individual setting ( $p < .036$ ), with a t-value of 2.10 (df = 360 for all combination tests). There was also significance in the reciprocal of these results between the nonschool setting and the family setting.

Table 3.--T-test of four settings to determine interaction between these settings.

|                                | Family Setting<br>(One-to-One) | Social/Sports<br>Setting | School<br>Setting | Nonschool<br>Setting |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Family setting<br>(one-to-one) |                                | -11.24<br>0.00           | 6.72<br>0.00      | 2.10<br>0.036        |
| Social/sports<br>setting       | -11.24<br>0.00                 |                          | -8.8<br>0.0       | -5.17<br>0.00        |
| School<br>setting              | - 6.72<br>0.00                 | 8.8<br>0.0               |                   | .365<br>0.000        |
| Nonschool<br>setting           | - 2.10<br>0.036                | 7.81<br>0.00             | 5.17<br>0.00      |                      |

#### Hypotheses and Statistical Tests

The following hypotheses were tested with a two-way analysis of variance with sex and race as independent variables.

- 1.0 In response to portrayals of four social situations involving white, black, or Oriental adolescents, there will be no difference among adolescents in their declared acceptance of family settings.
- 1.1 There will be no difference with regard to the sex of the respondents.
- 1.2 There will be no difference with regard to the race of the respondents.

The data in Table 4 show that neither sex nor race was a factor in adolescents' declared acceptance of individuals in a family setting. These findings support the hypothesis and the subpremises as the main effects reflected no significance ( $p < .269$ ) and were a composite of the factors sex and race. Sex was not significant by itself ( $p < .907$ ), and race ( $p < .141$ ) did not reflect significance.

To determine the significance of F, the F-ratio, the standard error, and the mean squares were divided by the degrees of freedom (df). In all cases, degrees of freedom equalled 360.

Table 4.--Family setting involving race and sex as factors for individual respondents making home visits.

|                                   | df | F<br>Ratio | Significance<br>of F |
|-----------------------------------|----|------------|----------------------|
| Main Effects                      | 3  | 1.316      | .269                 |
| Race                              | 2  | 1.969      | .141                 |
| Sex                               | 1  | .014       | .907                 |
| Two-way interaction<br>(race/sex) | 2  | .370       | .691                 |

2.0 In response to portrayals of four social situations involving white, black, or Oriental adolescents, there will be no difference among adolescents in their declared acceptance of school sports (large-group) settings.

2.1 There will be no difference with regard to the sex of the respondents.

2.2 There will be no difference with regard to the race of the respondents.

The data in Table 5 indicate that for social/sports activities in a school setting the data were significant ( $p < .001$ ). Sex was rejected by these findings ( $p < .001$ ). The findings were not rejected on the basis of race ( $p < .2.2$ ), nor did the data reject the two-way interaction between race and sex ( $p < .924$ ). Therefore,



Hypothesis 2.0 was not valid. Subpremise 2.1, which related to sex, was also rejected. Subpremise 2.2, which related to race, was valid.

Table 5.--School sports/social setting involving race and sex as factors in attendance.

|                                   | df | F<br>Ratio | Significance<br>of F |
|-----------------------------------|----|------------|----------------------|
| Main effects                      | 3  | 10.270     | .001                 |
| Race                              | 2  | 1.560      | .212                 |
| Sex                               | 1  | 26.447     | .001                 |
| Two-way interaction<br>(race/sex) | 2  | .079       | .924                 |

3.0 In response to portrayals of four social situations involving white, black, or Oriental adolescents, there will be no difference among adolescents in their declared acceptance of school (one-to-one) settings.

3.1 There will be no difference with regard to the sex of the respondents.

3.2 There will be no difference with regard to the race of the respondents.

The data in Table 6 indicate that for school settings involving the factors of race and sex in the selection of fellow students participating in school activities that involve educational situations, there was no apparent significance for either sex or race. The main effects indicated that there was no significance ( $p < .152$ ). Race was not a significant factor ( $p < .072$ ), and sex did not reflect significance ( $p < .148$ ). The two-way interaction of race and sex did

not show significance ( $p < .163$ ). Therefore, the hypothesis and the subpremises were supported and were valid as reflected in these data.

Table 6.--School settings involving race and sex as factors in selecting partners in academic activities.

|                                   | df | F<br>Ratio | Significance<br>of F |
|-----------------------------------|----|------------|----------------------|
| Main effects                      | 3  | 1.773      | .152                 |
| Race                              | 2  | 1.770      | .172                 |
| Sex                               | 1  | 2.100      | .148                 |
| Two-way interaction<br>(race/sex) | 2  | 1.823      | .163                 |

4.0 In response to portrayals of four social situations involving white, black, or Oriental adolescents, there will be no difference among adolescents in their declared acceptance of nonschool (one-to-one) settings.

4.1 There will be no difference with regard to the sex of the respondents.

4.2 There will be no difference with regard to the race of the respondents.

In the analysis of the data for the nonschool setting involving race and sex as factors in the selection of partners for attendance at nonschool activities, the results (see Table 7) indicated that the main effects were significant ( $p < .007$ ). Race was not significant ( $p < .170$ ), according to these data; however, sex did show significance ( $p < .005$ ). The two-way interaction between race and sex did not show significance ( $p < .657$ ). The hypothesis that there will be no difference in the declared acceptance of nonschool

settings was rejected on the basis of sex, which also affected the main effects. The hypothesis was not rejected in regard to race. The subpremise was valid and was accepted on the basis of race. The subpremise was rejected on the basis of sex, which also rejected the main effects (i.e., the combined effects of race and sex).

Table 7.--Nonschool setting involving race and sex as factors in the selection of partners in attending nonschool socially oriented activities.

|                                   | df | F<br>Ratio | Significance<br>of F |
|-----------------------------------|----|------------|----------------------|
| Main effects                      | 3  | 4.147      | .007                 |
| Race                              | 2  | 1.785      | .170                 |
| Sex                               | 1  | 8.157      | .005                 |
| Two-way interaction<br>(race/sex) | 2  | .419       | .657                 |

### Summary

For adolescents of different backgrounds, individual tolerances appeared to be greatest on an individual (i.e., one-to-one) basis in settings involving school, family, or social situations. However, these tolerant attitudes were not as strong for adolescents of different backgrounds if activities involved family- or school-oriented social groupings. Tolerance in a nonschool, individual setting was rejected on the basis of sex. In this study, the tables do not reflect the effect of age as a variable. The explanation for

the removal of this variable is found in the Limitations section of Chapter V.

In this chapter the data were presented in analytical form, with notations about the effect on the hypotheses and whether the hypotheses were accepted or rejected. In Chapter V, the data are interpreted in relation to current pertinent literature. Implications from these findings and recommendations for further research are also presented.

## CHAPTER V

### INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

#### Introduction

In this study, the researcher surveyed students attending the Department of Defense Overseas Dependent Schools with regard to their racial and cultural attitudes and awareness. Chapter I of the study looked at the background, analyzed the problem, and proposed the hypotheses of the study. In Chapter II, pertinent literature for the study was examined. Chapter II contained the methodology used in this study, followed by an analysis of the data in Chapter IV.

In this chapter, the data are interpreted. The conclusions drawn from the study are found, along with implications and recommendations for further study. This chapter is organized as follows:

1. Limitations
2. Major Results
3. Implications
4. Recommendations
5. Summary

#### Limitations

Some adjustments became necessary in treating the data. The age factor was a problem, as some 11- and 12-year-olds became confused with the instructions and, according to monitors for the survey, frequently requested that the tape recording be stopped, reversed, and replayed.

Some students selected one response and recorded that response for all questions, and others did not complete the biographical data section. Still other pupils attempted to write responses of their own, which could not readily be translated into the existing code. To keep the survey in perspective, responses were adjusted for age to determine what effect the answers of the 11- and 12-year-old students would have on the survey. Before using the analysis of covariance to adjust the data for age, the analysis of variance showed rejection of each of the survey settings on the basis of sex.

Some of the questions were not well designed for the 11- and 12-year-old age group. Although their parents generally allow them to leave the house, they usually are not permitted to leave the military reservation without adult supervision; therefore, even if a rock concert by Kiss were being held in an off-base concert park, this age group would not be likely to attend.

Eleven- and 12-year-olds often have perception and self-awareness problems associated with their physical and sexual development. Easily embarrassed and lacking self-confidence, they may view situations differently at age 11 or 12 than they would at 13 or 14.

Because it was decided that any group setting would necessarily include some type of social gathering, be it family, sports, school, or nonschool, these group settings were deleted from the hypotheses and the survey results.

Finally, in comparing racial groups, another confusing situation surfaced. When a black male and an Oriental female marry, the offspring from such a marriage are considered to be black. In the

marriage of an Oriental male and a white female, the resulting offspring are considered Oriental. When a white male marries a black female, the offspring are considered black. However, if a white male marries an Oriental female, their Amerasian offspring are considered white. Responses in this study reflected this identity distinction, but the logic for such determination has not been uncovered by this researcher.

### Major Results

The data showed that those hypotheses in this study that were rejected were rejected on the basis of sex. In examining related literature for validation, the investigator found numerous studies involving teens and teen-age awareness.<sup>1</sup> However, these studies were not concerned with the particular problem being investigated.

Eme pointed out that teenagers are beset with numerous social problems including, but not limited to, peer acceptance, problems in appearance and current fads, sexuality, personal and physical development, and changing patterns of behavior (i.e., under some circumstances being expected to respond as an adult and under similar situations being treated as a child).<sup>2</sup> Having to deal with these situations may be a source of frustration for the adolescent. The most demanding

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<sup>1</sup>Sophia F. McDowell, "Patterns of Preference by Negro Youth for White and Negro Associates," Phylon 32 (Fall 1971): 290-301; Gary F. Jensen, "Delinquency and Adolescent Self-Conception: A Study of Personal Relevance of Infraction," Social Problems 20 (Summer 1972): 84-102; and Fred Schab, "Marriage and the High School Student," Journal of National Association of Women Deans and Counselors 34 (Fall 1970): 34-37.

<sup>2</sup>Robert Eme, "Seriousness of Adolescent Problems," Adolescence 15 (Spring 1980): 93-99.

force is that of sexuality, either by itself or in combination with any of the other pressures.<sup>3</sup> This researcher decided to investigate why the respondents in this study used sex as a determinant for reaction rather than responding to race.

Searching the literature for studies that involve the two factors of sex and race and finding nothing to explain the results of this study, this researcher decided to consider the subject of inter-racial marriage. Two of the books consulted, one by Drimmer and the other by Washington, referred to the white population's fear of blacks, the premise being that they are afraid of close contact with black people.

As pointed out earlier in this dissertation, the stereotyping process assigns less desirable traits and behavior patterns to the group that has been selected to occupy a status similar to or just above that of animals. Both Drimmer and Washington inferred that social pressure produced this fear of the black person. Washington felt that society created an artificial barrier by placing the burden of skin color on the black person rather than changing its own attitudes and supporting a more open society.

Allport supported the position taken by Washington. He stated, "It is impossible to understand group prejudice in the United States, particularly the prejudice of whites toward Negroes, without reference

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Melvin Drimmer, "Neither Black Nor White: Carlos Degler's Study of Slavery in Two Societies," Phylon 40 (March 1979): 94-105; and Joseph R. Washington, Jr., Marriage in Black and White (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970).



to sex maladjustment."<sup>5</sup> The contention is that sex dominates life in the United States as in no other place in the world. In addition, nowhere else except South Africa is racial consciousness a matter of such great concern and yet such an obvious contradiction.

Racial fears are found not only in the United States, but these prejudices are also carried outside the United States by world travellers. As an illustration, an excerpt from Tales of the South Pacific relates how the nurse, Nellie, upon finding that the French plantation owner De Becque had four mixed-blood daughters born out of wedlock, reacted to DeBecque's family:

Emile DeBecque, not satisfied with Javanese and Tonkinese women, had also lived with a Polynesian. A nigger! To Nellie's tutored mind, any person living or dead who was not white or yellow was a nigger. And beyond that no words could go! Her entire Arkansas upbringing made it impossible for her to deny the teachings of her youth. Emile DeBecque had lived with a nigger. He had nigger children. If she married him, they would be her step-daughters.<sup>6</sup>

According to Allport, this kind of rationalizing is the central element in the illogical belief from which racial stereotyping and prejudice evolve. This fear, referred to earlier, stems from interracial marriage!

Asian-Americans, Afro-Americans, and other skin-pigmented Americans experience difficulties in the United States because of white Americans' obsession with skin coloration. At the same time, whites

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<sup>5</sup>Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954), p. 372.

<sup>6</sup>James Albert Michener, Tales of the South Pacific (New York: Macmillan, 1946), p. 111.

have an almost fanatic preoccupation with becoming sun-tanned, even to the point of holding sun-tan contests. Ironically, blacks are not expected to participate in these contests, and few whites realize that blacks do tan.

Drimmer pointed out that the treatment of slaves in Brazil was never as harsh as in the United States and that the "moral personality" was never lost in that South-American country. Brazil was a conservative Catholic country, paternalistic and quasi-medieval in its social attitude toward slavery. Because slaves were never treated like beasts, they were accepted more readily into the Brazilian social order.

Drimmer contrasted Brazil with the United States--liberal, Protestant, capitalistic, and secular--where slavery had the support of the government. In the United States, historically the blacks were subjected to physical cruelty, lynching, deliberate destruction of family bonds, and indiscriminant mating with other slaves or with whites, at the discretion of the plantation owner. He stated further that extremes of discrimination and racism did not occur in Brazil because there blacks were never feared.

Now that the contradiction in the findings has partially been explained, it is necessary to see how the adolescent is affected by all this. Interestingly, many of these same concerns were reflected in the study by Frank Petroni.<sup>7</sup> One of the first statements Petroni made was that white opponents of integration were most afraid of

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<sup>7</sup> Frank A. Petroni, "Teen-age Interracial Dating," Transaction 8 (September 1971): 54-56, 58-59.

interracial sex. Black females have been found to evidence the same concern; they feel that the only reason white boys would date them is their expectation of easy sexual conquest of the black female.

Allport felt that between blacks and whites there exists a relationship not unlike the love-hate syndrome or the concept of forbidden fruit.<sup>8</sup> During the period of slavery, it was quite common for black females to be used to satisfy the plantation owner or the male gentry visiting the plantation. Offspring from such sexual liaisons were generally lighter-complexioned than other slave children and were afforded extra privileges, often being trained to work in the house rather than in the fields. This gave rise to a hierarchy among slaves, which was based on color. It is interesting that if marital infidelity occurred with the plantation mistress, she brought shame upon herself and the white aristocracy for bedding with a slave and thereby becoming pregnant.

The trite phrase that a black is acceptable as a friend "but I wouldn't want my daughter [or sister] to marry one" reflects the contradiction that exists in the United States. Although this situation may also occur among nonwhites, the paradox is most obvious and deeply rooted when used with blacks because of the skin-color factor.

The present investigator questioned this contradiction in the rejection of the hypotheses. Was the rejection, in fact, on the basis of sex, or was it really on the basis of race? Whereas it is socially

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<sup>8</sup>Allport, op. cit.

<sup>9</sup>Petroni, op. cit., p. 54.

unacceptable to be labeled a racist, the alternative of selecting on the basis of sex would carry no such label. Although the study was completed with adolescents, and the supposition is rather sophisticated for adolescents, they have undergone the most subtle form of training--the instilling of prejudice.

### Implications

The implication of this study is that the original survey was far more complex than anticipated. The fact that the discriminators used in the treatment of the data gleaned from the respondents failed to identify the information needed and eliminate the possibility of transference was a shortcoming of this research.

In all fairness, this researcher was not aware of the "fear" concept introduced by Drimmer until after the survey was completed. The need to examine interracial marriage to find a basis for the results obtained in this study indicates that additional attention should be given to adolescents and their attitudes in order to correct prevailing social fears and to promote a general exchange of accurate and relevant knowledge. The study by Petroni reflected the same confusion found in works by Drimmer and Washington.

It is unfortunate that with the abundance of studies on adolescents, little attention has been given to attitudes and misconceptions involving race, interracial dating, and interracial marriage. With so much interest evidenced in sexual and physical development and understanding, the paucity of research conducted in this area for and about adolescents seems to this researcher to be most unjustified.

### Recommendations

Adolescent attitudes need to be explored further. Studies conducted in the United States on adolescent attitudes pertaining to racial, cultural, and sexual development and interracial dating would provide the information needed for comparison purposes.

Discrete discriminators need to be developed to identify the specific factor being tested and to determine whether the resultant data are valid for that factor. This type of research on adolescents in overseas settings would also be helpful in considering the transference of beliefs held by these adolescents (and, by extension, their parents) to the inhabitants around military reservations in foreign countries.

That the identification of race is based on the race of the father of the offspring, regardless of skin pigmentation, is another area that needs to be investigated.

Comparisons of adolescents in different environments and how they perceive and deal with various social issues, the socioeconomic background of the respondents, and the education and size of the family are all areas that could be proved in studying the attitudes of adolescents.

### Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the limitations of the study were identified. Problems involved with related literature and contradictions in the findings were noted and explained. The implications of this study were explored, as were recommendations for further study.

## APPENDIX

## ATTITUDE SURVEY

### Background Data

Name of school \_\_\_\_\_ Location \_\_\_\_\_

Grade: 7 9 11 Sex: M F Age \_\_\_\_\_

Rank of sponsor \_\_\_ Noncommissioned officer \_\_\_ Officer \_\_\_ Civilian

Father's origin \_\_\_ Black \_\_\_ White \_\_\_ Oriental Other (\_\_\_\_\_)

Mother's origin \_\_\_ Black \_\_\_ White \_\_\_ Oriental Other (\_\_\_\_\_)

Father's country or state of birth \_\_\_\_\_ Unknown \_\_\_\_\_

Mother's country or state of birth \_\_\_\_\_ Unknown \_\_\_\_\_

How many brothers do you have? \_\_\_ How many sisters? \_\_\_

How many are younger than you? \_\_\_ How many are younger? \_\_\_

How many are older than you? \_\_\_ How many are older? \_\_\_

Indicate what state or city you consider as "home": \_\_\_\_\_

### Survey Responses

For the following, indicate "1" for greatly like, "2" for like, "3" for neither like nor dislike, "4" for dislike, and "5" for strongly dislike:

|          |   |   |   |   |   |          |   |   |   |   |   |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|----------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Item 1:  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Item 13: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Item 2:  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Item 14: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Item 3:  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Item 15: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Item 4:  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Item 16: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Item 5:  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Item 17: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Item 6:  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Item 18: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Item 7:  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Item 19: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Item 8:  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Item 20: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Item 9:  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Item 21: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Item 10: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Item 22: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Item 11: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Item 23: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Item 12: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Item 24: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|          |   |   |   |   |   | Item 25: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

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