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A Study of Group Conflict Within a Two-community Setting

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A STUDY OF GROUP CONFLICT
WITHIN A TWO-COMMUNITY SETTING

A Master's Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the School of Graduate Studies
Indiana State University
Terre Haute, Indiana

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the
Master of Arts Degree

by
Virgil L. Highsmith
August, 1970

THESIS APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis of Virgil L. Highsmith, contribution of the School of Graduate Studies, Indiana State University, Series I, Number 964, under the title, "A Study of Group Conflict Within a Two-Community Setting," is approved as counting toward the completion of the Master of Arts Degree in the amount of six semester hours of graduate credit.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout man's history there has been social conflict between and within groups. The conflict has appeared as war between such large groups as nations, as strike movements between comparatively smaller groups such as labor unions and management organizations, or as arguments between even smaller groups, two factions within a local P.T.A. The result of this social conflict has been death and destruction, higher wages for workers, or perhaps hot lunch programs for students. The description of social conflict or the problem of explaining its causes has challenged sociologists for decades because via conflict change has occurred and through the recognition and study of conflict situations, harmony between groups may be obtained.

This study which took place during the 1968-69 school year, examines the nature of inter-group and intra-group conflict in two small, isolated communities in Alaska, one an army post, Fort Greely, and the other an adjacent civilian community, Delta Junction. The relative isolation of these two communities makes the study of social conflict perhaps more important than a similar study in a more populated area emphasizing the same social phenomenon. An occupational or employee group, the civilian teachers of Fort Greely, is the focal group of the study. Since the investigator was a member of this group at the time of the study and three years before that, he felt the study could be approached by him, through the civilian teachers of the army

post, as a participant and an observer. The families of Fort Greely and the teachers of Delta Junction were two other groups which were also used.

The investigator became a teacher at Fort Greely at the beginning of the 1965-66 school year. Teachers are hired by the State of Alaska to teach on the seven military installations scattered throughout the state and other remote areas classified as rural areas, of which Delta Junction is one. On-base teachers, as the ones on the military installations are called, sometimes receive benefits from a particular installation that rural area teachers may not receive. At the time the investigator became an on-base teacher, the teachers group at Fort Greely was combined with the teachers group of Delta Junction to form one larger teachers' organization. Shortly thereafter during a combined organizational meeting there was a unanimous vote to split into two separate organizations. During this meeting the investigator, being a new, uninformed party, was more an observer than a participant. A less than cordial atmosphere was created by the two factions. At this time also the investigator first began to feel that the relationships between the families of Fort Greely and the civilian teachers were not as friendly as they might be. Parents gossiped about the teachers and teachers in general had no use for the military.

It became apparent over a three year period that one factor might be responsible for the conflicting relationships surrounding the groups that eventually became a central part of this study. One factor which stood out was that the civilian teachers of Fort Greely were given post privileges. Privileges on Fort Greely are used as a "selling point" on a brochure that is sent by the State of Alaska to prospective teachers. They are a means by which a teacher can combat the high cost of living in the state. Being able to buy in the post exchange, attending the movie

theater, bowling, and eating in the snack bar, and using the post gymnasium are the privileges for all the teachers. Low rate gasoline and dry cleaning facilities are available to single teachers who possess one privilege which allows them housing at a greatly reduced rate, they may live on the post itself. Married teachers must find quarters in Delta Junction, but do have the privileges above except the last three.

The Delta Junction teachers on the other hand, do not have these privileges and are hired by the State of Alaska just as the Fort Greely teachers are. Quite often where a teacher is placed depends on the time of year, the demand, the need of a particular district, and coincidence. Delta Junction does not have a theater or a bowling alley, consequently two entertainment outlets are not available to Delta's teachers, or its citizens for that matter.

At the beginning of the 1968-69 school year, the Fort Greely and Delta Junction schools were drawn closer together by being put under the authority of one superintendent for the first time. There were two other changes that helped shape the present study. The separate teachers' organizations of Fort Greely and Delta Junction voted 31-8 at a joint meeting to combine. The atmosphere at the meeting was not pleasant despite the favorable ballot to the contrary. Six teachers were used by the superintendent to teach at both schools. These teachers, while teaching at Fort Greely also, were not given the privileges already mentioned because they were originally hired to teach at Delta Junction and were merely shifted by the superintendent to fill a need at Fort Greely. With these changes and what has already been stated, one tentative hypothesis was formulated to indicate that conflict existed in three particular situations where post privileges were either granted or

denied. 1) Conflict exists because the families on post resent the fact that civilian teachers are given privileges on post. 2) There is disharmony between the Fort Greely teachers and the Delta Junction teachers because Delta teachers are denied post privileges. 3) There is disharmony between the Fort Greely teachers and those teachers who teach at both schools because these six teachers are also denied post privileges.

The old usage of conflict given in dictionaries is war or warfare. For this study the word disharmony was used in two of the hypotheses to denote "peaceful conflict" which was used by Max Weber as applying to instances in which no physical violence takes place.¹ Social conflict has been defined frequently in the sociological literature. The definitions appear in various forms in a greatly varied vernacular from broad to narrow. A narrow one often refers to "a situation in which the parties are taking direct action against each other."² This type of conflict could mean war. A broad definition designed to encompass all types of conflict has been put forth recently by one sociologist. He says:

Such breadth is implied by defining social conflict as: any social situation or process in which two or more social entities are linked by at least one form of antagonistic psychological relation or at least one form of antagonistic interaction. . . .³

This could be some form of psychological sanction. For this study a rather standard definition was employed, a definition by Lewis Coser

¹Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed. Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, paperback edition 1964), p. 132.

²Q. Wright, "The Escalation of International Conflicts," Journal of Conflict Resolution, IX, 4 (December, 1965), pp. 434-35. cited by Clinton F. Fink, "Some Conceptual Difficulties in the Theory of Social Conflict," Journal of Conflict Resolution, XII, 4 (December, 1968), p. 436.

³Clinton F. Fink, "Some Conceptual Difficulties in the Theory of Social Conflict," Journal of Conflict Resolution, XII, 4 (December, 1968), p. 436.

which states social conflict as:

. . . a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents⁴ are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. . . .

Resentment and envy were added to this definition. Resentment was taken to mean a feeling of displeasure and indignation over something deemed wrong. Envy was taken to mean a feeling of intense desire by a person or a group of people for an object or a quantity which was denied or not granted to said person or groups. The resentment came from the families of Fort Greely, aimed at the post teachers over their being accorded "scarce resources," post privileges. The envy was directed from the Delta teachers and those who taught at both schools to the Fort Greely teachers over the post privileges which the Delta teachers were denied. Verbal abuse seemed to be an attempt to injure the opponent or rival. The purpose of this study was to see if it could be shown methodologically that conflict existed as hypothesized in this isolated area which might eventually help social relations therein.

The methods used were structured questionnaires, informal interviews and participant observation. An attitude survey was constructed and administered to families on Fort Greely. A brief questionnaire designed to elicit places of contact was given to all the teachers. Informal interviews were conducted with the teachers who taught at both schools.

Several limitations were placed on the study. The structured questionnaire was neither pre-tested nor post tested and the scores were taken at face value. The informal interviews often reflected the subjective opinion of the person being interviewed. Since the investigator

⁴Lewis A. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), p. 8.

was an involved teacher of Fort Greely, he was not the typical, detached participant observer.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

During the last fifteen years social conflict has been a familiar topic in the sociological literature. Before this however, it was generally neglected by sociologists, or if it was mentioned, only the negative aspects were emphasized. Probably the first to treat conflict as a separate subject without reference to any other was the German sociologist Georg Simmel in his monumental essay. Since the writing of the essay time and time again later sociologists have gone back to Simmel's work as a basic to the approach to conflict.

Simmel stated that interaction in general was a sociation and since conflict is a very intense form of interaction, it is therefore a sociation.⁵ The function of this is "to resolve divergent dualisms," to achieve some kind of unity, "even if it be through the annihilation of one of the conflicting parties."⁶ He stated further concerning the sociological relevance of conflict that throughout history unity has come from counteracting forces and that society results from social forces which are negative as well as positive.⁷ Society needs a ratio of both. His main thesis is that conflict is an integrative force rather than just a disruptive force as it has often been thought. It is a force which draws men together into groups as well as that which drives

⁵Georg Simmel, Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations, trans. Kurt H. Wolff and Reinhard Bendix (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 13.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 15.

them away from one another. Groups require disharmony as well as harmony and conflicts within are not necessarily disruptive forces. Conflicts between groups have a tendency to unite the members of their respective groups.

Lewis Coser has agreed with Simmel in his book paraphrasing some of Simmel's propositions when he stated:

. . .Far from being only a "negative" factor which "tears apart," social conflict may fulfill a number of determinate functions in groups and other interpersonal relations; it may, for example, contribute to the maintenance of group boundaries and prevent the withdrawal of members from a group. . . .⁸

As Simmel stated conflict to be a part of socialization, Coser stated that "social conflict always denotes social interaction."⁹ He went on giving sociologists some advice:

. . .But in the study of a conflict situation in which the interaction is of major concern, the sociologist must investigate the conflict relationship and the exclusive values or divergent interests which the contenders pursue.¹⁰

Coser stated further that there are two different types of conflict, realistic and nonrealistic conflict. Realistic conflict is said to come about from a situation in which persons involved "clash in the pursuit of claims based on frustration of demands and expectancies of gains." Nonrealistic conflict is said to come about when people are deprived and frustrated during the process of socialization and "from later adult role obligations."¹¹ Realistic conflict does not necessarily end in hostility and aggression while nonrealistic conflict, since it is a release of tension, usually does.

⁸Coser, op. cit., p. 8.

⁹Ibid., p. 38.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 52.

¹¹Ibid., p. 54.

Coser also stated that close relationships tend to make conflict more passionate and intense although it is often channeled. In secondary relationships, however, conflict is less intense due to the partial emotional involvement of those involved in the conflict situation. He distinguished among others one particular aspect of group structure, the degree of members' involvement. The United States with its "individualistic type of grouping is conducive to the associational type of grouping in which the members have no other bond with their fellow members than the immediate purpose at hand."¹² In the United States relationships are quite often of the secondary nature and so perhaps social conflict situations other than racial types are not quite so intense as they might be with more personal attachment.

Coser in a later work on conflict further carried on Simmel's thesis by stating that "conflict within and between groups in a society can prevent accommodations and habitual relations from progressively impoverishing creativity."¹³ His thesis in this book is probably that in any social structure when there is an excess of "claimants over opportunities for adequate reward, there arises strain and conflict."¹⁴ In any situation change is inevitable and "change, no matter what its source, breeds strain and conflict."¹⁵

Another publication, Community Conflict by James S. Coleman, which came out shortly after Coser's The Functions of Social Conflict,

¹²Ibid., p. 142.

¹³Lewis A. Coser, Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 20.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 32.

displays specific instances of conflict within communities. While not every event which has a wide range of effects in a community will cause conflict, one of a number of possible responses to crises such as floods, storms, strikes, school problems, political disputes, religious contention, crime waves and so on, is conflict. In fact, Coleman stated:

Many conflicts which appear to be centered around other issues are in fact a result of the existing hostility between two groups in the community. In such disputes, the particular issue involved can hardly be considered a unit in itself--it is only part of a continuing conflict, periodically active, the rest of the time languishing. These antagonisms are vestiges of previous disputes which often leave the community divided and thus load the dice against peaceful resolution of future problems. . . .¹⁶

One type of economic community mentioned was service or resort towns. These are composed of "natives" and "outsiders". The "natives" are a permanent group of residents. The "outsiders" are "sometimes summer residents, sometimes year-rounders, but who in any case have come to town to rest or play, not to make a living." When an incident arises, the responses which are made as a result "seem partly a result of economic resentment (for the 'outsiders' are the primary customers of the 'natives'), and partly a consequence of the extreme social barriers which isolate the two groups."¹⁷ Coleman stated further, based on a study carried out by Rorty and Raushenbush, that isolation was in part responsible for conflict in this type of community. A person's relations with and feelings toward others in a conflict situation become a means of his being drawn into it.¹⁸ The size of the community makes a difference in this case.

¹⁶James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 6.

¹⁷Ibid., p.7.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 18.

Coleman also stated:

. . .As a general rule, it appears that the smaller the town, the more likely people are to be drawn in by existing personal attachments and dislikes whether the dispute is on a high plane, eg., a political campaign where each candidate extolls his own virtues, or has degenerated to the point at which each side castigates the other. . .¹⁹

Ralf Dahrendorf stated in part two of his thoughtful work in a chapter entitled "Social Structure, Group Interests, and Conflict Groups," that conflict must occur "within a context of meaning, i.e., some kind of coherent 'system'." Conflict is inconceivable between "French housewives and Chilean chess players, because these groups are not united by, or perhaps 'integrated into,' a common frame of reference."²⁰ Dahrendorf stated further that one of his central theses consisted in an assumption that a differential distribution of authority is a determining factor of systematic "social conflict of a type that is germane to class conflicts in the traditional sense of this term."²¹ The structural origin of group conflict must be sought through an authority-subjection situation. Dahrendorf later uses the term conflict group in the same sense as he uses class. Imperatively coordinated associations, because of a differential distribution of authority, generate conflict groups. The way authority is distributed in associations is the ultimate cause of the formation of conflict groups.²²

In the next chapter entitled "Conflict Groups, Group Conflicts, and Social Change," from the same book, Dahrendorf reviewed some of the social conflict literature and stated that so far as his study was

¹⁹Ibid., p. 19.

²⁰Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 164.

²¹Ibid., p. 165.

²²Ibid., p. 172.

concerned "'continuing group conflict' will be regarded as 'an important way of giving direction to social change.'"²³ The author further stated that what he called class conflict was any group conflict which was caused by or related to the differential distribution of authority in imperatively coordinated associations.²⁴

In one journal article the writers were concerned with methods of reducing intergroup conflict. The first phase in developing, refining, and testing of hypotheses dealing with intergroup conflicts deals with documentary evidence which is drawn from historical instances of social and political struggles and primary source data which is "drawn from interview and questionnaire studies bearing on industrial conflict situations and factional disputes within social movements, military organizations, political parties, and schools. Of particular relevance would be data on correlates of different demands and practices on the part of supervisors, union officials, military officers, political leaders, and teachers. . . ."²⁵

Some later writers used mathematical game theories in application to conflict. Others also used collective-behavior models in working toward a general multi-disciplined theory of conflict. Two such writers are Anatol Rapoport, author of Fights, Games, and Debates and Kenneth Boulding, author of Conflict and Defense. In a review of some of the current work on conflict, Jessie Bernard stated that a revival in the

²³R. Duben as cited by Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 208.

²⁴Ibid., p. 238.

²⁵Irving L. Janis and Daniel Katz, "The Reduction of Intergroup Hostility: Research Problems and Hypotheses," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, III, 1, (March, 1959), p. 89.

field of conflict study was due primarily to the work of Von Neuman and Morgenstern and the theory of games.²⁶ She went on to say that much of the modern work has been psychologically oriented as in past years. The classical game theory was transformed by Schelling into a theory of interaction. Richardson's collective-behavior model has been espoused by both Rapoport and Boulding.

Of the individual researcher Bernard stated:

. . . In one sense all the researcher does is examine what goes on; actually what he finds is influenced by what he looks for and what he looks for is influenced by the theory--implicit or explicit--with which he begins. This is true of conflict. . . .²⁷

It is important for the researcher to see how conflict is conceptualized and to see the conflicts actually happening within these conceptualizations.²⁸

Bernard said further that much of the sociological work that was taking place was empirical rather than theoretical. It now, however, applies more sophisticated techniques in analyzing data than in the past. She also stated that the controversy that exists "among different schools of conflict is itself a distinctly sociological phenomenon. . . ." It seems the "scientific thinking and researching about conflict may actually change values themselves."²⁹

Another sociologist used structural conduciveness, strain, and integration to measure conflict. He stated that conflict could be expected to occur in communities "characterized by high conduciveness, high strain and low integration." He also pointed out that participation

²⁶Jessie Bernard, "Some Current Conceptualizations in the Field of Conflict," The American Journal of Sociology, LXX, 4, (January, 1965), p. 442.

²⁷Ibid., p. 443.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid., p. 454.

in these situations does not remove strain.³⁰ The existence of strain and low integration among groups along with the basis for differentiation of people in a particular town may provide a "structural basis for the development of intergroup hostility."³¹ He went on to imply that conflict leads to change and the lack of it to stagnation.

Two other writers mentioned the "organizationally significant behavior" which they said must be present in a conflict situation.³² They were concerned with divisiveness, "a propensity to varieties of conflict regarded by the membership of an organization, and hence requiring remedial action."³³ They also emphasized the role of stress and strain in the emergence of conflict.

In a recent journal article, which has already been cited, the author examined the field of social conflict. He argued for an overall general theory of conflict rather than for similar specialized theories which are in abundance. He stated that a general theory would be able to take into account the specialized ones. He added:

. . .The scientific value of a general theory thus lied in its ability to provide greater understanding of each particular kind of conflict than can be provided by the relevant special theory and consequently to provide better account of the entire domain of conflict phenomena than could be provided by the total set of special theories.³⁴

He went on to say there are some writers who of course question the

³⁰William A. Gamson, "Rancorous Conflict in Community Politics," American Sociological Review, XXXI, 1, (February, 1966), pp. 71-81.

³¹Ibid., p. 73.

³²Alan R. Beals and Bernard J. Siegel, Divisiveness and Social Conflict an Anthropological Approach (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 18.

³³Ibid., p. 19.

³⁴Clinton F. Fink, "Some Conceptual Difficulties in the Theory of Social Conflict," Journal of Conflict Resolution, XII, 4, (December, 1968), p. 413.

necessity of a general theory because they feel that aspects of each kind of specialized theories are overlooked. A special theory for some kind of conflict can give greater understanding to "relevant phenomena" than a more general theory. Fink further maintained:

. . . In principle such objections can be overcome by constructing theories which treat the unique properties of each case or of each subclass as specific values of theoretical variables or as parameters defining the limits of special subtheories. If such a theory provides a satisfactory account of both the similarities and the differences among the phenomena in its empirical domain, then it can be judged adequate, no matter how general it happens to be.³⁵

Fink pointed out also that while the special theories are inadequate, the existing "general frameworks" either disagree or are inadequate because of the diversity of terms, concepts, models, and classifications. He said of terminological confusions:

Fundamental to the whole enterprise is the ambiguity of the term "social conflict," since definitions of this term serve to specify, among the other things, the domain of the theory. Presumably, all general theories of conflict have the same domain, their claims to generality resting on their applicability across all kinds of parties or to any socio-cultural locus where conflict phenomena may occur. But since theorists differ widely in their conceptions of what constitutes conflicts, theories which are equally general with respect to types of parties may nevertheless have quite different ranges of application with respect to types of psychological and behavioral patterns. . . .³⁶

He brought out different definitions of conflict, those of Mack and Snyder, Coser, and Dahrendorf to show how definitions vary. Fink used the term conflict very generally as contests, competitions, disputes, and tensions as well as for manifest clashes. Narrow to broad definitions were mentioned as being indicative of a specialist approach or a generalist approach. He then formulated a very broad definition of

³⁵Ibid., p. 414.

³⁶Ibid., p. 431.

conflict which has been cited earlier.

The literature cited here is by no means inexhaustible but it has been used to show what has been written in the field of conflict during the past two decades and that some changes have taken place. It also shows the many varied ideas present in the field. As was shown in the literature, conflict emerges in varied forms and this study was designed to investigate a type of group conflict in a special setting. The purpose of this study, which has already been stated, was not to necessarily carry out further the ideas presented but to merely show methodologically that conflict does exist as stated in the two community setting.

In order to present a clearer picture of the importance of conflict in this remote area where one would not expect it to occur, the growth of the two communities and the interdependence of the people together with a brief description of the historical and social setting was made an important objective.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter was designed to show the concepts employed and their application to the type of conflict hypothesized in the study which was conducted during the 1968-69 school year. The hypotheses under investigation were: (1) That there is conflict because the families on post resent the fact that civilian teachers are given post privileges. (2) That there is disharmony between the Fort Greely teachers and the Delta Junction teachers because the Delta teachers are denied these privileges. (3) That there is disharmony between the Fort Greely teachers and those teachers who teach at both schools because these six teachers are also denied post privileges.

A questionnaire designed to survey attitudes of post families was used in testing the first hypothesis. The attitudes thought pertinent were the attitudes of the military families toward the civilian teachers and whether or not they should have post privileges and attitudes toward the school which might indicate resentment. Some of the items designed to bring out these attitudes were: Civilian teachers should not be allowed to have ID cards. Single civilian teachers should be allowed to live on post. Married civilian teachers should be allowed to live on post. The civilian teachers on post "get by" with things that others do not. School teachers on post show adequate concern for their students. The local school is as good as schools in other communities. Our school does a poor job of preparing young people for life.

Specific, pointed items such as these made up the bulk of the

questionnaire. There was a range of five answers for each of these questions, of which there were sixteen, from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The answers were weighted from one to five or from five to one depending upon the nature of the question. For example, with the item, Civilian teachers should not be allowed to have ID cards, the answer strongly agree would be scored five, agree four, undecided three, disagree two, and strongly disagree one. The item, Civilian teachers should be allowed to live on post, on the other hand, would be scored strongly agree one up to strongly disagree five. In other words when a strongly agree response was desired the weights went from five to one. When a strongly disagree response was desired the weight went from one to five. This gave a possible high score of eighty which would be evidence of unfavorable attitudes, possible resentment, toward the teachers and their having post privileges and toward the school. A possible low score of sixteen indicated that these unfavorable attitudes did not exist. Half of the possible high score was indicative that these same attitudes existed. Six general education items were used as change of pace questions but did not figure in the attitude score.

If a questionnaire is to be useful, brevity is needed. Each instrument for gathering data has an optimal length for its particular population beyond which point interest and cooperation diminish.³⁷ The questionnaire designed for the investigation was brief.

Seven variables that would affect attitudes sought in the questionnaire were decided upon and formulated in these seven questions:

³⁷Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz (eds.), Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1953), p. 49.

- (1) Does the respondent's religion make any difference in his reply?
- (2) Does the respondent's age make any difference in his reply?
- (3) Does the length of time the respondent has been married make any difference in his reply?
- (4) Does the number of children of a respondent make any difference in his reply?
- (5) Does the length of military service or length of time connected with the military make any difference in the respondent's reply?
- (6) Does the respondent's formal education make a difference in his reply?
- (7) Does the length of time the respondent has spent at Fort Greely make a difference in his reply?

Seven items on the questionnaire included these variables. To get a survey that represented the population, the questionnaires were categorized according to sex and rank of the respondent making the total number of the responses thirty-one.

From the investigator's experience with magazine and newspaper mail questionnaires and the fact that a time element existed, it was decided that the questionnaire would be personally distributed from door-to-door and collected in the same manner to insure a good return. Quite often 50 percent of the total number of respondents who reply to any mail questionnaire are those who are better educated and possess "certain other distinctive characteristics." Those who fail to respond "are less educated and similarly distinctive in many traits" making the total response nonrepresentative of the population being sampled.³⁸ One hundred twenty copies were distributed to males and females in alternate homes.

³⁸David Wallace, "A Case For- and Against Mail Questionnaires," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVIII, 1 (Spring, 1954), p. 51.

Instructions were included on each copy of the questionnaire and these instructions were explained to each respondent. The study aims were clearly discussed with the respondents. One writer in a recent article cautioned against disguised observations in sociology, particularly participant observation, but in all social research as well.³⁹ In doing this the person who masks what he is doing "violates terms of a contract which the sociologist should be ready to honor in his dealings with others."⁴⁰

In considering the second hypothesis dealing with the teachers of Fort Greely and the teachers of Delta Junction, a brief questionnaire was designed to see where the teachers came in contact most. The points of contact which were included in the questionnaire generally were: PTA, churches, stores, recreation facilities, entertainment facilities, community organizations, and individual homes. These questionnaires were passed out to teachers of both schools and collected personally. Instructions were on the questionnaires. Comments and questions about the papers were verbally clarified. Seventeen Delta Junction teachers received questionnaires, eighteen Fort Greely teachers received them, and so did the six teachers that traveled back and forth between the two schools.

The questionnaire dealing with points of contact of the teachers was used in testing the third hypothesis also. Since there were only six teachers that taught at both schools, however, informal interviews were used to solicit other information. A more pertinent term for these

³⁹Kai T. Erickson, "A Comment on Disguised Observation in Sociology," Social Problems, XIV (Spring, 1967), pp. 366-73.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 367.

interviews might have been informal "chats." Questions and comments in these "chats" eventually centered around post privileges. These six "marginal" teachers were allowed automobile insignias to drive on post but they were denied ID cards since they were originally hired to teach at Delta Junction.

In addition to formalized procedures employed to gather data, the investigator's position as a civilian teacher as well as formal and informal participation in activities of the area, helped to shape the study and the interpretation of findings.

Chapter 3

SETTING

A description of the historical and social settings of the area under study was included to show the interdependence of both communities and the close relationships that exist. Both the historical and social subsections of this chapter were further divided into sections dealing with the two communities under study, Fort Greely and Delta Junction.

HISTORICAL⁴¹

Fort Greely

The army post Fort Greely has been known as such since August 6, 1955, when it was officially dedicated. The post was named in honor of Major-General Adolphus Washington Greely who achieved fame because of his Arctic experiences in the 1880's and his founding of the Alaska Communications System.

The site itself, however, dates back to 1940 when the Civil Aeronautics Authority selected part of it for an air field, Big Delta Air Field, to serve as an intermediate field for a proposed commercial

⁴¹The investigator wishes to thank the Post Information Office, the Information Officer and the NCOIC for aid in the writing of the history of Fort Greely, and for use of two army pamphlets, 1) Building Alaska with the U.S. Army, 1867-1965, USARAL Pam 360-5, (Hq. United States Army, Alaska, Oct. 1965), 2) The United States Army, Alaska, Ninety-eighth Anniversary, (Hq. United States Army, Alaska, Oct. 1965). He also wishes to thank the editor and publisher of the Delta Junction newspaper for assistance in gathering historical information about Delta Junction.

route. Construction started in 1941 but the site was taken over by the Army-Air Corps that same year. On June 22, 1942, 15 men under the leadership of Lt. William L. Brame, 1st Plt, Co E, 138th Inf, arrived in the area.

Lt. Brame and his men were joined eight days later by an infantry platoon and quartermaster, medical, finance, and signal detachments to become Station 97, Alaskan Wing, Air Transport Command, Big Delta, Alaska. Five days later, Co C, 176th Engineers (GS) arrived with four officers and 176 enlisted men, and the airfield was officially taken over as an Army-Air Force Base.

For the next two years Big Delta Air Field was used as a pickup point for lend-lease aircraft going to the Soviet Union, during the war. American pilots flew the planes here where they were picked up by Russian pilots and flown to the Soviet Union. Other military installations were set up in the interior and the Aleutian Chain to secure protection from a very real Japanese threat. After the war when relations were tense, the various installations were kept operative because of Alaska's nearness to Siberia.

In 1945 Big Delta was put on inactive status, maintained by the CAA and a skeleton Army crew. During the winter of 1947-1948 Big Delta was the site of a joint Army-Air Force maneuver, Exercise Yukon. These maneuvers were brought to a close in March, 1948, and on May 1, 1948, the base was officially transferred to the Department of the Army as an army post.

In November, 1948, Big Delta was named as the site for an arctic training center. The area was chosen because it combines the extreme winter conditions of the Alaskan interior with the greatest variety of

terrain to be found in any similar location--mountains, plains, forests, muskeg, tundra, glaciers, rivers, lakes, and swamps. The post was then redesignated the Army Arctic Training Center on July 1, 1949. At the same time there were designated three separate units, Headquarters company, Army Arctic Indoctrination School, and Army Arctic Training Center. Later in July, 1949, the Arctic Test Branch was established by a cadre activated at Fort Knox and the transfer of personnel from each of the Army Field Forces located in the zone of the interior of the state.

The post began to grow physically. More facilities were constructed--company barracks, warehouses, headquarters building, shops, a power plant, a fire station, dependent quarters, a BOQ, a service club, and a theater. These were semi-permanent type facilities, however. In 1949 the first actual school was held in the service club for military and civilian children. Eleven children were taught the Calvert Course by a chaplain and a sergeant. Later a school facility was constructed on the post which was to serve children from the Fort Greely and Delta Junction communities. The facility is owned and operated by the State of Alaska, however, and not the military.

The post continued to grow and today it has three units, one to maintain it, one to test equipment in cold weather and one to train men for cold weather maneuvers. It is the only army post in the world with its own nuclear power plant. The airstrip is run by the FAA which has a station on post property.

Fort Greely has provided aid to the civilian community when the opportunity has arisen. The Good Friday earthquake of March 27, 1964, the most powerful recorded in North America, was felt at Fort Greely, but no damage was in evidence from the quake. Fort Greely and the other military facilities around the state set into action Operation Helping

Hand to aid those struck by disaster. Arctic Test Center pilots evacuated victims from Valdez, Alaska, and the post offered food, gas, and stopover facilities for those moving by bus. Others at Fort Greely worked to collect and deliver emergency supplies to those in need in Valdez and Copper Center, Alaska. This is but one example of the military in action to aid civilian communities in time of emergency throughout the state. A more current example is the Fairbanks Flood of August, 1967, when aid was again supplied by the various military installations, including Fort Greely. In the spring of 1968 the Tanana River flooded its banks about two miles from Delta Junction. Fort Greely was quick to offer its assistance to pump water off the highway and protect the homes. The post has served Delta Junction on other occasions as well.

Delta Junction

Although the actual history of Delta Junction is more recent than the first installation on what is now Fort Greely, the history of the general area goes back more than one hundred years.

The original settlement which goes back even farther, is an Indian village on the Goodpaster River which branches off where the Richardson Highway today crosses the Tanana River. The area today is located several miles off the highway and about twenty miles from Delta Junction. The investigator was unable to find out details of this village.

The first white inhabitants were trappers named Harper and Bates who explored the Tanana River in the late 1870's (earlier in 1860 Russian traders reached the mouth of the Tanana about two hundred miles northwest of Fairbanks).⁴² Harper and Bates reached a delta area

⁴²Merle Colby, A Guide to Alaska (New York: 1959), p. 207.

of the Tanana about ninety miles southeast of Fairbanks. The Tanana met with what was later the Valdez Trail and eventually the Richardson Highway. Harper and Bates fade out of the picture from this point on, but for some unexplained reason the landing point received Bates' name but not Harper's. Thus, the first name of the area was Bates' Landing and the bluff overlooking the rapids of the river was called Bates' Bluff. This area became a trading point for trappers in the upper Tanana country.

On January 27, 1885, Second Lt. Henry T. Allen, Second Cavalry, United States Army was ordered to lead a party of men up the Copper River and down the Tanana River Valley to obtain information regarding the interior of Alaska about which little was known. Lieutenant Allen was also an early visitor of the area. He reported rather accurately the relatively few Indians that inhabited the area at that time, 500-600.⁴³

In 1905 an Act of Congress created the Alaska Road Commission and gave it authority and funds to survey and construct public wagon roads and trails. Under the direction of Wilds Preston Richardson, the Valdez Trail from Valdez to Fairbanks, which was partly laid out earlier by Captain Abercrombie and which crossed the Tanana River at Bates' Landing, was surveyed and improved and by 1917 was passable to dog teams and horse sleds during winter. This trail, some 370 miles, became known as the Richardson Highway and was the primary road to the interior. Today the highway passes through Fort Greely reservation and Delta Junction on northward to Fairbanks.

In 1942 the Army Corps of Engineers in conjunction with the Canadian Government, began the great Alcan Highway some 1524 miles from

⁴³Ibid.

Dawson Creek, British Columbia to Fairbanks, Alaska. It has been said that this span of highway is the greatest feat of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers since the Panama Canal. The Alaska portion of this mighty span made a junction with the Richardson Highway eight miles south of Big Delta. The military set up a temporary camp at Big Delta during construction of a bridge that crossed the Tanana and eliminated the use of the ferry run established earlier.

With the emergence of a junction of the two highways--the Richardson and the Alcan--the recent history of the civilian community under discussion began. People began to see possibilities for growth at the junction, which was logically called Delta Junction. Slowly but steadily this area began to grow. Its growth was stimulated by the Army installation at Big Delta Air Field mentioned earlier.

In 1948 a man came from Fairbanks and built a lodge called the Buffalo Lodge after buffalo that had been shipped to the area from Montana during the 20's. With the growth in the form of lodges such as this one, Delta Junction offered military people a place for entertainment and relaxation.

In 1954 Delta Junction's first formal organization was formed. This was the Big Delta Volunteer Fire Department which had six members. By 1955, it had grown to 40 members. Also in 1955, January 8, the first permanent newspaper was established, the Delta Midnight Sun, which is still in existence. One other paper, Walker's Weekly, lasted about ten years and competed with the Midnight Sun, but it eventually went out of business.

In 1956 a three acre site was set aside for a school but eventually a forty acre site was selected and in 1960 the first school was constructed in Delta Junction.

On December 19, 1960, Delta Junction became incorporated as a town. The first mayor was elected, or more accurately, the president of the town council. About this same time the post office which was once located in Big Delta, was moved to Delta Junction.

From the time of incorporation to the present, Delta Junction has progressed steadily, but not rapidly, and has interacted with and benefitted from the presence of the nearby Army post.

SOCIAL

Fort Greely

Even though Fort Greely is a small but modern community, it is considerably isolated. The city of Fairbanks is 103 miles away and Anchorage is 340 miles away. Being a small community Fort Greely lacks the variety of life found in larger cities.

Most GI soldiers ordered to Fort Greely are seventeen to nineteen years old, single, and do not want to be there. There are on the other hand, soldiers who request to be sent there. These have the opportunity to bring their families and participate in the activities that resemble ordinary community life. Still others who bring their families view the post as just another duty station. They too participate, however, in the activities available to attempt to make a community life. There are also families of commissioned officers as well as non-commissioned officers who do not take initiative to ease tensions created by being in an unhappy environment.

As in any military environment, the officer-enlisted man dichotomy exists. There is an officers' open mess and a non-commissioned officers' open mess where the respective members go to "eat out", drink,

and have their parties. Officers as well as certain civilian employees who are allowed associate memberships are required to join and pay monthly dues according to rank or position.⁴⁴ NCO's as well as specialists are required to join the NCO open mess. There is an affiliated women's club for each of these, the officers' wives club and the NCO and specialists' wives club which meet approximately once a month and have teas, plan dances, raise money for scholarships for the post high school, and to buy clothes and food for needy families on post as well as in Delta Junction.

The typical work day for the military personnel is from 7:30 to 4:30, the hours of a typical civilian job. From 4:30 on, most of the time, is free time. The clubs are used almost every evening. A tri-purpose building, bowling alley, snack bar, and craft shop is crowded most of the time. High school students as well as GI's are a part of the snack bar setting. The Post Exchange, open five days of the week takes up part of the slack also. It is a relatively small PX, but is stocked with a variety of goods. The Post Theater is also well attended.

For athletic endeavors there is a post gym and two ball fields that are available for various sports depending upon the weather. In the spring and summer Little League and Babe Ruth baseball teams made up of boys from both communities use the ball fields for practice and games. Basketball is a popular winter sport in Alaska as it is elsewhere.

The chapel on post is a relatively new, spacious building that holds early and late Catholic Masses and Protestant services both

⁴⁴The civilian teachers on post pay the same dues as a captain. The superintendent of schools pays the same as a colonel.

morning and evening on Sunday. There are three chaplains, a Catholic chaplain and two protestant chaplains.

Besides the regular Protestant services there is a Protestant Youth of the Chapel group (PYOC). There is also a Sunday School with various classes by age. A Protestant Wives of the Chapel Group (PWOC) meets periodically and serves the immediate community, the civilian community, and areas of overall concern, such as sending articles to soldiers in Viet Nam. The men of the Chapel are less organized but often meet during the week for a breakfast-prayer meeting and social hour. Clergymen from the civilian community often participate in post services.

There is a corresponding Catholic women's group, the Catholic Wives of the Chapel (CWOC), which meets once a month and is very similar to the PWOC in activity. There is no corresponding Catholic youth group. Young people in this age group often attend PYOC activities. When there are men's breakfast-prayer groups, these include both Catholic and Protestant participants.

There are other children's and youth groups on post such as Cub Scouts, Brownies, Boy Scouts, and Girl Scouts. All of these local packs and troops are led by capable and enthusiastic adults. The meetings are held weekly at homes and at the school.

The first school was held in the post service club in 1949 for students from both communities. In the early 50's a complex of quonset huts was used for the school on what is now called "Old Post" about a mile north of the post proper today. This make-shift school was supervised by the state which had established a system of schools on the military installations throughout the state, called today the On-Base

System. In 1955 the first school building was built at its present site. The primary grades stayed on "Old Post" however. The school was called Big Delta School. The name was later changed to Mt. Hayes School; Mt. Hayes overlooks Fort Greely from a distance. Then in 1966 it was finally changed to Fort Greely School.

In the early 1960's more classrooms were built. The Delta Junction students from grades kindergarten to tenth no longer attended the school at this time, however, because the Delta Junction School had been built. On-post children, FAA children, and Delta Junction students grades 11-12 attended the school. The primary grades were then moved from "Old Post." In 1965 the latest wing was added, which included a band room, an industrial arts room, a commercial arts room, a small classroom, and an office complex. During the 1966-67 school year students in grades eleven from Delta Junction went to Delta High School instead of Fort Greely. During the 1967-68 school year the last of the Delta Junction students, the seniors, no longer went to Fort Greely School.

There is a Parent-Teachers' Association chapter with officers selected from the parent group in recent years. The president for the last four years has been a military officer, one Lt. Colonel and three Majors. The other officers of the P.T.A. are first vice president, and second vice president, secretary, and treasurer. There is an executive board that consists of the officers, both the superintendent of schools and the principal, and the high school yearbook advisor (the P.T.A. underwrites the yearbook). The Fort Greely and Delta Junction P.T.A.'s earn money jointly for expenses through a calendar sale. The sale was initiated by Fort Greely but it serves as a major money-maker for both Parent-Teacher organizations.

Delta Junction

Delta Junction is less modern than Fort Greely in many ways. There are still homesteaders in the general area who live in cabins with dirt floors and no running water. Those that live in the immediate incorporated area, however, live in relatively modern homes.

Delta Junction is governed by a city council headed by a mayor. There are six council members and a clerk who is not a member besides the mayor. Meetings are held twice a month and are open to the public. The council is interested in helping Delta Junction grow and it initiates action in this direction. At present there are plans for a new meat packing plant to be located in the interior. Delta Junction along with Fairbanks is being considered as a possible location. The council members draft and send letters inquiring about matters such as this.

There is a fire department which is badly in need of equipment. In the recent past the fire department of Fort Greely has operated for Delta Junction as well. The residents of the civilian community feel the need for a fire department of their own since the climate is very dry and fires are common in winter and particularly throughout the summer months.

Because Delta Junction lacks a theater and a bowling alley, things that Fort Greely has, it is considered even more isolated. Even though a few Delta Junction residents have post privileges because of employment on post, many do not; so, for them other means of leisure time activity must be found. For this reason the activities of formal groups and organizations are important for the void that they seem to fill.

Men of the community have available to them a Lion's Club, an American Legion, a Chamber of Commerce, all of which strive for the

improvement of the community. The Lion's Club and American Legion being part of larger bodies also have more encompassing goals. On the community level for example, the Lion's Club sponsors social activities such as snow machine races. It provides money for families to buy needed items which the families cannot afford. Earlier this year the Lion's Club purchased three pairs of eye glasses for students at Fort Greely whose families could not afford them. The membership includes a few residents of Fort Greely (the commander of the Arctic Test Center is currently an honorary member). This fact and the aid given by the clubs shows some of the formal social relations of the two communities. The American Legion usually sponsors two to four boys from each community to attend Boy's State.

For the women there are the American Legion Auxiliary, the Ladies Community Club, the Deltan Homemakers' Club. The first two are primarily service organizations. The Auxiliary sponsors girls from the two communities at Girl's State and collects clothes for local emergencies and state emergencies. The Ladies Community Club raises money for assistance in various areas. The club raised money for uniforms for the wrestling team at Delta Junction High School. The Homemakers' Club is primarily a social club which has meetings in various members homes.

There are scout organizations for girls and boys which are separate from the post and that have adult leadership from the civilian community. These organizations do work together with those on post from time to time, however, which adds to the programs and makes for closer relations.

Delta Junction being a civilian community there are several churches. Each of these churches has Sunday services as well as other

services during the week. There are also childrens' and young people's groups. These churches are not limited to Delta Junction residents. There are military people that choose to get involved denominationally rather than attend the non-denominational Protestant chapel. Joint services are held from time to time at the post chapel and at various of the local churches. The Protestant Chaplains at the time of the investigation were Baptists, consequently they worked very closely with the First Baptist Church of Delta Junction.

There are several lodges, including, the Buffalo Lodge which has already been mentioned, which are frequented by members of both communities. There are several stores, one a shopping center that does a substantial business because of its wide variety. It is used by military as are other stores in the community when items they need are not to be found in the post exchange and simply because it offers a change.

Delta Junction's first school building was opened in 1960. It was actually too small before it was opened. The Delta Junction students up to grade ten went to this school, grades eleven and twelve went to Fort Greely. In 1963 seven additional classrooms, a gym, a kitchen, and administrative space were added. In 1966 an additional wing was completed and Delta Junction kept its eleventh grade students. Finally in the 1967-68 school year Delta Junction School had all elementary grades and grades seven through twelve as well. The class of '68 was its first graduating class. There are three portable classrooms in use which indicates some growth and that more building is necessary.

The 1969-70 school year started a new era. Delta Junction High School now has all students including the high school age young people on Fort Greely. The post has kindergarten through grade nine.

The Parent-Teachers' Organization of Delta Junction School meets once a month during the school year. Problems are discussed and interesting, informative programs are strived for. A slate of officers is put before the organization near the end of each school year and the general election takes place. The Adult Education Committee of the P.T.A. sponsors classes for interested adults of both communities.

The classes of the school seem to sponsor many activities, dances, carnivals and the like, so that the students have a choice of entertainment since there really are no commercial outlets such as movie theaters and bowling alleys as there are on post.

Athletics, is popular with as many different teams as possible sharing the spotlight. In winter basketball is the main sport. There is a junior high team, a junior-varsity team, a girls team, and a varsity team which compete with other schools, including Fort Greely which because of its size had only a varsity team. With so many teams playing, substantial crowds come to watch.

This then is yet another means of entertainment and relaxation for many in this area which has, in comparison to other communities, very little.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS

Resentment is a common feeling when people feel something they alone are entitled to is given others. People often feel their security is being threatened when this happens. In a situation where community relations are closer than ordinary this resentment can have a noticeable effect.

Harmonious relations between groups are desirable in nearly every community. But when a situation that leads to disharmony comes into existence it is of little consequence in a large community, for disharmony is common between various factions. When social relations are closer than normal, however, disharmony between people or groups may be a disruptive force.

The term resentment has been used in the hypothesis of this study and the term disharmony in the corollaries. The results of the methodology applied to the investigation of the hypothesis and the corollaries will be discussed.

THE FAMILIES OF FORT GREELY RESENT THE FACT THAT CIVILIAN TEACHERS ARE GIVEN PRIVILEGES ON POST

Five respondents to the attitude survey questionnaire lost the original copy and had to be given a new copy. Three others filled in information such as religion, sex, age, and so on but did not fill out the attitude questions; consequently these could not be used. Three

failed to fill the questionnaire out and two refused to participate. One hundred two were thus used to compile results for the study, a total of 85 percent of the number distributed. The individuals who participated seemed interested in helping.

Of the 102 respondents to the questionnaire, there were twelve male officers, forty-three enlisted men, twenty-two officers' wives, twenty-one enlisted men's wives, and four civilian wives. On any military installation there are of course more enlisted men than officers explaining the difference in the figures here. The officer category was smaller because in cases where the officer had not been home and instructions were left, wives sometimes filled out the questionnaire themselves. The enlisted man category was so large in comparison because in some cases where wives were supposed to fill out the questionnaire, they let the husbands do it for them. There were very few civilian families on post and in cases where civilians were involved, wives received the questionnaire. In one instance a male civilian received one but he failed to return it.

The overall mean scores for the five subgroups mentioned as well as standard deviations for each subgroup are found in Table 1 below.

Table 1
Mean Subgroup Scores

Group	Number	Scores	S.D.
Officers	12	41.0	6.9
Enlisted Men	43	47.2	11.5
Officers' Wives	22	43.4	7.7
Enl. Men's Wives	21	45.0	6.6
Civilian Wives	4	40.0	3.4

The overall mean score for the 102 respondents was 44.9, s.d. 10.1; there was a high score of 78 and a low score of 25. With a possible high of 80 and above 40 deemed favorable to the purpose of the study, the score indicated the possibility of the existence of negative attitudes, including resentment, toward the teachers and the school.

Because there were so few officers and civilian wives the male subgroup categories were combined to give a composite of 55 and the female subgroups were combined to give a composite number of 47. The male composite mean was 45.9 with standard deviation of 9.9. The female composite mean was 43.9 with a standard deviation of 7.5. The composites seemed to parallel the original male-female distribution. The focus of the evaluation then centered on the composite scores rather than the scores according to rank. The effects on the intensity of the scores of the variable items mentioned in the methodology section were compiled. Religion, length of marriage, and number of children were found not to affect the intensity of the scores. The other variables results were put into table form.

Table 2 below shows how age affected the questionnaire scores. The male scores decreased with the increase in age of the respondent. The female scores remained practically the same in two categories but scores increased after that. The standard deviations indicated that the male scores were more widely dispersed than the female scores. Age, then, did have some effect on the intensity of the scores. There were no respondents in the 60 or over category, so it was not included in the table.

Table 2
The Effect of Age on Attitude Scores

Composite in Group	No.	Age							
		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-59	
Gp.		No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
Male	55	7	49.0	29	46.0	19	44.6	0	0
	sd		8.6		10.8		11.5		0
Female	47	15	43.6	22	42.6	8	46.6	2	48.5
	sd		4.9		7.8		6.7		10.5
Total	102	22	45.3	51	44.5	27	45.2	2	48.5
	sd		6.8		9.0		10.4		10.5

The results of how length of military service affected the scores are found in Table 3. Males had higher scores with 7-15 years in the military. Females had higher scores with more than 15 years in the military. The standard deviations again indicated that the female scores tended to be bunched more closely to the mean scores than did male scores. Since there were four civilians in the study, there were 98 respondents to this item on the questionnaire rather than 102.

Table 3
The Effects of Length of Military Service on the Attitude Scores

Composite in	No.	Length of Military Service									
		1-3 years		4-6 years		7-10 years		11-15 years		More than 15 years	
Gp.		No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
Male	55	2	44.5	2	45.5	3	49.3	17	49.8	31	43.5
	sd		.7		4.5		6.2		9.6		11.4
Female	43	7	43.3	3	41.7	6	42.5	11	42.9	16	46.6
	sd		3.4		5.3		6.2		6.5		9.2
Total	98	9	43.6	5	43.6	9	44.8	28	47.1	47	49.6
	sd		3.0		5.4		7.0		9.2		12.2

Table 4 shows how formal education affected the attitude scores. As would be expected the majority of respondents, sixty-four, had a high school education. The scores for this group both male and female were higher and they tended to drop sharply with more formal education. One possible explanation for this might be that people with more formal education, particularly college degrees, might tend to be more understanding of the teachers and their work.

Table 4

The Effect of Formal Education
on the Attitude Scores

Composite in Group	No.		Formal Education									
			Through Grade 8		Through Grade 12		Other		Undergrad Degree		Beyond Bach. Degree	
	Gp.	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	
Male	55	0	-	39	47.3	6	43.5	5	42.2	5	41.6	
	sd		0		11.5		11.4		8.2		4.4	
Female	47	1	40.0	25	45.3	9	40.7	9	45.0	3	39.0	
	sd		0		7.7		6.8		5.7		2.9	
Total	102	1	40.0	64	46.5	15	41.8	14	44.0	8	40.6	
	sd		0		9.8		9.2		6.8		4.1	

Table 5 shows how time spent at Fort Greely affects the scores. It would seem that higher scores came when the stay at Fort Greely was from a few months to just less than a year. The "old timers" or those that had spent from ten months to several years had the lower scores. None of the respondents had spent less than a month at Fort Greely so that category was not included in the table.

Table 5

The Effect of Time Spent at Fort Greely
on the Attitude Scores

Composite Group	No. in	Time Spent at Fort Greely							
		1-3 Months		4-6 Months		7-10 Months		More than 10 Months	
		Gp.	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.
Males	55	1	46.0	2	49.0	9	49.6	43	45.0
	sd		0		1		12.3		10.5
Females	47	1	46.0	3	45.7	8	45.6	35	43.2
	sd		0		6.6		8.1		7.0
Total	102	2	46.0	5	47.0	17	47.7	78	44.2
	sd		0		5.4		10.7		9.2

The items on the questionnaire specifically dealing with ID cards and post privileges showed that 27.2 percent of the sample population held attitudes against civilian teachers being given post privileges. With the total married population being around 800 this was viewed as a substantial percentage. This was taken as an indicator of the possibility that resentment did in fact exist. The standard deviation from the tables and the composites indicated that the female scores were bunched more than the male scores around the various means. The mean scores indicated that while the male scores were more scattered they were higher than the female scores.

The above material was added to the fact that the investigator was a civilian teacher at Fort Greely. His teaching experience and his living on post for three years and off post during the time of this investigation had made him a part of any controversy between the military and the teachers. Some of the enticement for teachers on this army post had been that of having post privileges (including living quarters for

single teachers) so as to save money in this high-cost-of-living area. The investigator was sure that some army families resented the fact that some teachers were allowed to live on post and all teachers had privileges when there were military families who did not live on post but in the civilian community instead because of rank high enough to allow them to move on post. During the middle of the 1969-70 school year privileges had been taken away from the married teachers at Fort Greely. The reason given was that they did not live on the army post itself. Many teachers in this category were rather upset, but just as quickly as the privileges had been taken away, they were returned at the order of the post commander. At one time the privileges accorded the teachers at Fort Greely were extended at any military installation in Alaska. This, however, was changed two years ago so that the privileges would only be given at Fort Greely. This along with the entire loss for a brief period indicated that there was a slow trend to cut out the teacher's privileges on Fort Greely. This fact coupled with comments from parents, "I sent my oldest daughter "outside" so she can get a real education," plus comments from teachers, "That _____ army!" and "What are they trying to do to us?" indicated that if the families were resentful of the teachers because of privileges that this feeling might be reciprocated because of the trend to deny these privileges completely. What has been stated above certainly cannot be said to be conclusive evidence that there is resentment between the families and teachers at Fort Greely. It is, however, indicative that there is unfavorable attitudes on post and that the hypothesis seems to be tenable.

THERE IS DISHARMONY BETWEEN THE FORT GREELY
TEACHERS AND THE DELTA JUNCTION TEACHERS
BECAUSE THE DELTA JUNCTION TEACHERS
ARE DENIED POST PRIVILEGES

The brief questionnaire that was designed to elicit points of contact of the Delta Junction teachers and the Fort Greely teachers was not as helpful to the study as was expected. The idea was that the more interaction there might be the more conflict or disharmony there was likely to be between these groups.

Everyone went to his respective PTA with the exception of the six teachers who went to both. As for church attendance, those who went were most likely to come in contact with the teachers of the other school at the Presbyterian Church in Delta Junction although a few came together at the Post Chapel.

The two groups were likely to come in contact at Diehl's Shopping Center in Delta Junction for grocery and other types of shopping. All of the Fort Greely teachers also used the P.X. which the Delta teachers were not allowed to use.

Both groups were able to come in contact at the respective gymnasiums during basketball season. They could have been used for recreation also but generally were not. Under entertainment, The Evergreen Inn and The Trophy Lodge both in Delta Junction were frequented by both groups. They often came in contact at the Trophy Lodge especially for a weekly community-wide bingo night.

There was no contact point for community oriented organizations. Very few teachers of either community belonged to such organizations.

In their homes when they entertained teachers, each group entertained teachers from their own school or schools in other communities

usually. The group came together occasionally in the form of private parties. This also happened infrequently.

There were very few common points of contact, but those in existence quite often indicated a degree of aloofness between the two teachers' groups. In an earlier discussion it was reported that the two respective teachers' organizations had split apart four years ago, after being together for about two years. In September, 1968, the two organizations voted to combine again. At the meeting in which the combining took place there were apparent "hard feelings" even though the vote was 31-8 in favor of combining the organizations. There were catty remarks thrown back and forth and there was an air of uneasiness. More than one Fort Greely teacher in the last four years has spoken of the "unfriendly air" at Delta Junction School when they attended functions. One Delta teacher said, "If you wanted feelings toward Fort Greely, you should have allowed a page for that on your questionnaire." This was said very sarcastically but it probably points up a weakness in the questionnaire itself, a page for such comments could have been provided. Other Delta teachers expressed displeasure of being denied the opportunity to see a movie or to go bowling when they desired, which may indicate the presence of envy.

Despite the probable weakness of the questionnaire, the "aloofness" that existed might be called a form of disharmony.

THERE IS DISHARMONY BETWEEN THE FORT GREELY TEACHERS
AND THOSE TEACHERS WHO TEACH AT BOTH SCHOOLS
BECAUSE THE SIX TEACHERS WHO TEACH AT BOTH
SCHOOLS ARE DENIED PRIVILEGES ON POST

As was mentioned in the methodology section, the points-of-contact questionnaire applied to the six teachers considered under this

hypothesis. The informal interviews led to specific questions concerning post privileges which elicited these comments: "I'm not one of the elite," (this was jokingly said, but nevertheless said), "It would be nice to have one (ID card), we could save (money) considerably," (this person had six children), "I don't mind not having an ID card, but I am against a special privilege for a select few."

These interviews and informal chats indicated the possibility of envy over post privileges, but the existence of disharmony could not really be determined.

SUMMARY

This chapter was divided according to the three hypotheses of the study. Under the first the survey questionnaire was found to show a slight indication that the attitudes of Fort Greely families were unfavorable toward the school and teachers and the fact that the teachers were given post privileges. Four variables were found that affected the intensity of the scores on the attitude questions. These were: age, length of military service, formal education, and length of time spent at Fort Greely. The mean scores and standard deviations of these means indicated that the female scores group more around the mean scores, but in spite of this the male scores were generally higher. It was also found that 27.2 percent of the respondents answered the questions dealing with post privileges in a way that was favorable to the study. Since 27.2 percent of the sample of 102 was representative of a married population of only about 800, this was considered substantial.

The questionnaire administered to the teachers of both schools to find a common contact point was perhaps a little weak in structure

but it did point out a few contact points. With the investigator's interpretation of past and present relations probable forms of disharmony as aloofness were shown to exist as well as statements which might indicate envy. The same questionnaire applied to the six "marginal" teachers as well. Informal interviews were used and the comments as well as close association indicated to the investigator that envy over post privileges probably existed. Any probable existence of disharmony, however, could not be determined by the methods used.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study was to learn more about the social relations of groups in two isolated communities in Alaska by investigating social conflict centered around the civilian teachers of Fort Greely, Alaska. As a member of this group the investigator observed tension in the two communities. The families of Fort Greely and the civilian teachers of Fort Greely often seemed less than cordial. The teachers of Fort Greely and of Delta Junction often didn't seem to get along in meetings or at social functions. There was a "marginal" group of six who taught at both schools who were a part of the problem. There seemed to be intra-group and inter-group conflict present. The investigator hypothesized that post privileges were the cause of the conflict. Civilian teachers were accorded post privileges. The families of Fort Greely were resentful of this and the teachers of Delta Junction were envious. Resentment was defined as a feeling of displeasure and indignation over something deemed wrong. Envy was defined as desirability of something by the person from whom it was denied. The type of conflict involved was termed disharmony to mean "peaceful conflict" as Max Weber called it.⁴⁵

⁴⁵Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed. Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, paperback edition 1964), p. 132.

Some limitations were placed on the study due primarily to the methodology employed. The questionnaire administered to families on post was taken at face value with no test-post test scalability worked out. The investigator was an actual member of the main group involved in the study with the feelings of the group and not as participant observer in the sense usually employed. The persons interviewed were limited in that they presented only the subjective viewpoint of the persons being interviewed.

The historical and social settings were presented of both communities. This was done in order to demonstrate the development and growth of the two areas and the interdependency necessitated by the isolation. This added importance to the study of conflict under such circumstances. Fort Greely has grown from a lend-lease plane station during World War II into a small isolated testing center and military community containing barrack troops as well as military families and a few civilians and civilian families. Fort Greely was shown to be self-contained but, nevertheless, isolated from any large city. Delta Junction has grown to be even more isolated than Fort Greely due to a lack of recreational facilities. Interdependency was shown in the way organizations of the two communities and groups worked together as well as in the way members from each community sometimes participated jointly in a way that benefited both.

The methodology was broken down for each hypothesis. The questionnaire administered to the families of Fort Greely indicated that 27.2 percent of those who filled out a questionnaire were likely to have unfavorable attitudes toward the civilian teachers having post privileges. Twenty-seven percent was taken as a substantial percentage since the

questionnaire was administered to one hundred two out of approximately eight hundred total families. While this was certainly not conclusive evidence that resentment existed, it cannot be ruled out that it is a strong possibility.

The questionnaire administered to Fort Greely and Delta teachers to elicit points of contact pointed out a few points at which members of the two groups came together. The investigator tried to then describe the environment which was created by the two groups. Again no conclusive evidence was discovered but a probable disharmony in the form of aloofness existed between the two groups and it was likely that the teachers of Delta Junction were envious of the post privileges granted to Fort Greely teachers.

The informal interviews and "chats" held with the six teachers who taught at both schools pointed out the possibility that envy existed over post privileges, but it could not be determined from the interviews whether or not disharmony existed between these six and the Fort Greely teachers.

CONCLUSIONS

An investigation of social conflict is important to the study of social relations. Particularly was it important for the two small adjacent communities Fort Greely, Alaska and Delta Junction, Alaska. The isolation of the area made intra-group and inter-group relations more important than otherwise because of closer contact.

Post privileges for purposes of this study had been used to mean "scarce goods", which certainly can be the objects over which social conflict is waged.

If post privileges were a cause of social conflict in this area and the study indicated they possibly were, what would be the result of taking them away completely from the civilian teachers? If the source of the problem were done away with would the problem then disappear? These would be problem questions for further investigation. The present investigator from first hand knowledge feels that solving of the conflict by taking privileges away from the civilian teachers would act as an integrative force between the teachers of Delta Junction and those of Fort Greely supporting Simmel's theory.⁴⁶ This would alienate the post families and post teachers even more, however, and would not help relations in the long run. To help relations arrangements should be made for Delta teachers and residents to also be able to enjoy the facilities on post that are not available to them otherwise, thus allowing post teachers to keep privileges they now have. This would be a giant step in cementing social relations of two closely related communities.

Sociologists have been accused of remaining too detached from social problems.⁴⁷ Since the sociologist is a member of a community and many groups perhaps this detached objectivity does more harm than good. Perhaps a more subjective involvement is necessary today.

⁴⁶ Georg Simmel, Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations, trans. Kurt H. Wolff and Reinhard Bendix (New York: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 17-20.

⁴⁷ Alfred R. Lindesmith, "Social Problems and Social Theory," Social Problems, VIII (Fall, 1960), pp. 98-102.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire given to some of the families on Fort Greely Army Post

This attitude survey is an attempt by the writer to learn more of social behavior and attitudes here on post. It is part of an overall study, including both Fort Greely and Delta Junction, being made by the writer contributing to the writing of his master's thesis through Indiana State University. The results of this questionnaire will be used only by the writer for his thesis and not by Fort Greely School.

Please answer all of the items as accurately as possible. Mark your answers to the items by circling the number of the response which most nearly expresses your feeling.

The writer will pick up the completed questionnaire in two or three days.

Thank you,
Virgil L. Highsmith

1. Sex:
 1. Female
 2. Male
2. Religion:
 1. Catholic
 2. Protestant
 3. Jewish
 4. Other (_____)
 5. None
3. Age:
 1. 20-29
 2. 30-39
 3. 40-49
 4. 50-59
 5. 60 or over
4. Length of marriage:
 1. Less than one year
 2. 1-3 years
 3. 4-6 years
 4. 7-10 years
 5. More than 10 years
5. Number of children:
 1. None
 2. One
 3. Two
 4. Three
 5. Four or more
6. Rank:
 1. Officer
 2. Enlisted
 3. Civilian
7. Length of military service (or as dependent):
 1. 1-3 years
 2. 4-6 years
 3. 7-10 years
 4. 11-15 years
 5. More than 15 years
8. Formal education:
 1. Through grade 8
 2. Through grade 12
 3. Other (_____)
 4. Undergrad degree
 5. Beyond Bachelor's degree
9. Time spent at Fort Greely:
 1. Less than 1 month
 2. 1-3 months
 3. 4-6 months
 4. 7-10 months
 5. More than 10 months
10. A man can learn more by working four years than he did by going to high school.
 1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Undecided
 4. Disagree
 5. Strongly disagree
11. The school should stick to the 3R's and forget about most of the other courses being offered today.
 1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Undecided
 4. Disagree
 5. Strongly disagree
12. The local school is as good as schools in other communities.
 1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Undecided
 4. Disagree
 5. Strongly disagree
13. Our school does a poor job of preparing young people for life.
 1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Undecided
 4. Disagree
 5. Strongly disagree

14. Our teachers are highly qualified for their profession.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
15. The more education a man has the better he is able to enjoy life.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
16. I am satisfied with the education my children are receiving here.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
17. What teachers do on their own time is their own business.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
18. Civilian teachers should not be allowed to have ID cards.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
19. Parents should not be compelled to send their children to school.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
20. School teachers on post show adequate concern for their students.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
21. Fort Greely teachers do not involve themselves enough in the local P.T.A.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
22. The military should have more authority in the operation of Fort Greely School.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
23. Fort Greely School teachers set a good example for their students.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree

24. School training is of little help in meeting the problems of real life.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
25. Single civilian teachers should be allowed to live on post.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
26. Married civilian teachers should be allowed to live on post.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
27. We need more military dependent teachers.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
28. The State and local superintendent should be more selective in hiring teachers for Fort Greely School.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
29. The civilian teachers on post "get by" with things that others do not.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
30. Teachers, if they wish, should be allowed to remain on post during summer months.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
31. Everything being considered, children get a good education at Fort Greely School.
1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Undecided 4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree

Questionnaire given to the teachers of Fort Greely School and Delta Junction School

1. I teach at
 1. Fort Greely___
 2. Delta Junction___
 3. Both___
2. I attend
 1. Fort Greely PTA___
 2. Delta Junction PTA
 3. Both___
3. I attend church at (specific church and location)

4. In the local area I purchase goods from
 1. Diehl's___
 2. Norton's___
 3. Probert's___
 4. P.X. ___
 5. Groceteria___
 6. All Seasons Store___
 7. Commissary___
5. I live at (specifically)

6. I am able to use or attend functions at the following
 1. Post Gym___
 2. Delta School Gym___
 3. Fort Greely Bowling Alley___
 4. Fort Greely Theater___
7. I make use of the following establishments
 1. NCO Club___
 2. Officers' Club___
 3. The Evergreen Inn___
 4. The Buffalo Lodge___
 5. The Trophy Lodge___
 6. Tom's Inn___
 7. The Bay Hotel___
8. I play bingo at (specific location)

9. I belong to the following community organizations (Lion's Club, Church group, etc.)

10. I come in contact with teachers, other than those at the school in which I teach, in my home or theirs.
 1. Yes___
 2. No. ___