A COMPARISON OF THE "RACIAL" ATTITUDES OF WHITE AND
NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN 1940 AND 1948

DISSERTATION

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

A. Introduction

The study of attitudes is often thought of as the central problem in social psychology. The concept of attitude is important because there is much evidence which appears to indicate that attitudes lie behind many of the significant and perplexing instances of man's social behavior. Allport (1) has emphasized this point as follows: "Attitudes are never directly observed, but, unless they are admitted through inference, as real and substantial ingredients in human nature, it becomes impossible to account satisfactorily either for the consistency of any individual's behavior, or for the stability of any society." "Racial" attitudes constitute one of the means by which individual rights and liberties are curtailed and by which injustices and miseries are perpetuated.

The rate of social change is often more rapid in time of war and the years immediately following a war than in normal times. One of the areas in which social change might well be expected to manifest itself in this country is in the matter of "racial" prejudice, for it is doubtful

that there is any other area in which the ideals of the American people on the one hand and their practices on the other are less congruent. Myrdal (43) states as the main conclusion of his important study that "not since Reconstruction has there been more reason to anticipate fundamental changes in American race relations, changes which will involve a development toward the American ideals." Many people believe that these changes in social attitudes are taking place and that prejudice against minority groups is less widespread at the present time than it was before World War II. One of the objectives of the present study is to check the accuracy of such opinion in a rural section in the southwestern part of Tennessee. In general terms, this study seeks to discover whether the attitudes of the white and the Negro high school students in the area under consideration were more favorable to the Negro in 1948 than they were in 1940.

In more specific terms, the hypotheses which were formulated may be stated as follows:

- (1) White and Negro high school students in the area in which the study was conducted differ in their attitudes toward many issues involving relations between the two ethnic groups.
 - (a) These differences are a function of age.
 - (b) These differences are a function of sex membership.
- (2) Measurable differences exist between the attitudes of the white students tested in 1940 and the white students enrolled in the same schools in 1948.

- (a) These differences are a function of age.
 - (b) These differences are a function of sex membership.
- (3) Measurable differences exist between the attitudes of the Negro students tested in 1940 and Negro students enrolled in the same schools in 1948.
- (a) These differences are a function of age.
 - (b) These differences are a function of sex membership.

B. Definition of Attitude

The clarification of the meaning of the term "attitude" is of considerable importance to psychologists, and a number of authors have offered definitions of the term. Sherif and Cantril (43) following Allport (1) and earlier articles by Sherif (47) have reviewed some of the representative definitions of attitudes. They are as follows:

The "attitude" is primarily a way of being "set" toward or against certain things. (Murphy and Murphy) (42).

(Attitude) is readiness for attention, or action, of a sort. (Baldwin) (2).

Attitude -- the specific mental disposition toward an incoming (or arising) experience, whereby that experience is modified, or a condition of readiness for a certain type of activity; (Dictionary of Psychology, Warren) (52).

An attitude is a more or less permanently enduring state of readiness of mental organization which predisposes an individual to react in a characteristic way to any object or situation with which it is related. (Cantril) (13).

An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all

objects and situations with which it is related.
(Allport) (1).

Sherif and Cantril point out that the essential feature of these definitions is their emphasis on a "functional state of readiness".

Rankin (45) emphasized another characteristic of attitudes in his study of religious attitudes. From Rankin's point of view there is one point of common agreement in the various definitions of attitudes,

.....that a very important feature of all attitudes is their relationship to the object of their reference. An attitude is the acceptance or the rejection of an object or idea. Thus an attitude may be a feature of a "great organic drive," or a "muscular set," or of "generalized conduct," and so on. An attitude may be a "prejudiced" or "biased" response, a "preconceived notion," a "fear," or a "threat." Its essential feature, however, is its relationship to the object toward which it is directed, the acceptance or rejection of the object in the thinking of an individual. This, of course, as Warren and Carmichael (14) suggest, is an habitual mode of response, and as Hartmann (12) indicates, is probably rather generally accompanied by an emotional tone.

Sherif and Cantril include both of the aspects of attitudes which just have been emphasized in their five descriptive statements concerning attitudes which they call criteria of attitudes.

1. Attitudes always imply a subject-object relationship.
2. attitudes are formed and formed in relation to objects, persons, and values which may or may not have motivational appeal at first.
3. Attitudes have affective properties of varying degrees.

4. Attitudes are more or less enduring states of readiness.
5. Attitudes range in the number and variety of stimuli to which they are referred.

One additional quotation from Sherif and Cantril on the relationship of attitudes to other similar concepts will help to make the meaning of the term clear.

As commonly used the term "set" is applied to a relatively restricted temporary attitude, or to momentary states of readiness; the word "stereotype" is applied to an intense and rigid attitude, while the word "prejudice" applies to an attitude still more rigid and intense and one generally based on false information. The term "opinion" is generally used to describe an attitude that is or has been expressed and that is based more on objective conditions than a "stereotype" or "prejudice."

The definitions which have been considered thus far all have been concerned to a greater or lesser degree with the response of the individual or with his readiness to respond. Although it is evident that some of the authors of these definitions were aware of the role which attitudes play in perception, it remained for Krech and Crutchfield (31) to make this important aspect of attitudes explicit in their definition. They define attitudes as follows: "An enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual, and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world." These authors already had pointed out that: "There are no impartial 'facts'. Data do not have a logic of their own that results in the same perceptions and cognitions for all people. Data are perceived and interpreted

in terms of the individual perceiver's own needs, own emotions, own personality, own previously formed cognitive patterns." From these statements it follows that attitudes often strongly influence not only responses to a stimulus or situation but also play an important part in the perception of the stimulus or situation, i.e. in determining what the observer will perceive the stimulus or situation to be.

One more point concerning the definition of the term attitudes will be made. Since the introduction of the concept of the intervening variable into psychology by Tolman (51) in 1937 it has, in the opinion of the writer, proved its value in facilitating thinking in the fields of motivation, learning, intelligence, and in other areas. Since the nature and strength of an attitude is no more concrete or capable of direct observation or measurement than is the strength of a habit, for instance, on which Hull (25) has used the intervening variable concept to good advantage, it appears that this would be a fruitful way of thinking of attitudes. Hull has pointed out that the use of symbolical constructs or hypothetical entities or intervening variables meets the requirements of scientific methodology as long as the antecedent and consequent conditions may be observed directly.

In view of the numerous definitions of attitude it hardly seems appropriate for the writer to advance another

definition of the term. Suffice it to say that he agrees in principle with Sherif and Cantril, and with Krech and Crutchfield and further believes that the term attitude may profitably be thought of as an intervening variable.

In scientific usage the term "race" is applied to groups of common origin and common physical type. In the United States the Negro does not satisfy these criteria since his origin is mixed and his physical type varied (30). In the popular sense the term "race" is used to denote a group of people who can be identified by certain characteristics. Often such identification is the basis for discrimination against the group. In this study the terms "race" and "racial" are used in the popular sense. The term "ethnic" is used to convey a similar meaning.

C. The Related Literature

The studies of attitudes which are most closely related to the present study will be summarized. More exhaustive surveys of the literature on "racial" attitudes are to be found in the works of Horowitz (24) and Rose (46). Studies not specifically related to this research but of sufficient importance to merit inclusion will be reviewed. Using these criteria for selecting the studies to be summarized, obviously will exclude many studies of "racial" attitudes, and yet in presenting studies under these major headings, one finds that reasonably representative studies in nearly all of the areas of attitude research are included. Thus some

of the studies involving high school pupils likewise involve the use of the sociometric approach, some the longitudinal approach, some the manipulation of environment or experimental approach, some are simply status studies and so on. The same is generally true of the studies which are included in the "similar methodology" category.

As described in more detail in a subsequent section the general methodology employed in the study consisted of measuring the "racial" attitudes of the students enrolled in seven high schools, returning to the same schools eight years later and measuring the attitudes of the students enrolled at that time and comparing the results thus obtained. This approach will be referred to as the historical method since the passage of time, or those changes which take place in the conceptual framework of time, is considered to be the principal factor which accounts for the differences between two groups. While this methodological approach has not been widely used, it has been used to good advantage in a limited number of studies. These studies will be considered first.

Buck (8) claims to be the first to make a comprehensive historical study of changes in attitudes of a large group of college students over a considerable number of years. Specifically, Buck set for himself the task of determining the differences between the attitudes and interests of a group of college students in 1923 and 1933 as measured by

the Pressey X-O Test (Form B). This test is composed of three parts, one which purports to measure attitudes toward borderline issues of morals and manners, one which purports to measure interests, and the third, anxieties. In 1933 Buck gave the test to 1080 students who were enrolled in the same college at which the test had been given in 1923. The test had been given on the earlier date by Chambers (14), who gave the test to 2,970 cases including 955 Ohio State University students and 2,015 public school children.

Buck's findings are of somewhat less interest to the present study than the methodology which he used, therefore a brief summary of his findings will suffice. Relatively slight differences were found between the total number of indicated anxieties and interests of the 1923 and 1933 groups, but decreases as large as 20 per cent were found in the number of things disapproved of. Buck interpreted this as evidence of a distinct liberalization of opinion. The differences were not as marked between the 1923 and 1933 upperclassmen, juniors and seniors, as they were between the 1923 and 1933 lowerclassmen, freshmen and sophomores.

Buck states that the more liberal attitudes of the lowerclassmen in 1933 than in 1923 appears to be of pre-college origin, and suggests changes in the "mores" of the

population at large, over the decade.

Using the same methodology and some of the same data Pressey (44) extended Buck's study to a twenty year period, 1923 to 1943. In 1943 Pressey administered his X-O Tests to a total of 1,706 students in the same grades as Chambers' sample in 1923 in certain Ohio schools and to the four undergraduate classes at the Ohio State University. The public schools selected by Pressey were not in all instances the same ones used in Chambers' study.

In general Pressey's data indicate a more positive attitude on the part of his 1943 groups, both public school pupils and college students, than in 1923. That is, the 1943 group tended to disapprove of fewer "minor vices" and to "like" more of the items listed on the X-O Test. This trend was most clearly shown by the college students and especially by the college girls. There was relatively little difference in the number of things worried about by the 1923 group and by the 1943 group at any of the academic levels studied. In 1943 there was less worry about natural phenomena such as storms, but more about popularity than in 1923. The interests which increased most might be classified as social amusements.

Over the eight year period from the eighth grade to the senior year of college there were in 1933 and even more in 1943, marked changes in attitudes and interests, the most marked being liberality as regards social taboos as

manifested by the decrease in number of "disapprovals".

Pressey states that the study of specific items seems to support the claim of validity for the test and methodology used. He points out that the results are congruent with certain events which were current at the time of testing, such as the depression in 1933 and World War II at the time of the last testing. And yet while these responses to certain items might have been predicted on the basis of economic, or world conditions, these forces failed to obscure certain persistent trends, some of which have been mentioned.

Pressey makes no apologies for the methodology used in the study. On the contrary he believes that it should be used on a much more extensive scale, extended to the study of more issues, e.g. socialized medicine, public housing, communism, capitalism and so forth. Also studies utilizing this methodology should undertake the comparison of different socio-economic groups, "racial" groups, different areas of the country, perhaps different countries, and over different periods of time.

A third study which employed methodology quite similar to that used in the present study is that of Meenes (35). This investigator worked with racial stereotype of Negro students enrolled at Howard University.

The same list of 84 adjectives which Katz and Braly (29)

and Bayton (3) had used in their studies of stereotypes of students at Princeton University and at Virginia State College were given to 160 Howard University students in 1935 and to 137 in 1942. The subjects were asked to describe ten "racial" groups with appropriate adjectives from the list.

The 1942 stereotypes of the Negro, Jew, Irish, and English were essentially the same as those obtained in 1935. The Negro students' stereotype of the American white man was more favorable in 1942 than in 1935. Thus in 1942 such terms as sportsmanlike, scientifically minded, and individualistic had replaced the terms boastful, deceitful, and ostentatious. While the comparisons of the Negroes' stereotypes of the Negro and of the white man are of primary interest at this time, other differences between the 1935 and 1942 groups were also of some interest. In 1935 the Chinese were considered "sly, treacherous, and revengeful" but in 1942 these terms were used instead to characterize the Japanese. The Germans were regarded chiefly as "scientifically minded and intelligent" by both groups, but the 1942 group also characterized them as "revengeful and treacherous". These terms did not appear in the 1942 stereotype, but in neither year was the picture of the Italians flattering.

Weenes concluded that the responses of his subjects

supported the supposition that the subjects characterized "races in general" and did not think in terms of specific representatives of these "races" when making their descriptions.

The method used by Meltzer (36) in his study of the attitudes of school children toward peaceful and warlike nations is very similar to the method used in the present study. In 1934 Meltzer (37) investigated the nationality attitudes of 2,422 American children. In 1938 he tested 294 children enrolled in grades four through eight and compared their responses with those of 294 children enrolled in the same school and grades in 1934. This school was located in a middle class neighborhood. These numbers were supplemented by 106 additional subjects in the 1934 group and 88 in the 1938 group. The additional subjects for both year groups were drawn from the same low economic level district but not from the same schools. Meltzer asked his subjects to indicate the intensity of their feeling for or against 21 nationalities on a five point scale ranging from intense like to intense dislike. Then they were asked why they responded to each nationality in the way they did.

Meltzer found evidence of a large difference in war and peace consciousness between his 1934 group and 1938 group. However, in spite of the large differences in feeling toward specific nations found in 1938 as compared

with 1934, little difference was found in the total number of nations liked and disliked or changes in the number of nations in the five intensity of feeling categories. Likewise there was little difference between the two groups as to the intensity of feeling toward the United States. Meltzer interpreted this finding to be suggestive of "a constancy in American climate of opinion and the emotional atmosphere in which it is nurtured."

From the standpoint of methodology the principal difference between the studies which have been summarized and studies of the longitudinal type is that in the former, different but comparable subjects are used and in the latter the same subjects are used. The historical type study has the advantage of holding such factors as age, education, and socio-economic status essentially unchanged over the period which the study covers. Of course the longitudinal approach cannot accomplish this. Another advantage of this type study over the longitudinal study is that the factor of selection is not nearly as serious a problem. Using the longitudinal approach differences between results obtained at the first administration of the test and the subsequent measures obtained at intervals over a period of years may be less valid as a result of the difficulty or impossibility of obtaining scores or measures on all of the subjects who initially composed the group. This type of selection factor is not encountered in the

historical study since the investigator simply compares measures obtained on the students enrolled in a certain school, or other group, and at a later date obtains measures of the pupils enrolled in the school at this later time.

A major advantage which the longitudinal type study has is that it uses the same subjects in the retest and thereby renders less probable the chance of unknown differences between the group tested the first time and the group tested at subsequent times going undetected. That is, when using the longitudinal method one does not have to make the assumption that two groups are comparable simply because the members of the second group are enrolled in the same organization or school in which the first group had been enrolled several years before. The investigator who uses the historical procedure should ascertain when possible whether migration or other factors have been such as to account for differences which may be found between the measures taken at widely separated times. The investigator who uses the longitudinal method may properly speak of changes which have taken place in his subjects; the investigator who uses the historical approach, while the recipient of the advantages already mentioned, should nevertheless be cautious in speaking of changes having taken place and for the most part confine his statements to descrip-

tions of differences between the earlier and later measures. It is clear that the methodology of a study should be selected on the basis of the information which is desired. The historical approach and the longitudinal approach are useful in finding the answers to different problems.

Since the longitudinal methodology is similar to that used in the present study several studies using this approach will be summarized. One of the outstanding studies in which this methodology has been used is that of Murphy and Likert (41). In 1929 and 1930 students enrolled in the first course in psychology at Columbia University and at the University of Michigan were given a "Survey of Opinions" on public issues. The 67 items of the test are concerned with political, economic, religious, interracial, and international issues. Approximately five years later 76 persons from the Columbia group and 53 from the Michigan group took the test again. Considerable biographical material concerning the respondents was obtained and the reasons for changes in opinions were requested of the respondents.

Both groups showed what the authors described as a "general radical drift" with the change in opinion of the Columbia group greater than that of the Michigan group. The authors state that the shift toward a more radical point of view did not appear to be in the nature of an individual protest against economic hardships of the depression, but an

attempt to see the social situation broadly and to respond in terms of a questioning or challenging attitude in relation to the social order.

Most of the investigators who have used the longitudinal approach have been primarily interested in changes in the factor of "liberalism-conservatism" although in some instances attitudes toward the Negro have been measured incidentally. This is true in Jones's (28) study. Jones conducted a longitudinal study of "conservatism-liberalism" in attitudes of college students enrolled in a small New England liberal arts college. The attitudes investigated were: attitude toward the Negro, attitude toward war, attitude toward religion, and attitude toward the church. The Thurstone scales were used to measure these attitudes.

The study extended over a six year period during which two college classes were followed over the four years of their attendance at the college. Two other groups were studied for shorter periods. Jones found changes toward a more "liberal" attitude in the case of all attitudes measured except the attitude of the students toward the Negro, which remained unchanged.

Positive but non-significant correlations were found between "liberalism" and intelligence as measured by the American Council on Education Psychological Examination.

Most studies which have investigated the change in

"liberalism-conservatism" have used college students as their subjects and have found that their subjects become more "liberal" as they progress through college. Three representative studies of this nature will be summarized briefly. Bugelski and Lester (9) gave an Opinion Test devised by Jones (27) to 221 students at the University of Buffalo when the students were freshmen, again when they were seniors, and a third time three years after graduation. The 25 items of the test were concerned with matters of national and social optimism, labor problems, economic status, social life and convention, and religion.

These investigators found a significant change from the freshman year to the senior year in the direction of greater "liberality". Three years after graduation the group was no less "liberal" than it had been during its senior year of college. No reliable differences were found to be associated with sex membership. Correlations between intelligence and "liberality" and between change toward a more "liberal" point of view were low.

In a similar study Corey (16) administered Thurstone's Attitude Scale toward the Church, Communism, Evolution, God, Patriotism, and War to 234 university freshmen. Scores on the Ohio State Psychological Examination were obtained also. One year later the attitude tests were taken again by 100 of the students. The differences between the first testing

and the second testing on all of the scales were in the direction of more "liberal" attitudes but none of the differences was sufficiently large to reach statistical significance. Only one of the correlations between change in attitude and intelligence, or college aptitude, was statistically significant. This was a correlation of $-.40$ between Ohio State Psychological Examination scores and change in attitude toward communism, that is, the higher the intelligence score the less was the tendency to change one's point of view toward communism. This correlation includes changes both for and against communism. The critical ratio obtained when the mean scores on the attitude toward communism pre test and end-test were compared was 2.64 and in the direction of a more sympathetic attitude toward communism. A critical ratio of 2.576 is sufficient to indicate significance at the one per cent level of confidence. None of the changes on the other tests were significant at the five per cent confidence level.

Another study which is concerned with changes in the attitudes of college students but one in which the cross sectional approach was used instead of the longitudinal is that of Boldt and Stroud (6). They administered the Harper Test of Social Beliefs and Attitudes (21) to 738 students or approximately 60 per cent of the students enrolled at Kansas State Teachers' College. Items on the Harper test

are concerned with such matters as wealth and property rights, internationalism, politics, government ownership, capital and labor, social problems, and religion. The sophomores were found to be more "liberal" than the freshmen, the juniors more "liberal" than the sophomores, and the seniors more "liberal" than the juniors. The writers emphasize the probability that this systematic increase in "liberality" resulted from the training which the students received in college, although they admit that such an interpretation is not forced by the data.

A considerable number of investigations of "racial" attitudes have been conducted at all educational levels. It is clear, however, that many more have been conducted at the college level than at the high school level. It is reasonable to suppose that college students have been used more often as subjects in this type of research largely because they were more readily available to the investigators, who usually were affiliated with a college in some capacity. While a high school group is somewhat selected and not strictly representative of the community, in fact not truly representative of the age group of which it is a part, there is obviously a greater factor of selection in college groups. It is likely, therefore, that results obtained in studies using high school students as subjects have more generality than those in which

college students are used.

Several studies of the "racial" attitudes of high school students will be considered. Beckham (4) studied the attitudes of Negro children in the first two years of high school toward discrimination against them by other ethnic groups. His subjects were 250 pupils enrolled in Chicago public schools, the median I.Q. of the group being .90. The basis for selection was not stated. Also he had a group of 100 delinquent Negro adolescents and a group of 100 Negro adults, but our interest at this time is primarily in his non-delinquent high school group. The measuring instrument which he used was less structured than most of the conventional attitude scales. It consisted of seven questions to which the respondent could reply in his own words. These responses were later categorized on the basis of their content by the investigator. The first item on Beckham's questionnaire asked, "At what age did you experience your first humiliation because of racial prejudice?" The answers to this question for those who had had such experience ranged from seven years to fifteen years with the mean at eleven years of age. Sixteen per cent of the pupils denied that they had had such an experience.

The second question inquired into, "What actually happened to make this humiliation?" The responses were

classified into several categories. Thirty-one per cent fell in the "individual" category which included disagreeable personal experiences, such as being called objectionable names, having to fight, etc. Twenty-six per cent of the responses were classified as "group" experiences which included discriminations such as segregation. The third category was called "economic" and included discrimination against the individual in securing employment. This type of humiliation was experienced first by five per cent of the pupils. Of course, it does not follow that only five per cent of the pupils had experienced economic discrimination. Here we are dealing with first experiences of discrimination as recalled by the student. The remaining responses fell in the "miscellaneous" or in the "no reported humiliation" categories.

The next question was concerned with the effect the humiliation had on the person. Fifty per cent of the subjects reported that the humiliating experience had no effect on them. From the psychologist's point of view this does not seem at all plausible, but here we are attempting to view the matter phenomenologically, or from the point of view of the experiencing individual in so far as he is willing and able to reveal his experiences. Even so this answer suggests that the subjects may not have been highly enough motivated in answering the questions to attempt to

describe the effect that their first experience with "racial" prejudice had on them and consequently answered "none". The responses of 14 per cent of the group were classified as "hostility or resentful", seven per cent, "sadness"; seven per cent, "race consciousness"; and the remaining answers were classified in one of the following categories: withdrawal, ambition, miscellaneous, and other emotional states.

The fourth question asked the subject to, "describe any changes within you either in reference to school, home or elsewhere because of your humiliation based on 'race' prejudice." Forty-four per cent said that they knew of no such changes. About one-fourth of the responses were classified in the "personal achievement" category, about one-eighth in the "aloofness" category and the rest were evenly distributed among five other categories. Questions five and six dealt with the feelings of the Negro pupils concerning prejudice against them on the part of white teachers. Forty-four per cent said that they had no experiences with white teachers who were prejudiced against them; forty-three per cent said that they had had experiences with few prejudiced white teachers, and ten per cent said that they had had experiences with many prejudiced white teachers. The remaining three per cent did not answer the question.

When asked in what way white teachers showed their prejudice, the most frequent reply was "grading". This response was given by 27 per cent of the pupils who said that they had been the object of "racial" discrimination. Thirteen per cent said that "racial" prejudice had manifested itself in each of the following ways, seating, too little sympathy, and making derogatory remarks about Negroes in the classroom. No other single manifestation of prejudice was listed by more than seven per cent of the pupils.

The final question asked how frequently "race" prejudice was discussed in the pupils' home. Fifty-three per cent said that "race" prejudice discussions seldom took place in their homes. Twenty-six per cent said that the subject was never discussed, and 21 per cent said that "race" prejudice discussions took place frequently in their homes.

This study has been presented in some detail because of its unique qualities. Beckham's work perhaps gives more information concerning how the Negro high school pupil feels about discrimination than any other study. It is doubtful, however, that one should put very much confidence in the accuracy of the pupils' memory and alledged causal relationships. Such things are notoriously inaccurate, but this study is believed to have considerable value in revealing to the white man how these Negroes viewed prejudice against the Negro and how they thought they reacted to it.

In one of the more comprehensive studies of the "race" attitudes of junior and senior high school children, Minard (38) sought to measure the attitudes of 1352 Iowa school pupils. An attempt was made to include a fairly representative sample of the school children of the state. To this end, the subjects were drawn from the following types of locations: (1) a small town with intimate rural contacts, (2) a county seat town, (3) a suburban district, (4) and a fairly large city.

Thirty-two tests were constructed, approximately half of which dealt with attitudes toward the Negro. Each test consisted of a paragraph describing a situation involving "race" relationships. Following this paragraph were five or six questions to which the respondent indicated the degree of his approval or disapproval on a five point scale.

In an effort to establish a criterion against which he might evaluate the responses of individuals or groups Minard asked 140 judges to indicate which responses indicated the most desirable attitudes from the point of view of social and moral progress. Stated differently, Minard attempted to ascertain what the "right" answers to his test items were. He selected his judges from two main groups: (1) those working for better "racial" relations in an organized manner, (2) special students in this field interested in (a) the scientific study of social problems

with emphasis on those existing in the field of "racial" adjustment (b) the philosophic or scientific evaluation of various factors and criteria of judgment.

Only forty-five of the 140 judges agreed to participate. This introduces a section factor of unknown magnitude. The replies of the forty-five judges were used in constructing a normative measure with which to evaluate the attitudes of the pupils. At least 60 per cent agreement by the judges was required in order to establish a norm for an item.

Minard found large individual differences among school pupils with respect to "race" attitudes. He found that "race" attitudes of the average Iowa high school pupil fall far below the attitudes of expert opinion, as exemplified by the replies of the judges. In interpreting his data Minard points out that it appears to be possible to distinguish rather clearly in some cases between two aspects of "race" attitudes: (1) the higher thought processes connected with attitudes, and (2) the emotional factors tending to determine fundamental preferences in conduct. In general, so far as the "race" attitude of the pupil is concerned with matters of ethical choice, information, and rational judgment, he found that it improved up to the tenth grade. To the extent that "race" attitude is a matter of personal preference or feeling, it tended to fall away from the standard established by the judges in the average individual during the

adolescent period. Minard states that this is probably due in part to the individual's developing social consciousness whereby he becomes responsive to the conditioning influences of the group to which he belongs.

Minard's data did not indicate that sex was an important determiner of attitudes although there was a tendency toward greater variability among the boys than among the girls. Intelligence as measured by the Otis Self-administering Tests of Mental Ability was found to be positively correlated with a desirable race attitude, but many variations in attitudes among those of the same intelligence level were in evidence. The correlation coefficient was .34. Socio-economic level as measured by the Sims Socio-economic Status Score Card appeared to be virtually unrelated to desirable "racial" attitudes within the range of the Iowa communities studied. The correlation coefficient in this instance was .03.

Williams (53) studied the changes which took place in the "racial" attitudes of white and Negro girls of high school age as a result of the manipulation of their social contacts with each other. The girls of both ethnic groups were members of the Y.W.C.A. in New York City; however, the white girls belonged to one branch of the organization and the Negro girls to another. Fifty-six white girls and 61 Negro girls were involved in the experiment either as

members of the experimental or control group. The inter-racial project was planned largely by the girls themselves and was carried out over a period of two months. At the beginning of the experiment an attitudes test was administered and at the end of the experiment it was administered again. The test consisted of 23 items most of which described relationships of a social nature between Negroes and whites. In each item the respondents were asked to indicate the degree of their approval or disapproval of the matter proposed on a five point scale. The following item is representative of the type of items included on the test, "Jane, a white girl, invites her friend, a colored girl, to her home for a social visit." The respondent could answer either strongly approve, approve, undecided, disapprove, or strongly disapprove.

During the two months period when the experiment was being carried on the two groups spent an afternoon together in Harlem, the Negro group entertained the white group, and the white group reciprocated. At one of these social gatherings the girls exchanged views on the relations which they felt should prevail between the two ethnic groups.

Williams arrived at a score on her test as a whole by assigning values from one to five to responses depending on how favorable the response was to the Negro. Thus in the item which already has been quoted, a value of five was

assigned to the response "strongly approve" and a value of one to the response "strongly disapprove". The values four, three, and two were assigned to the intermediate responses as appropriate.

In the writers' opinion the use of this system of weighing the responses assumes an equivalence both of the items and the distance between the five possible ways of responding to each item; in neither instance was equality demonstrated to exist. Subject to this limitation, Williams was able to show statistically reliable differences between the white experimental group and its control in the direction of a more favorable attitude toward the Negro. Although she was not able to control all variables other than the planned contacts between the two ethnic groups Williams believes that the results can be attributed largely if not wholly to these contacts. The attitudes test was not well suited to the task of measuring changes in the direction of the Negro girls attitudes toward the white man, but Williams concluded that such changes were in evidence.

Social distance scales such as that devised by Bogardus have been used extensively in attitude research. These instruments, it would seem, do not measure exactly the same thing which is measured by the conventional attitude scales although there is a positive relationship between the two. As the name implies the question which the subject must

answer on the social distance test is how close a social relation with a certain group he would tolerate. The attitude scale deals more with favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward a group. The difference between these two measures can be made clear by an example. A subject might hold prejudiced attitudes toward the English, French, or Germans, but nevertheless not feel socially superior to members of these nationalities and on a social distance scale admit them to fairly close social relationships such as permitting them to live in his neighborhood.

One of the instruments used by Zeligs (55) was a social distance scale. Her study was of the longitudinal type and also included some high school pupils. Zeligs (54) studied the changes which took place in the "racial" attitudes of a group of Jewish children between 1931 and 1933 and between 1933 and 1937. In the earlier studies Zeligs and Hendrickson (57), (58), (59), and Zeligs (56) studied the attitudes of two hundred sixth grade children from a superior residential section of Cincinnati, Ohio. In the present study Zeligs selected twelve pupils whose scores on a test of social distance known as the Racial Attitudes Indicator showed them to be representative of the larger group of which they were a part. The techniques used in the measure of attitudes in the study were intensive personal interviews, as well as the Racial Attitudes Indicator. Measures were

taken when the pupils were in the sixth, ninth, and twelfth grades. Zeligs' results showed little change in racial tolerance during the six year period. Most of the races toward which favorable attitudes were expressed when the group was in the sixth grade were again mentioned in the same way when the group was in the twelfth grade. Moreover, the reason given by the group, when asked why they felt the way they did, were essentially the same when the subjects were high school seniors as they were when they were high school freshmen or in the sixth grade. As would be expected, Zeligs found the factual basis for the attitudes often to be superficial and in many cases erroneous. The only national group toward which an important change was shown was toward the Germans and this was in the direction of less tolerance. This change is easily understood in view of the treatment which Jews were receiving in Germany at this time, 1937.

Perhaps the instruments which have been used in more studies of attitudes than any others are the attitude scales devised by Thurstone. Corey's study using several of the Thurstone scales has already been summarized. A study of the attitudes of high school pupils wherein one of these scales was used was conducted by Smith (50).

Smith administered the Thurstone scale for Measuring Attitudes Toward the Negro to 110 white high school students

105 American Indian students from the Haskell Institute, and 13 Negro high school students. The white and Negro students were enrolled in the high school in Lawrence, Kansas. Haskell Institution is located in the same city although the Indian students came from various regions of the country. This Thurstone scale is composed of sixteen items with weights varying from 0.0 to 10.3. The weights were assigned by the usual Thurstone method. The higher the value the more favorable is the attitude toward the Negro considered to be.

The differences between the mean scores on the scale were not found to be significant. However, Smith points out important differences between the whites and Negroes, which apparently were obscured by computing a score on the test as a whole. For example, on one item seventy per cent of the white group accepted the statement while only seven per cent of the Negroes did; on another item seventy per cent of the Negroes agreed with the statement and only fifteen per cent of the whites agreed. Responses to several other items were nearly as large. Yet the mean score for the Negroes was 7.5, for the whites 6.2 and for the Indians 6.8. It is clear that scores on an attitude scale as a whole may give an impression of agreement between two groups which is not borne out when the responses to the individual items are considered. Of course, having only fifteen subjects in one

group requires that mean differences be large in order to justify rejection of the null hypothesis.

The responses of the Indians were much more like those of the whites than those of the Negroes.

Smith summarized his results by saying that the point of disagreement seemed to be in the main that the Negro subjects felt that the Negro was fit for and deserved social equality and opportunity for full association with the white man, while the whites and, to only a slightly lesser degree, the Indians disagreed.

Campbell and Stover (12) used both a Thurstone type and a Bogardus scale as well as other measures. The research on the effectiveness of teaching international-mindedness in high school social studies reported by these investigators is composed of two studies. The first is concerned with changes in the attitudes of the pupils toward the Germans, the Chinese, war, and internationalism as a result of teaching designed to achieve this end. The second experiment, which more closely relates to the present study, sought to determine the effectiveness of the use of visual aids, specifically, the opaque projector, in teaching more liberal attitudes toward other nationalities and toward the Negro; changes in international attitudes were measured also. The instruments used to measure changes in these three areas were Bogardus Racial Distance Scale,

Hinkley scale of Attitude toward the Negro, and the Neumann-Kulp-Davidson Test of International Attitudes.

Both the control group and the experimental group received instructions designed to produce more liberal attitudes as measured by the tests. The instruction of the experimental group was supplemented by pictures projected on a screen. Both groups showed statistically significant gains on all measures taken. The differences between the "visual" and "non-visual" groups were not as great. Differences between the attitudes of these two groups toward the Negro were not large enough to reach statistical significance. The same was true of international attitudes; however, significant differences between the scores of the "visual" and "non-visual" groups were noted on the Bogardus Racial Distance Scale.

The writers concluded that their experiments confirm the contention that international and interracial attitudes can be influenced by instruction designed to achieve this objective and that visual aids appear to have value in changing certain types of attitudes.

Blake and Dennis (5) studied stereotypes concerning the Negro of 324 elementary and high school pupils. Their subjects were white public school children enrolled in grades four through eleven at a consolidated school on the outskirts of Charlottesville, Virginia. Their principal

objective was to ascertain what differences could be found between the children's stereotypes of the Negro at different grade levels. The measuring instrument used was not the same as that devised by Katz and Braly (29) and used by Bayton (3) and by Meenes (35), although it is clear that the writers believed that their instrument measured essentially the same thing as that used in these earlier investigations of "racial" stereotypes. Blake and Dennis included each of their descriptive terms in a sentence; an example follows: Who is more religious? the Negro - the White - no difference - don't know. Forty-nine descriptive terms were included in items of this kind.

The results of the study were interpreted to indicate a tendency for children in the lower grades to hold a relatively undifferentiated or general attitude unfavorable to the Negro. With increasing age the pupils appeared to select more carefully the adverse terms which they felt described the Negro more adequately than the white man. The writers point out, however, that while at the high school level pupils attribute to the Negro some desirable qualities, one should not lose sight of the fact that the majority of the traits attributed to Negroes by the high school students were undoubtedly regarded by them as unfavorable.

The study which is most closely related to the present study is that reported by Boynton and Mayo (7) and Mayo (34).

This study consists of an analysis of the attitudinal responses of approximately 1,000 high school students in Tennessee. These data constitute part of the data used in the present study. A full description of the sample tested and the measuring instrument used is given in Chapter II. In general, the objective of the study was to compare the attitudes of the white students and the Negro students toward the Negro. The measuring instrument was constructed in such a way as to include in its 24 items many of the circumstances which furnish possibilities for conflict between white people and Negroes. The test was given to 1,006 white and Negro high school children in three schools for whites and four schools for Negroes.

Primarily, the method used in analyzing the data was that of comparing percentage differences and indicating critical ratios which were indicative of statistical reliability. There is less than one chance in a hundred of a reversal in a comparison which yields a critical ratio of 3.83, and all critical ratios greater than this number were taken to indicate statistical significance.

The results were divided into groups on the basis of "race", sex, and age. From these groups nine comparisons were made. These comparisons involved the difference in attitudinal responses between all white subjects and all Negro subjects, white boys and Negro boys, white girls and

Negro girls, white boys and white girls, Negro boys and Negro girls, "younger" whites and "younger" Negroes, "older" whites and "older" Negroes, "younger" whites and "older" whites, and "younger" Negroes and "older" Negroes. The "younger" groups included those students who were less than 17 years of age, and the "older" groups those who were 17 years of age or older.

On the basis of these comparisons the following conclusions were drawn:

1. There was general disagreement between the white students and the Negro students as to the place the Negro should occupy in the social structure.
2. The Negro subjects tended to take the position that the Negro should have more rights than the white subjects believed he should have.
3. Sex did not appear to be an important factor in determining the "racial" attitudes of the Negro subjects.
4. There seems to be some evidence to indicate a slight tendency for sex membership to play a more important part in determining the "racial" attitudes of the white subjects than in determining the "racial" attitudes of the Negro subjects.
5. There was some evidence to indicate that the white girls had a slightly more favorable attitude toward the Negro than the white boys had.
6. Difference in age did not appear to be a significant factor in determining the "racial" attitudes of the white subjects.
7. Difference in age appeared to be a more important factor in determining the "racial" attitudes of the Negro students than in determining the "racial" attitudes of the white students.
8. There was evidence to indicate that there was a ten-

dency for the "older" Negroes to believe that the Negro was worthy of occupying a higher place in society than the "younger" Negroes believed he was worthy of occupying.

9. The two ethnic groups differed much more on items which related to social equality than to any other relationships measured.

Three studies not closely related to the present study from the standpoint of methodology or educational level of subjects but of sufficient importance to merit inclusion will be summarized. The first of these is the classic study of "racial" attitudes by Lasker (32). This study, while making no claim of objectivity, is one of the more comprehensive studies of "race" relations which has been undertaken. The principle source of information was responses to a questionnaire which asked for anecdotes and observations made by respondents. These data were supplemented by impressions growing out of group discussions by interested persons and by shrewd conjecture. The end product was a book which gives reasonable answers to such perplexing questions as: What "race" attitudes do children have? How are these attitudes acquired? How are "race" attitudes taught? and how may "race" attitudes be modified?

Due to the subjectivity of the data from which the generalizations were drawn and on which the applications were based, the principal value of the study lies in the numerous hypotheses concerning "race" relations which may be derived from it.

Both of the two remaining studies are important attacks on the problem of the development of "racial" prejudice. One of these studies was made by Horowitz (23) and the other by Criswell (17).

Horowitz's study of the development of attitudes toward the Negro is of special interest because some of his data were collected in Tennessee. He does not give the name of the community but only states that this sample was from an urban area. The other subjects lived in one of the following localities: New York City, rural Georgia, or urban Georgia. These samples included children from kindergarten through the eighth grade. All were boys.

Horowitz used three measures, all of which utilized photographs of Negroes and whites. The photographs were selected by judges who had had extensive contact with both ethnic groups. The photographs were judged to be representative or typical with generally pleasant facial expressions. Two of the measures, which Horowitz called the Ranks test was simply to rank the photographs according to which ones the child liked best. For the Show Me test the children selected companions for a variety of imagined situations, such as, sit next to you on a street car, be in your class at school, play ball with, come to your party, and eight other situations of this kind.

The third test used, the Social Situations test, con-

sisted of thirty-nine pictures of children participating in activities. The scenes included playing marbles, choosing sides for baseball, ice cream parlor scene, and eating dinner. Fifteen of the pictures included four white boys and no Negroes; then the same picture was made again with a Negro boy substituted for one of the white boys. The remaining nine pictures included three Negroes and two whites. The subject was asked to look at each picture separately and report whether or not he wanted "to join in with them and do what they're doing along with them." The responses were graded on a three point scale and the scores for the pictures including Negroes compared with the scores on the pictures which did not include Negroes.

Contrary to the findings of Moreno (40), whose sociometric approach failed to detect "racial cleavage" until about the fifth grade, Horowitz found prejudice against the Negro present at the kindergarten level. He also tested a few subjects who were three and four years of age and found evidence suggestive of "racial" prejudice at this level as well. "Racial" prejudice appeared to begin very early in life and develop gradually. The growth curves tended to show no sharp breaks. Intercorrelations among the tests increased with advancing age. Horowitz's findings deemphasize the importance of specific experiences with members of other ethnic groups in the formation of attitudes and

suggest that contact with attitudes of the majority group concerning the minority groups may be more important than contact with the members of the minority group. Thus little difference was found between the amount of prejudice displayed by groups that had had extensive contacts with Negroes and those with practically no personal contact except for some few children in whose home there were occasional Negro cleaning women; contact at school with one popular Negro boy in the fifth grade for four months led to no measurable change in attitudes as measured by the tests used. Also contrary to the findings of many studies, no differences were found between the southern samples and the Northern sample. Moreover, differences between the urban and rural children were not detected.

Of course, the mere fact that Horowitz did not find differences does not necessarily mean that none existed. It may be that his instruments of measurement or methodology were not adequate to reveal such differences.

Among the first applications of the sociometric technique was its use in the measurement of "racial cleavage" in the classroom. The initial work using the sociometric approach was done by Moreno (40). His results failed to show classroom cleavage along "race" lines earlier than the fourth grade. However, the number of Negro children in Moreno's groups was small, most of the classroom groups having not more than one or two Negro pupils in them.

Criswell (17) sought to determine the relationship between the proportion of Negroes to whites and the acceptance of the members of one ethnic group by members of the other ethnic group. She used the sociometric technique, followed by an interview. In the former the pupils were asked to designate the pupil whom they would most like to sit by and also their second choice, that is, the pupil whom they would next most like to sit by. The study is non-longitudinal. Her subjects were elementary school children enrolled in the public schools of New York City. The percentage of Negro children in the classroom groups ranged from nine to ninety-five.

Criswell found evidence of preference on the part of white children for other white children in her youngest subjects. The pupils in the three lowest grades came nearest "racial fusion", and this could be traced primarily to the interracial friendliness of the Negro children. Mutual withdrawal of the two ethnic groups became consistent at grade five. There was a tendency for interracial relationships to occur more frequently in classes having fewer Negroes than whites than in classes in which the Negroes were in the majority. The reason which Criswell suggests is that in this type of situation the white children were able to choose more spontaneously into the Negro group.

Criswell found a difference associated with sex membership in responses of the majority group which seemed to depend on the size of the minority group. Girls tended to accept small minorities more readily than large minorities, while boys accepted members of large minorities more readily than members of small ones. Criswell interpreted these results as follows: "In describing the differing responses of boys and girls we may suggest that boys have toward the other race an attitude tinged with aggression while that of girls is more characterized by fear. Boys are therefore likely to dominate small minorities but show more respect for relatively large and forceful groups. Girls, however, are perhaps intimidated by large groups but able to cope with small ones to which they may even be attracted." This appeared to be true whether the majority of the pupils were white or Negro.

On the basis of the literature related to the present study one may make certain fairly general statements. There has been no lack of ingenuity in selecting and devising measuring instruments. Thurstone type scales and social distance scales have been used extensively; sociometry, photographs, open end questions, questionnaires, and other devices have been used also. It is possible that more would have been accomplished if persons conducting research in the field had more often built on the foundation laid by previous workers; many of the studies are essentially

independent of previous research.

The methodology used in the present study has been used at the elementary school level, at the college level, and in one instance at the high school level, but no studies were found wherein it was applied to the study of the attitudes of high school students toward the Negro. The studies using this methodology have yielded significant results, and the claim that the method is valid, in that it measures changes in attitudes over a period of years, is supported by the finding that attitudinal changes which would be expected to follow economic and political changes have in fact been observed and measured.

Most of the longitudinal studies of attitudes have been concerned with "liberalism-conservatism". These studies have been conducted largely at the college level and in general agree that college students become more "liberal" as they progress through school. However, there is some evidence to support the contention that a change in attitude toward the Negro is not included in this more "liberal" outlook, or at least not to the same extent as attitudes toward certain other issues or institutions.

One is impressed with the disproportionate number of studies which have used college students as subjects, in spite of the fact that the college population is a highly selected group. While high school students represent a

relatively select group also, it would appear that studies in which they are used as subjects would have more generality than these in which college students are used. With few exceptions the studies of attitudes toward the Negro have been conducted in the eastern half of the country.

Nearly everyone who has worked with the problem has found that attitudes tend to change. Changes are found whether the longitudinal method, the historical, or the cross sectional method is used. This is equally true in the studies in which environmental variables have been manipulated.

Prejudice against the Negro is widespread and appears at an early age. The attitudes unfavorable to the Negro of the child in the lower grades appear to be comparatively undifferentiated, that is, the child tends to attribute nearly all undesirable characteristics with which he is familiar to the Negro. The older child selects more carefully unfavorable traits which he attributes to the Negro, but even so, his stereotype is unfavorable to the Negro.

While there are many studies which relate to the task undertaken in the present study, none was found which: (1) applied the method used in this study to the measurement of "racial" attitudes of high school pupils, (2) measured the attitudes of persons in the area in which this study was conducted, (3) included the span of years during World War II

and the three years immediately following or (4) used a measuring instrument based on observations of conflict situations in this particular area. It would seem, therefore, that an investigation of this nature should supply information of considerable importance.

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURE

A. Collection of the Data and Composition of the Sample

The first step in the collection of the data was the construction of an attitudes test which will be described in a later section of this chapter. During the autumn of 1940 this instrument was administered by the writer to a total of 1,006 high school students enrolled in three high schools for white children and four high schools for Negro children. These Negro schools enrolled a majority of the Negroes in rural senior high schools in Shelby, Hardeman and Fayette counties in Tennessee. The three schools for white children enrolled a majority of the white children in white senior high schools in Fayette and Hardeman counties. The students who took the test in 1940 will hereafter be referred to as the 1940 group. The three counties are located in the southwestern part of the state; they all three border Mississippi and one of them, Shelby, borders Arkansas, as well.

Table I shows the population of the counties from which the sample was drawn and the "racial" composition of these counties in 1940 as reported by the United States Bureau of the Census (11).

Table I

	White		Negro		Other Races		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Shelby	202,955	56.7	155,253	43.3	42	0	358,250
Fayette	8,343	27.5	21,977	72.5	2	0	30,322
Hardeman	14,774	62.6	8,816	37.4	0	0	23,590

It is apparent that the two principal ethnic groups in all three counties are the Negro and the white man. Also, it is clear that while the percentage of Negroes and whites varies among the three counties, both ethnic groups are well represented in all of the counties. In no instance did either of the groups constitute less than one fourth of the total population of the county.

It should be pointed out that of the 358,250 persons living in Shelby County in 1940, 292,942 lived in the city of Memphis and that none of the Memphis city schools were included in the study. The counties of Fayette and Hardeman are essentially rural counties, having no cities of more than 2,500 people. The principal industry is agriculture. The rural part of Shelby is similar to the other two counties and it is from these rural areas that the sample was drawn. In the opinion of the writer it would be unwise to generalize from this sample to the urban groups in Shelby County. However, a number of hypotheses concerning groups other than the ones actually tested undoubtedly will be suggested

by the results.

As would be expected, the number of cases included in the 1940 group was less than the combined enrollments of the schools visited, due to absence of some of the students when the test was given, and also due to the failure of some of the students to answer every item on the test. Of the 1,006 students who took the test in 1940, 927 responded to all of the items. This number includes 467 Negroes and 460 whites.

In August, 1948, the writer returned to the same five schools in which the test had been administered approximately eight years before and gave it to all of the students who were present. This time a total of 1274 Negro and white students took the test. Again some of the respondents failed to mark one or more of the items. The test papers of 1082 students, 626 Negroes and 456 whites were found to be complete and these are the data which are used in the study.

It will be noted that the number of white students remained remarkably constant. Four hundred sixty were included in the 1940 group and 456 in the 1948 group. The size of the Negro group increased from 467 in 1940 to 626 in 1948. It will be shown later that the number of Negroes in rural areas tended to decrease during this eight year period. It is reasonable to suppose that a

larger per cent of the Negro children of high school age were enrolled in the high schools in this area in 1948 than in 1940. The proportion of white pupils over seventeen years of age and under seventeen was nearly the same in 1948 as in 1940 although the proportion of younger students was somewhat greater in 1948. The percentage of Negro pupils under seventeen was considerably greater in 1948 than in 1940, the increase being from 41 per cent in 1940 to 64 per cent in 1948. This marked increase in younger pupils may be the result of an increase in the proportion of Negro children attending high school. It may be that this trend is of recent origin and that it has not yet appeared in the older age group.

The conditions under which the test was administered in 1948 were almost identical with those under which it had been given in the previous testing. In all instances arrangements to administer the test were made with the school officials one or more days before the day the test was to be given. Students were assembled in the auditorium except in two of the schools in which all of the students could not be seated in the auditorium and some of the students took the test in classrooms nearby. However, regardless of where the students took the test, the procedure was the same. They were told informally, "We are interested in knowing what high school students think about

certain things. You can help us in our study if you will mark the test which we are about to pass out to you."

As soon as everyone had received a copy of the test the directions for taking it were read to the group. The same directions that were read appeared on the top of the sheet which had been distributed to the students. The directions were as follows:

Before you start the test, indicate your grade in school, your age, and whether you are a boy or a girl, in the blanks provided. You will not sign your name; so feel free to respond to each part of the test with complete frankness. On this test there are no right nor wrong answers; just score the items according to what you think about the matter proposed. You will notice under each item the terms True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False. If you are sure you agree with the statement, draw a line under the word TRUE. If you think you agree with the statement but are not sure, underscore the term PROBABLY TRUE. If you do not have any very definite opinion on the matter one way or the other, or don't know anything about it, underscore the term DON'T KNOW. If you think you disagree with the statement but are not sure, underscore the term PROBABLY FALSE. If you are sure you disagree with the statement, underscore the word FALSE. You will have plenty of time; so read every item very carefully and answer frankly. Remember, you are not to sign your name.

It was assumed that significant differences between the 1940 and 1948 groups indicated changes in the attitudes of the populations of the schools. No claim is made that the attitudes expressed by the students tested are representative of those of the population of that part of Tennessee, nor representative even of the families of

which the students were members. However, it does seem reasonable to suppose that the responses made by the white students and by the Negro students in 1940 represent the attitudes of the student bodies of the schools visited toward the situations or issues proposed on the test, that the same was true in 1948, and that any statistically significant differences are likely to represent changes in the composite attitudes of the students enrolled in the several schools at the two times the test was administered.

B. Migration to and from the Area

In the event that the hypothesis concerning differences in attitudes involving the Negro on the part of the subjects tested in 1940 and in 1948 should be supported by the data, it would be well to know whether these differences could be accounted for primarily on the basis of an influx into the area of persons with attitudes different from those of the people who lived there in 1940, or an efflux of persons holding certain attitudes.

An entirely satisfactory answer to this question is not available and is not likely to be before the 1950 census is taken. According to Brunsman^{*} no data on migration have been compiled for the counties from which the sample was drawn since the 1940 census. However, the Bureau of the Census (10)

^{*}Private communication from Howard G. Brunsman, Chief, Population Division, Bureau of the Census.

has released estimates of migration between 1940 and April, 1947, for the South as a whole, based on a sample survey. The nationwide survey, of which the survey of the South is a part, covered about 30,000 households located in 148 sample areas in 44 states and the District of Columbia, each area comprising one or more counties or parts of counties. The region of the South is the smallest unit for which information from this source is available. It is composed of 16 states.

Concerning the extent of migration in the South, this Bureau of the Census Release shows that seventy-eight per cent of the white population did not migrate, that is, they were living in 1947 in the same county in which they were living in 1940. Eighty-four per cent of the non-whites were living in the same county in 1947 in which they were living in 1940.

As to type of the migration in the South, the same Bureau of the Census Release indicates that between 1940 and April 1942 more than half of the migration of both whites and non-whites was migration within a state. Migration of whites between non-contiguous states constituted approximately one-fourth of the migration of this ethnic group. Migration of non-whites between non-contiguous states constituted approximately fourteen per cent of the migration of the non-whites.

In so far as the data from a sampling survey involving a much larger unit, the South, may be considered to be indicative of migration in the counties included in this study, it appears that the population remained fairly stable; 78 and 84 per cent of the whites and non-whites, respectively, did not migrate. Further, more than half of those people who did migrate remained within the same state. Therefore, on the basis of these data, it appears likely that the migration of persons from other sections of the country in which different attitudes toward the Negro would be expected is not an important factor in differences in the responses of the 1940 and 1948 groups to the attitudes test.

Heyman* has attempted to estimate more specific information for the states in the South by combining the data from several releases and making certain assumptions. The assumptions which he found it necessary to make, limit the accuracy of this estimate and require caution in the interpretation of his figures.

The estimates made by Heyman and the manner in which he arrived at his estimates are as follows:

... we have drawn on several sources in order to make what we hope are "intelligent" estimates of the current situation.

For example, Bureau of the Census Release P-25, No. 14 (issued on October 3, 1948) gives state estimates of

*Private communication from Joseph K. Heyman, Joseph Heyman Co., Business Research and Analysis, Atlanta, Georgia.

the total population as of July 1, 1948. Release P25, No. 12 (issued on August 9, 1948) gives revised estimates on the population of each state as of July 1, 1947, and shows how much of the change since 1940 was due to births, deaths, and net migration. Release P23, No. 11 (issued February 11, 1948) among other things gave estimated figures on the number of households as of April, 1947, broken down both by race and by location of residence as between urban, rural non-farm and rural farm.

This latter information, incidentally, was available only for the South as a whole and not by states. For the South as a whole it revealed, as compared with 1940 figures, increases in the non-farm population, both white and Negro, and decreases for both races in the farm population. The decline was especially sharp in the Negro farm population.

By assuming that the region-wide shifts were shared in each of the states and by tying in with the information from the other two releases and with available data regarding births and deaths by races, we arrived at state estimates broken down both by race and by location of residence.

I certainly would not want to guarantee the exact accuracy of the results obtained in this method, but I do feel that they were helpful in showing general trends.

For Tennessee, we arrived at the following figures:

Table II*

	1940	1948	Per cent Change
White Farm	1,110,000	1,051,000	- 5.2%
White Non-farm	1,297,000	1,594,000	+22.9%
Total White	2,407,000	2,645,000	+ 9.8%
Negro Farm	162,000	107,000	-34.0%
Negro Non-farm	347,000	397,000	+14.3%
Total Negro	509,000	504,000	- 1.0%
Total	2,916,000	3,149,000	+ 8.1%

* The caption, Table II, does not appear in the original.

The dangers of error in using figures such as these as though they were representative of the counties under consideration simply because they are true of a larger unit of which the counties are a part, are obvious. Also Table II does not give exactly, the information which is needed most. Instead of the "farm" and "non-farm" classification the information which would be preferred would be "urban" and "rural" since some rural people do not live on farms. The term "rural" also applies to towns of less than 2,500 in the 1940 census. The term "farm population" refers to persons living on farms regardless of occupation. Further, Table II gives only net changes. Considerable migration could occur without being shown in the net totals. Yet, if one takes into consideration that the margin of error may be large, these estimates on migration are doubtless of more value than no information at all. Also, it is worthwhile to note that approximately thirty-seven per cent of the Negro population of Tennessee in 1940 was to be found in the three counties from which the sample was drawn for this study.

To the extent that the data set forth in Table II are accurate and applicable to the sample used in this study, several interpretations may be made. First, there appears to have been a tendency for people to leave the farm, the white farm population decreasing 5.2 per cent and the Negro

farm population decreasing 34 per cent. The non-farm population made gains comparable to the losses of the farm population. The white non-farm population increased 22.9 per cent, and the Negro non-farm population increased 14.3 per cent. The total white population of the state increased 9.8 per cent while the total Negro population of the state decreased one per cent. There was a net gain in total population of 8.1 per cent.

When these estimates are considered in the light of the interpretation made earlier to the effect that the population of the area appeared to be fairly stable, they suggest that it is unlikely that a very large part of the differences between the responses of the 1940 and the 1948 groups can be accounted for on the basis of an influx of persons from other areas into the rural parts of the counties included in the study. It appears that a more significant factor might be of a selective nature, especially on the part of the Negroes, since the Negro farm population decreased an estimated 34 per cent during the period. It should be noted that efflux of population is not likely to change attitudes as rapidly as would be expected of an influx of persons having different attitudes.

It is the opinion of the writer that, on the basis of the data which have been set forth, the question of the extent to which migration affected the results cannot be

stated unequivocally. However, the data have failed to show that migration is a major factor in the differences in the attitudes of the 1940 and 1948 groups.

C. The Measuring Instrument

The measuring instrument used in the study was an attitudes test constructed specifically for this purpose and included items which appeared to be suited to the task of measuring attitudes in the area in which the study was made. The complete test will be found in Appendix I. The writer with the assistance of others, who had observed the conditions under which members of the two ethnic groups tended to come in contact and in conflict with each other, compiled a number of test items based on these conditions or circumstances. Careful study and criticism of these items resulted in the elimination of all but twenty-four of them. Although the persons who contributed items for the test were thoroughly familiar with the "racial problem" in the area and an attempt was made to involve a variety of types of situations, it cannot be claimed that the test includes all possible areas of conflict between the two ethnic groups.

In some of the items marking the term "True" indicated an attitude more favorable to the Negro than marking the "False" response, while in other items, one having an atti-

tude favorable to the Negro would be likely to choose the "False" position. The writer believes that this arrangement and wording of items helped in getting real opinions rather than stereotyped marking. An attempt was made to include some items that were very radical and some that were very conservative. In this way the writer hoped to give each student an opportunity to express his opinion, even though it diverged from the expected norm a considerable distance.

The test which was administered in 1948 was identical with the test administered in 1940 with the exception of a minor change in item nine. This item states, "It is all right for whites and Negroes to work together on P.W.A. projects, in the field, and other such forms of work." The words "on P.W.A. projects" were eliminated in the 1948 test. In 1940 virtually all high school students were acquainted with P.W.A. projects since many were being carried on at that time. In 1948 the Public Works Administration had not been in existence for several years and it is doubtful that many of the students would have remembered the term. The writer thought that students not only might not understand the term, but that their inquiries concerning it might result in considerable confusion. Therefore, this change in item nine was considered to be expedient and justifiable.

The test was arranged so as to permit the respondents

to indicate their grade, age, and sex, and to mark each statement in any one of five different ways ranging from complete agreement to complete disagreement. The respondents could select any one of the following responses: True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, or False.

1. Reliability of the Test

The reliability coefficient gives an estimate of the extent to which a score or a central tendency, or an index remains consistent with itself on various occasions. Three methods of determining the reliability of a test are in general use. They are: repetition of the test, use of parallel forms of the test, and the split-half method. Each of the methods has certain advantages and disadvantages and these advantages and disadvantages vary to some extent with the nature of the test. The method using parallel forms of the test may be eliminated from consideration since only one form of the attitudes test was constructed. The split-half method is usually employed when it is not feasible to construct a parallel form and when it appears to be unwise to repeat the test. The principal weakness of this method is that relatively temporary influences which probably would differ at another time affect the scores on both halves of the test in the same way and thus tend to make the reliability coefficient too high (19). Stated

differently, the split-half method does not satisfy the assumption of uncorrelated errors (33). A brief illustration will serve to make this point clear. If a student who was included in the group which was used in the reliability study of the test of Racial Attitudes had been treated in an insulting manner shortly before taking the test by a member of the ethnic group of which he was not a member, there probably would be a tendency for this student to mark both halves of the test with more consistency (against the other "race") than would be the case if he were several days or weeks removed from the unpleasant experience. The obvious advantage of the split-half method is that only one test must be given, and this test has to be given only once.

One of the criticisms of the retest method is that the subjects remember the correct answers to some of the items or how they solved some of the problems. This permits them to mark these items correctly with ease and then concentrate their effort on other items. This appears to be a valid criticism when it is directed toward tests of achievement or other tests on which certain answers are correct and others are incorrect, and particularly, if the test is a time-limit test. Neither of these conditions obtains in the case of the Test of Racial Attitudes. The subject is told that there are no right nor wrong answers,

that he should just mark the items according to what he thinks about the matters proposed, and that he will have plenty of time to give careful consideration to each of the items on the test.

Another criticism of the retest method which bears directly upon tests of attitudes is that changes which take place in the attitudes of the subjects between the two administrations of the test may be measured by the test and appear to indicate unreliability. In answer to this criticism it may be said that if a retest correlation coefficient is low, changes in the attitudes of the subjects may be an important causal factor, but if the correlation between the scores on the two administrations of the test is high, it strongly suggests that the attitudes of the subjects were essentially stable between the two periods of testing and that the test is reliable.

Accordingly, the retest method was selected for use in this study. None of the high school students included in the larger study were included in the reliability study, largely because they could not be identified without considerable difficulty from the data which were available, namely, grade, age, sex, and name of school.

Other practical considerations were involved in the selection of the reliability group also. A group of 100 students enrolled in a small liberal arts college in the South, Birmingham-Southern College, were readily accessible

and it is these students who compose the reliability group. All of the students were enrolled in psychology courses at the time, but included in the group were students from nearly all of the academic departments of the college. The directions given to the reliability group were essentially the same as the directions that had been given to the groups which participated in the larger study. However, these students were asked to indicate the department which they had selected as a major, and instead of indicating their age as the high school students had done, to give their date of birth. The latter direction was intended to facilitate the matching of the papers on the first testing with those of the same students on the second administration of the test. In no case, was there any difficulty in doing so.

Fifteen days elapsed between the first and second testing sessions. While the length of the interval between the first and second testing is admittedly largely arbitrary, the writer did have some reasons for selecting it. An attempt was made to afford sufficient time for considerable forgetting to take place, and at the same time, not to make the interval long enough for important changes in the students' attitudes likely. This interval also made it possible to give both the first test and the retest near the middle of the week, thus avoiding the affects which the

week-end is sometimes thought to have on students' responses. During the fifteen day period the writer took particular note of any happenings involving the two ethnic groups, such as, progress of civil rights legislation, lynchings, etc. While the "race problem" in the area is never quite static, during this fifteen day period no unusual happenings were noted.

In order to correlate the responses of the students made during the first testing session with those made during the second testing session, it was necessary to arrive at a score for each student on the test as a whole for the first testing and for the retest. The way in which this was done will be described. First, each of the test items was studied to ascertain which end of the scale, True or False, would indicate an attitude more favorable to the Negro than would marking the other end of the scale. The value of five points was assigned to the response which was most favorable to the Negro, four points to the next most favorable response, three to the next, two to the next, and one point to the response indicating the least favorable attitude toward the Negro. Each test was scored using these values, and the sum of the points for the 24 items constituted the score for the student on the test as a whole. It was these total scores for each student on the first testing which were correlated with their retest scores. The correlation coef-

ficient computed by the product moment method was .92[†].0107. On the first testing the scores ranged from 58 to 119 and on the second testing from 61 to 118. The lowest score which it was possible to make was 24 and the highest 120.

This coefficient of correlation between the scores made by students on the Test of Racial Attitudes is interpreted as being an indication of satisfactory reliability.

2. Validity of the Test

A test is valid to the extent that it measures that which it purports to measure. Direct, objective criteria against which an attitudes test may be validated are nearly always lacking and in most cases validation is less direct and clear-cut than is true of certain other types of tests, such as, intelligence tests, and college aptitude tests. Even so, a person who has carefully observed conflicts between two ethnic groups in a given geographical or cultural area over a period of years may be able to formulate hypotheses concerning the attitudes of the members of the two groups toward the issues on which they appear to disagree. If this observer converts his hypotheses into items for an attitudes test, he is in effect predicting that the two ethnic groups will differentiate themselves from each other on the bases of their responses

to the items on the test. It is the contention of the writer that if the test is administered to members of the two ethnic groups and if the prediction is borne out by the data thus obtained that the validity of the test for that sample has been demonstrated. The only assumption that must be made is that the attitudes of Negroes on the whole are more favorable toward the Negro than are those of the white man. This assumption is hardly open to question.

This is the principal basis for the claim of validity for the Test of Racial Attitudes. The writer assumed that with few exceptions, each of the twenty-four items would differentiate the whites from the Negroes. The possible exceptions referred to were very extreme items which were included to give the test a "high ceiling" and a "low base". The prediction was confirmed when the test was given in 1940 and again when it was given in 1948. In 1948 the differences between the responses of the Negro group and those of the white group were significant at the one per cent level of confidence on twenty-three of the twenty-four items and in the direction predicted. The one exception was item two, with which very few of the members of either ethnic group could disagree. This item states that "A Negro has a right to a fair trial in court regardless of what he has done".

The results were quite similar when the test was given

in 1940. Item two was the only item on which the differences between the responses of the two groups were not significant at the one per cent level.

To claim that a test is a valid measure of "racial" attitudes is quite different from saying that it is an exhaustive measure of such attitudes. No claim is made that the Test of Racial Attitudes includes all aspects of "racial" attitudes even in the limited geographical area and educational level for which it was constructed. The writer does believe, however, that what are measured by the test may properly be called attitudes, as defined in this study.

D. Statistical Treatment of the Data

A statistical technique or method was required which would give a basis for rejecting the hypothesis that the groups compared, e.g. white and Negro, male and female, etc., were drawn from a homogeneous population with respect to attitudes as measured by the instrument used in the study. The chi-square test of significance was selected for this purpose.

Concerning the applicability or generality of the chi-square test, Hoel (22) states that the chi-square distribution is concerned with the size of the expected values but not with the form of the distribution function from which they might have been obtained as samples. Thus, the assumption of normally distributed data, which so often must be

made in statistical work, is not necessary when the chi-square test is used. One must assume, however, that the sampling distribution of the observed frequencies about a given expected frequency follows the normal curve. This assumption is not justified when one of the expected numbers is small even though the total N may be large. It is generally accepted that this condition is not satisfied in a table in which one of the expected numbers is less than five. Under such conditions one may combine the frequencies in adjacent cells provided it does not do violence to logic to do so. Of course, the degrees of freedom are reduced accordingly. This practice was followed in the treatment of the data whenever it was necessary; however, only in a few instances was the entry in any cell less than five. It appeared logical to the writer to combine the numbers in the "True" and "Probably True" cells and also to combine the numbers in the "False" and "Probably False" cells, but not logical to combine any other cell entries. The "Don't Know" cell was not combined with any other cell because of the arbitrary nature of the decision as to with which of the two adjoining cells it should be combined in some instances, and also because the subjects were directed to use this category if they knew nothing about the matter proposed.

The formula which was used in finding the value of

chi-square for each comparison was:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(o-e)^2}{e}$$

Where o = the observed frequency
 e = the corresponding expected frequency in terms of the hypothesis that the two groups were drawn from a homogeneous population with respect to attitudes as measured by the attitudes test.

Since a large number of comparisons had to be made it was considered desirable to devise a form which adapted the chi-square formula to the task at hand. The form which was used will be found in Appendix II. The formula used for finding the degrees of freedom was:

$$d.f. = (r-1)(k-1)$$

Where $d.f.$ = degrees of freedom
 r = numbers of rows in the table
 k = number of columns in the table

Degrees of freedom may be defined as the number of observations that are free to vary after certain restrictions have been placed upon the data. The number of degrees of freedom in this study, except in a few instances where cells were combined, was four. The reason why the number of degrees of freedom is not simply the product of the number of rows times the number of columns, and hence in this instance ten instead of four, is because the marginal totals are fixed and this restricts the freedom of one of

the columns and one of the rows to vary. Consequently there are only four independent cell frequencies and hence four degrees of freedom.

Having calculated the value of chi-square and the number of degrees of freedom, the next step was to enter Fisher's (18) table which gives the probability of obtaining a larger value of chi-square when two samples are drawn from a homogeneous population. The five per cent level of confidence was chosen as the critical point for rejection of the null hypothesis in most instances. In instances where the two per cent level or one per cent level was reached, this information was included.

Using the five per cent level of confidence as the criterion of statistical significance provides a basis on which to reject the null hypothesis; however, the chi-square test itself tells nothing about the direction of the difference, that is, in the present application which of the two groups marked responses indicative of attitudes more favorable to the Negro. This information may be gained from inspection of the proportion of subjects in the two groups who responded to an item in each of the five possible ways or from the sign of the differences between the observed and expected values.

In most instances when differences were significant little difficulty was encountered in deciding which of the

two groups being compared had made responses more favorable to the Negro. However, in a few instances, while the differences between the two groups were significant, it was equivocal as to which group had expressed more favorable attitudes toward the Negro. Thus, if one group tended to mark the "True" and "False" categories on an item most often and the other group selected the "Probably True" and "Probably False" responses in about the same proportion, the values of chi-square might be large enough to indicate significance, and yet it is doubtful that an accurate statement could be made as to which group was expressing an attitude more favorable to the Negro. In instances of this kind the writer thought it best to simply state that the direction of the difference was equivocal.

In all, the chi-square test was applied to 360 comparisons, including comparisons of responses of ethnic, sex, and age groups to the twenty-four items of the test. The comparisons made may be summarized as follows:

1. Comparison of Whites' Responses in 1948 with Negroes' Responses in 1948.
 - a. Whole white group with whole Negro group
 - b. White females with white males
 - c. "older" whites and "younger" whites
 - d. Negro females with Negro males
 - e. "older" Negroes with "younger" Negroes
2. Comparison of Whites' Responses in 1940 with Whites' Responses in 1948
 - a. Whole group 1940 with whole group 1948
 - b. Males 1940 with males 1948

- c. Females 1940 with females 1948
 - d. "Young" whites 1940 with "young" whites 1948
 - e. "Older" whites 1940 with "older" whites 1948
3. Comparison of Negroes' Responses in 1940 with Negroes' Responses in 1948
- a. Whole group 1940 with whole group 1948
 - b. Male Negroes 1940 with male Negroes 1948
 - c. Female Negroes 1940 with female Negroes 1948
 - d. "Younger" Negroes 1940 with "younger" Negroes 1948
 - e. "Older" Negroes 1940 with "older" Negroes 1948

CHAPTER III

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

A. Comparison of Attitudes of 1948 White Group and 1948 Negro Group

The first major hypothesis, as stated in Chapter I, was that the "racial" attitudes of white and Negro high school students in the geographical area chosen for the study differ on many issues involving relations between the two ethnic groups.

The results were clear-cut and unequivocal. The application of the chi-square test of significance to the responses of the two groups indicated the rejection of the hypothesis that the two groups were drawn from the same population in the case of twenty-three of the twenty-four items. All of these differences were significant at the one per cent confidence level.

The item on which a significant difference was not found was item number two which states that a Negro has a right to a fair trial in court regardless of what he has done. The two groups were in accord in granting the Negro this right. In order for a comparison to reach the five per cent level of confidence with four degrees of freedom the value of chi-square must be at least 9.488. The chi-square calculated for this item was 8.7637. Inspection of

Table VI, Appendix III, showing the responses made by the members of the two groups suggests that neither group expressed an attitude more favorable to the Negro than the other ethnic group on this item, but that any differences between the two groups which are not due to chance fluctuation probably reflect a tendency for the Negro group to select the two extreme positions, "True" and "False", more often than would be expected and for the white group to mark the less extreme response categories more often than would be expected.

The question arises, on which of the remaining twenty-three issues or items did the two groups differ most and on which items did they differ least? In the 1940 study (7) a measure which the writers called "per cent of difference" was found to be useful in selecting the items on which the two groups agreed and disagreed most. This measure has the additional advantage that by applying it to the 1948 data direct comparison can be made with the 1940 results since both sets of data will be expressed in the same terms. The "per cent of difference" for each item was calculated in the following way: first, compute the per cent of subjects in each group who gave either the "True" or "Probably True" response, then find the difference between the per cent of the two groups who responded in this way, add this difference to the difference between the per cents of the two groups who gave the "Probably False" and "False"

responses and divide this sum by two.

In terms of symbols the "per cent of difference" may be presented as follows:

$$\text{"Per cent of difference"} = \frac{(A-B)-(X-Y)}{2}$$

Where

A= Per cent of first group that responded either "True" or "Probably True"

B= Per cent of second group that responded either "True" or "Probably True"

X= Per cent of first group that responded either "Probably False" or "False"

Y= Per cent of second group that responded either "Probably False" or "False"

The assumptions behind this measure need to be understood. If on a given item 100 per cent of the whites had said "True" or "Probably True" and 100 per cent of the Negroes had said, "False" or "Probably False" it is clear that we have a situation which could be described as "100 per cent disagreement". This would be arrived at by taking the per cent by which the whites in the "True" and "Probably True" extreme exceeded the Negroes in that extreme, adding it to the per cent by which the Negroes exceeded the whites in the "False and "Probably False" extreme, and dividing by two. Table III-a gives the "per cent of difference" calculated in this way between the two ethnic groups on each item, together with the rank order of these differences. Other information which will be described at an appropriate time is included in this table also. Considering first the items on which the two ethnic

Table III-a

Item	Whites Anti-Negro		Negro Pro-Negro		1948 % of Diff.		1940 % of Diff.	
	Column 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	47	13	70	18	23.5	16	39	12
2	7	24	91	6	0	24	12	23.5
3	59	9	82	13	48.5	10	34	15
4	55	11	90	8.5	55	8	51	4
5	45	14	76	15	31	14	38	13
6	26	20	91	6	22.5	19	33	16
7	98	1.5	69	19	71.5	4	40	10.5
8	85	5	88	11	80	2	69	2
9	12	23	96	2.5	11	23	23	18
10	16	22	91	6	17.5	20	24	17
11	37	17	88	11	31.5	13	35	14
12	40	16	60	21	28.5	15	21	19.5
13	49	12	32	24	12.5	21.5	13	22
14	30	19	48	22	12.5	21.5	15	21
15	98	1.5	75	16	74.5	3	46	6
16	35	18	98	1	35.5	12	46	6
17	92	4	68	20	63.5	6	46	6
18	25	21	88	11	23	17.5	21	19.5
19	75	7	37	23	23	17.5	12	23.5
20	94	3	94	4	90.5	1	76	1
21	43	15	90	8.5	49	9	41	9
22	67	8	96	2.5	70.5	5	63	3
23	56	10	77	14	41.5	11	44	8
24	81	6	74	17	63	7	40	10.5

Column 1 shows the per cent of white subjects who marked the two responses least favorable to the Negro on each item; column 2 shows the rank order of per cents shown in column one. Column 3 shows the per cent of Negro subjects who marked the two responses most favorable to the Negro on each item; column 4 shows the rank order of per cents shown in column 3. Column 5 shows the "per cent of difference" between the responses of Negroes and whites to each item in 1948; column 6 shows the rank order of the "per cents of difference" shown in column 5. Column 7 shows the "per cent of difference" between the responses of Negroes and whites to each item in 1940; column 8 shows the rank order of the "per cents of difference" shown in column 7.

groups differed most, one finds that they are items 20, 8, 15, 7, and 22. The "percent of difference" on these items ranges from 90.5 to 70.5.

Item twenty states that Negroes should be allowed to eat ice cream at a table in a drug store the same as whites. If this matter is considered superficially the marked disagreement between the two ethnic groups may seem unimportant. More careful consideration of the disagreement on this item, however, suggests that the responses to this item stem from a more general issue of which this item is but a special case. The general issue is that of social equality. The evidence supporting this statement becomes more convincing when the other items on which large differences were found are considered. Item eight states that a white man should shake hands with a Negro without hesitation. Here the item deals with social etiquette and the proposal that the Negro be treated the same as the white man in this respect. The item on which the third largest "per cent of difference" was found, item fifteen, states that Negroes should be allowed to sit with white people in the movies. The significance of the responses to this item is quite similar to that in the case of item twenty; the Negroes felt that they had a right to equality with the white man in the use of public recreational facilities and the white subjects were quite certain that the Negro

was entitled to no such right. Item seven states that Negro children should be allowed to attend the same schools that white children attend. The attitudes which led to the differences between the two groups on this issue appear to be strikingly similar to those which prompted the responses to the other items considered thus far. Item twenty-two conveniently summarizes the attitudes expressed by the other items on which the largest "per cents of difference" were found. This item states that the Negro should be given the same social advantages as the white man. It should be stated that none of the "rights" suggested in the five items were available to Negroes in the area in which the study was conducted.

Table III-a shows that in 1940 all of the five items which have been discussed except one showed large differences between the two ethnic groups. Three items tied for rank five in 1940 and therefore were all three assigned rank six, since between them they occupied ranks five, six, and seven. All but one of the five items on which the largest differences were found in 1948 were included in the seven items on which the largest differences were found in 1940. This strongly suggests both the stability of attitudes and high reliability of the test used. Attention is now directed to the item which was not among the issues on which the 1940 white and Negro students differed most and

was among the issues on which they differed most in 1948. The item is number seven and is concerned with the children of both ethnic groups attending the same schools. This item which ranked fourth in "per cent of difference" in 1948 had ranked 10.5 in 1940. The "per cent of difference" in 1948 was 71.5, whereas in 1940 it was only 40. Reference to Table IV shows that no significant difference was noted between the white group's responses to this item in 1940 and 1948. But a great many more Negroes accepted the proposal that Negro children should be allowed to attend the same schools that white children attend, in 1948 than in 1940. It would appear that while the white children were about as well pleased with the status quo with respect to this issue in 1948 as in 1940, the Negro children were far less pleased with the situation in 1948 as compared with 1940. That this statement can be made somewhat more general, that is, applied to more items, is suggested by the size of the "per cents of difference" on the items on which the two groups differed most. Thus, the range of "per cent of difference" for the seven items showing the largest differences in 1940 was 46 to 76; in 1948 the range was 63 to 90.5.

It may be informative at this point to compare the issues on which the two ethnic groups differed most with the issues included in Myrdal's (43) six categories which

he has called "the white man's rank order of discriminations". Myrdal states that when white Southerners are asked to rank, in order of importance, various discriminations, they consistently present a list in which these types of discrimination are ranked according to the degree of their closeness to the anti-amalgamation doctrine. Myrdal goes on to say that this pattern of discrimination may be most clearly and distinctly observed in the South and that in the North ideas are more vague but, on the whole, not greatly divergent. Myrdal's "white man's rank order of discriminations" is as follows:

- Rank 1. Highest in this order stands the bar against intermarriage and sexual intercourse involving white women.
- Rank 2. Next come the several etiquettes and discriminations, which specifically concern behavior in personal relations. (These are the barriers against dancing, bathing, eating, drinking together, and social intercourse generally; peculiar rules as to handshaking, hat lifting, use of titles, house entrance to be used, social forms when meeting on streets and in work, and so forth. These patterns are sometimes referred to as the denial of "social equality" in the narrow meaning of the term.
- Rank 3. Thereafter follow the segregations and discriminations in use of public facilities such as schools, churches and means of conveyance.
- Rank 4. Next comes political disfranchisement.
- Rank 5. Thereafter come discriminations in law courts, by the police, and by other public servants.
- Rank 6. Finally come the discriminations in securing land, credit, jobs, or other means of earning a living, and discriminations in public relief and other social welfare activities.

All five of the items on which the two ethnic groups differed most fit very neatly into either Rank 2 or Rank 3

of Myrdal's categories. About one third of the items on the Test of Racial Attitudes do not fit in any of Myrdal's categories.

The items on which the two ethnic groups disagreed least will be considered next. They are items 2, 9, 13, 14, and 10. Item two deals with the Negro's right to a trial in court regardless of what he has done, and it has already been noted that this is the only item on which the two groups did not differ significantly. In fact, the "per cent of difference" between the responses of the two groups was zero. This is one of the items on which least difference between the two groups was shown in 1940, although in 1940 ranks 23 and 24 were shared by this item and item 19, the one which deals with laws preventing intermarriage.

The second item on which the two groups differed least was item nine which states that it is all right for whites and Negroes to work together in the field or in other such forms of work. The "per cent of difference" was 23, and this item ranked eighteenth in amount of disagreement between the two groups. Tables IV and V show that significantly larger numbers of both ethnic groups marked the true end of the scale in 1948 than in 1940. However, it appears that the shift in attitude was greater on the part of the whites than the Negroes. The two ethnic groups would appear to be closer to agreement on this issue than they were in 1940, and this agreement appears to result from

more favorable attitudes toward the Negro on the part of the white pupils in 1948 than in 1940.

Item thirteen was another of the items on which the Negroes and whites disagreed least. This item states that the inability of the Negro to develop outstanding leaders dooms them to a low place in society. There was little change in either the rank or size of the "per cent of difference" on this item in 1940 and 1948. The "per cent of difference" in 1940 was 13 and in 1948, 12.5. The rank order of the item in 1940 was 22 and in 1948, 21.5. Item 14 shares ranks 21 and 22 with item 13 in the rank order of disagreement between the two ethnic groups in 1948. Item 14 states that the educated Negro is less of a burden on the courts and is less likely to become a dependent or a defective than the educated white man. As in the case of item thirteen the rank order of this item in terms of disagreement between the two "races" was nearly the same in 1940 and 1948. Results such as these again emphasize the stability of attitudes and the reliability of the measuring instrument. The fifth item on which the Negroes and whites disagreed least was item number ten which states that all Negroes should be forced to leave the United States. This item was included in the test because it was thought to be extreme and would therefore give persons with strong prejudice a chance to differentiate themselves from persons with somewhat weaker prejudices. Strangely enough,

four per cent of the Negroes agreed with this statement while smaller numbers selected the responses unfavorable to the Negro on three other items, numbers 16, 20, and 21. While it cannot be stated that these three items are more extreme than item ten, the data certainly do not permit one to say that item ten is the most extreme item on the test. Item ten was seventeenth in the rank order of disagreement in 1940.

The issues on which the 1948 group disagreed most and those on which they disagreed least have been discussed. It appears that the items on which disagreement was greatest were items which were concerned with discrimination in the use of public facilities such as schools, movies, and drug store soda fountains, and items which were concerned with interracial etiquette such as shaking hands. The term social equality includes all five of the items very well. Of the items on which there was least disagreement, one is concerned with the Negro's legal rights, one with his right to work beside the white man and the remaining three with relatively theoretical issues such as the Negro's ability to develop leaders, the educated Negro's value to society, and whether Negroes should be forced to leave the United States.

The rank order of the "per cent of difference" between the two "racial" groups in 1948 was similar to the rank order of the "per cent of difference" between the two

"racial" groups in 1940. Using the rank-difference method of correlation, rho was found to equal .88.

Thus far discussion has been limited mostly to the magnitude of the difference between the responses of the Negro and white subjects, and little has been said about what per cent of the students rejected a certain proposal. Table III-a supplies this information together with the rank of the per cent of responses unfavorable to the Negro. From this table one may ascertain which items were least acceptable to the white students and which were most acceptable to them. The item which was rejected by the largest number of white students received rank number one; the item rejected by the next largest number received rank number two and so on. Rejection of the proposal was defined as marking either of the two responses at the end of the scale which would express an attitude less favorable than marking the responses at the other end of the scale would express.

While this rank order of rejection of proposals concerning the Negro could hardly be thought of as a test of Myrdal's hypothesis of the white man's "rank order of discriminations" it is clear that if the ranking of items on the basis of per cent of persons who rejected the proposal should result in a rank order similar to that described by Myrdal that such results would lend support to his hypothesis. Of course it does not follow that if no such pattern is found in the present ranking of items that the

hypothesis is without value.

Ninety-eight per cent of the white pupils rejected two of the items. These were items seven and fifteen. Seven deals with Negroes and whites attending the same schools and fifteen is concerned with Negroes attending unsegregated movies. It has already been stated that this nearly unanimous attitude on the part of the white subjects was not shared by the Negro pupils, and both of these items were among the five on which the two groups differed most in 1948. In 1940 the difference of opinion on the school issue was not as marked as in 1948, but the movie issue was one of those on which they differed most. Both of these items fit very well in Myrdal's "rank order of discrimination" number three.

The item which the third largest number of white pupils rejected was item 20 which is concerned with equal rights for whites and Negroes at drug store soda fountains. Ninety-four per cent of the whites disagreed with this proposal. This is the item on which the two ethnic groups differed most both in 1940 and again in 1948. The per cent of Negroes in 1948 who agreed with the statement was the same as the per cent of whites who disagreed with it, 94 per cent. This item like the two other items which just have been considered fits Myrdal's Rank 3. The item which was rejected by the fourth largest number of white pupils was item 17. The per cent of respondents rejecting this item was 92.

The issue with which this item is concerned is whether Negroes may answer white men by saying "Yes" or "No" instead of "Yes, sir" or "No, sir". This item fits Myrdal's Rank 2. The item which ranked fifth in rank order of rejection by the white group also may be classified under Myrdal's Rank 2. This is item eight and suggests that it is proper for a white man to shake hands with a Negro. Eighty-five per cent of the white pupils disagreed with the statement. That the Negro subjects did not take the same point of view is indicated by the per cent of difference between the two groups being the second largest for any item on the test both in 1940 and in 1948.

Attention may now be turned to the proposals with which the smallest number of white pupils disagreed. Item two was rejected by a smaller number than any other item. Seven per cent of the group disagreed with the statement that a Negro has a right to a fair trial in court regardless of what he has done. This item would be included by Myrdal's Rank 5. Strangely enough the same per cent of Negro pupils as white pupils disagreed with the statement. The statement with which the second smallest number of whites disagreed was item nine. Thus only twelve per cent of the whites felt that it was not all right for Negroes and whites to work together in the fields and in other such forms of work. This item may be classified under Myrdal's Rank 6. This is the item on which the 1948 whites differed most from the

1940 whites. In 1940, 29 per cent of the group rejected the proposal, and as already has been stated twelve per cent rejected it in 1948. This suggests that the whites may be "giving ground" at the less important end of their "rank order of discriminations". The item on which the third smallest number of whites indicated an attitude unfavorable to the Negro was item ten. This item is concerned with whether all Negroes should be forced to leave the United States. Sixteen per cent agreed. This item does not fit any of Myrdal's categories. It may seem strange that a larger number of the whites granted the Negro the right to participate in work with the white man than were willing to let him remain in the United States. In this connection it should be pointed out that the differences between adjacent ranks are not necessarily statistically significant. The ranking method is used only as a convenient way of designating which items tended to be rejected by the greatest numbers of students and which ones tended to be rejected by the smallest numbers of students.

The proposal which was rejected by the fourth smallest per cent of white students was that white filling station attendants should wipe the windshield and check the tires and water for Negro automobile owners. This proposal is made in item 18, and 25 per cent of the group disagreed. This item would seem to be subsumed under Myrdal's Rank 3. Immediately the question arises as to why more than 90 per

cent of the whites would bar the Negro from the schools, movies, and ice cream parlors and yet only 25 per cent state that it would not be proper for a white man to perform free services for the Negro such as wipe his windshield and check his tires and water. Two possible explanations are in the offing. First, the fact that the Negro owned a car may have suggested to the whites that he was not from the lower Negro socio-economic group, and the fact that the white man was a filling station attendant may have suggested that he was not from the highest white socio-economic group. A second possible explanation is that the white students reacted to the issues according to the way in which they would be affected personally. It is reasonable to assume that a very small fraction of the group ever expected to work at a filling station and thus have occasion to perform these services for a Negro. Whereas in the case of non-segregation in schools, movies, and soda fountains, they might expect to be affected personally on numerous occasions. It is a commonplace occurrence that people can be much more objective and fairer in situations in which they are not personally involved.

Item six was the item which was rejected by the fifth smallest number of white students. This item states that a white man should never strike a Negro if he would not hit a white man under the same conditions. Twenty-six per cent of the group disagreed with this statement. This item does

not fit readily into any of Myrdal's categories.

On the basis of Myrdal's "rank order of discriminations" one would have predicted that an item which suggests abolishing laws prohibiting the intermarriage of the two ethnic groups would rank near the top of the list. Item 19 deals with this issue, yet there were six other items which were rejected by more of the white students. Seventy-five per cent rejected the proposal that laws forbidding the marriage of whites and Negroes should be abolished. With the exception of this item the items which were rejected by the largest numbers of white students seem to support Myrdal's observations. The support of his hypothesis by the items which were rejected by the smallest numbers of whites is less clear-cut but probably still in evidence. One of Myrdal's basic hypotheses is that the rank order of discrimination is determined by the nearness of the activity to interracial marriage and sexual intercourse involving white women. Thus, in order for the present study to support Myrdal's view, one would expect item nineteen to be among the top two or three items arranged in order of rejection by the white group.

By amending Myrdal's hypothesis slightly, however, it can be made to fit the findings of this study very well indeed. The amended hypothesis takes this form: The white man's prejudice against the Negro manifests itself most strongly in matters of social equality or social proximity

and the more intimate the social relationship the stronger the discrimination; the most intimate of such relations is intermarriage. This does not actually change Myrdal's hypothesis but changes the emphasis to some extent. A second amendment is required: the respondent marks the item according to how the proposal would affect him personally. Thus laws concerning intermarriage do not concern the student as much as the admission of Negroes to schools, movies, and soda fountains because he still would not have to marry a Negro unless he wished to do so. If the item had asked whether the respondent would prefer to marry a Negro, sit by a Negro in the movies, attend schools in which Negroes were enrolled, or eat ice cream in a drug store in which Negroes had equal rights with whites, it is very unlikely that the white students would have selected the first alternative. Altered or interpreted in this way, Myrdal's hypothesis becomes an important organizational principle with which the results of the present study are in close agreement.

In the foregoing discussion the items of the Test of Racial Attitudes have been ranked according to the number of white respondents who rejected the item, that is, the number who selected the responses less favorable to the Negro.

The next analysis of the data will deal with the number of Negroes who selected responses more favorable to the Negro. Arranging the data in this way will enable one to ascertain which proposals were endorsed or accepted by the

largest numbers of Negro respondents and which proposals were endorsed by the smallest numbers of Negro respondents. Acceptance of an item is defined as selecting either of the two responses at the end of the scale which would be more favorable to the Negro than selecting the responses at the other end of the scale would be. The per cent of Negroes making such responses together with the rank order of the per cents is given in Table III-a.

The item on which the Negro students most nearly approached unanimity of opinion was number 16 which was endorsed by 98 per cent of the group. This item states that if two white men, walking together on a walk that is only wide enough for two, meet a Negro, one of the white men should drop behind the other to let the Negro pass. Thirty-five per cent of the white group disagreed with the statement. Significantly larger numbers of both ethnic groups accepted the statement in 1948 than in 1940. The increase was larger in the case of the whites. However, the differences between the responses of the two groups in 1948 were still great enough to yield a chi-square of 393.9734 with three degrees of freedom. Although the two ethnic groups probably differed less in their responses to this item in 1948 than in 1940 there was still a great difference in their attitude as measured by this item. This item probably fits best in Myrdal's Rank 3. Myrdal states that the Negro's own rank order is just about parallel but in-

verse, to that of the white man. Thus according to Myrdal the Negro would be expected to resist least discriminations ranked highest in the white man's evaluation and resent most discrimination on the lowest level.

Items nine and twenty-two tied for ranks two and three on the basis of the number of Negro students who agreed with them. Ninety-six per cent endorsed each of these items. Item nine is concerned with Negroes and whites working together and item 22 suggests that the members of the two ethnic groups should be given the same social advantages. Item nine fits Myrdal's Rank 6 best and item 22 is probably general enough to spread into both Rank 2 and 3 of Myrdal's classification. The item which ranked fourth in number of pro-Negro responses was item 20. Ninety-four per cent of the Negroes indicated that they thought that the Negro should be permitted to eat ice cream at a table in a drug store the same as whites. It already has been stated that the same per cent of white respondents disagreed with this proposal. It also may be recalled that this item differentiated the responses of the two ethnic groups as well or better than any other item on the test both in 1940 and 1948. This item fits Myrdal's Rank 3 best. The next three items which will be considered drew agreement from 91 per cent of the Negro group. They are items two, six, and ten. These items deal with the Negro's right to a fair trial, whether a white man should ever strike a Negro under conditions which would not

cause him to strike a white man, and whether all Negroes should be forced to leave the United States. Item two falls clearly into Myrdal's Rank 5. The other two items are not readily classified into Myrdal's categories.

Of the five items on which the largest numbers of Negro students marked responses indicative of attitudes favorable to the Negro and item which could be classified in Myrdal's white man's "rank order of discriminations", one fits Rank 6, and one fits Rank 5 as Myrdal's hypothesis would predict. But two of the remaining three are subsumed under Rank three and the other under both Rank 2 and Rank 3. The responses to these three items may hardly be interpreted as supporting Myrdal's hypothesis.

Next attention is turned to the items on which the smallest numbers of Negroes selected the end of the scale more favorable to the Negro. The first of these items is number 13 which states that the inability of the Negroes to develop outstanding leaders dooms them to a low place in society. Only 32 per cent indicated that they thought this statement was incorrect. This was one of the items on which their opinion differed least from that of the white pupils. The "per cent of difference" was 12.5. The responses to this item suggest that the Negro pupils were none too sure of the ability of their ethnic group to develop leaders. Moreover, the 1948 group was less sure than the 1940 group. This was one of the two items on the test on which the 1948 Negroes

expressed attitudes less favorable to the Negro than did the 1940 group. This will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section. There is also a possibility that the proposal supplied the Negro pupils with a convenient rationalization which "explained" the low status of their group and was more acceptable to them than other available hypotheses such as differences between the Negro and the white man in "natural ability". This item does not fit readily into Myrdal's classifications. The second smallest number of Negro pupils agreed with item nineteen which deals with abolishing laws forbidding marriage between whites and Negroes. That a relatively small number of Negro pupils would agree with this proposal would have been predicted on the basis of Myrdal's hypothesis. This is true because prohibiting marriage between the two ethnic groups ranks first on the white man's list, and the Negroes' order of preference is assumed to be the reverse of that of the white man.

Thirty-seven per cent felt that laws forbidding the marriage of Negroes and whites were undesirable. This is one of the items on which the two groups differed more in 1948 than in 1940. The increased differences between the responses of the two ethnic groups apparently were due to the 1948 Negroes endorsing the proposal in larger numbers than did the Negroes in 1940. Little difference was noted between the position held by the whites on this issue in 1940 and 1948.

The proposal which was accepted by the third smallest

number of Negro pupils was that the educated Negro is less of a burden on the courts and is less likely to become a dependent or a defective than the educated white man. This item, number 14, was marked either "True" or "Probably True" by 48 per cent of the Negro group. This was one of the items on which the white and Negro pupils differed least both in 1940 and 1948. This item does not fit any of Myrdal's classifications. The proposal which was approved by the next smallest number of Negro pupils was item twelve. Sixty per cent marked responses most favorable to the Negro. On each of the remaining 20 items which have not yet been considered in this discussion, more than two-thirds of the Negroes selected the end of the scale which indicated a favorable attitude toward the position of the Negro. Item twelve states that the Negro is physically superior to the white man. This item does not fit any of Myrdal's categories. Responses to this item taken in conjunction with those to item 14 suggest that the Negro pupils felt more hesitancy in claiming superiority of any kind over the white man than they did in claiming the various "rights" proposed by the test. Thus both the items concerning the educated Negro's greater value to society than that of the educated white man and the item suggesting the physical superiority of the Negro over the white man were not subscribed to by as large numbers of the Negro group as were most of the other items. Even the item proposing that the Negro and the white man

have about the same natural ability was endorsed by only 70 per cent of the group. This is a relatively small number as compared with the number that agreed with items 16, 9, 22, and 20. All of these items were endorsed by 94 per cent or more of the Negro group. The item to which the fifth smallest number of Negro pupils gave responses favorable to the Negro was item 17. Sixty-eight per cent of the group answered either "False" or "Probably False" to the proposal that all Negroes should answer all grown white men by saying "Yes, sir" instead of "Yes". This item fits Myrdal's Rank 2.

Only two of the five items on which the smallest numbers of Negroes selected the responses more favorable to the Negro could be classified in Myrdal's categories. However, both of these would have been predicted to rank low in the Negro's rank order of preference on the basis of Myrdal's hypothesis.

Considering the responses of both the whites and the Negroes it appears that the data tend to conform to Myrdal's hypothesis as amended and to lend support to his observations.

1. Comparison of the Attitudes of the 1948 White Group
on the Basis of Sex and Age

It was hypothesized that the attitudes of the white group toward the Negro would vary according to the sex and age of the respondents. In order to test this hypothesis the chi-square test of significance was applied to the

responses of the two sex groups and to the group of pupils who were over seventeen years of age as compared with those who had not reached their seventeenth birthday. The comparison on the basis of sex will be considered first.

Statistically significant differences were found between the two sex groups on eight of the 24 items of the test. The comparison of the responses to five of these items appeared to indicate more favorable attitudes toward the Negro on the part of the females than on the part of the males. The other three items on which significant differences were found did not appear to indicate a more favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of either group but instead more a tendency for the males to select the more extreme positions on the five point scale, both "True" and "False", and for the females to select the less extreme positions toward the middle of the scale. The white males did not appear to hold an attitude more favorable to the Negro than that held by the white females on any of the issues proposed by the test. These results are summarized in Table III-b and are presented in more detail in Table VII, Appendix III.

The items on which the responses of the girls appeared to indicate an attitude more favorable to the Negro than that held by the boys were items 1, 4, 6, 18, and 21. All of these differences were significant at the one per cent level except in the case of item 18 which was significant

Table III-b

A summary of statistically significant differences obtained from comparisons of the 1948 white group divided on the basis of age and sex membership.

Item	Level of Confidence		
	1%	2%	5%
1	F		
2			
3			
4	F		
5			
6	F		
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			
12	S?		
13			
14			S?
15			
16			
17			
18		F	
19			
20			
21	F Y		
22			S?
23			
24			

Symbols

- F - Females' attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those of males.
- M - Males' attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those of females.
- S? - Direction of difference between males and females equivocal.
- O - "Older" whites' attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those of "younger" whites.
- Y - "Younger" whites' attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those of "older" whites.
- A? - Direction of difference between "younger" and "older" whites equivocal.

at the two per cent level.

Item one states that the Negro and the white man have about the same natural ability. The females agreed with this statement in larger numbers than did the males. The acceptance of this item would appear to make the acceptance of certain other items easier since the basic ability of the Negro would seem to be an important factor in the acceptance or rejection of several of the other items. This pattern appears to be borne out to some extent but much more in items which did not propose social proximity to the person who was responding than in those items in which closer social relationships were implied. The white females expressed the belief that Negroes should be allowed to vote in all elections in larger numbers than did the white males. This is consistent with the females' greater confidence in the Negro's ability and yet implies little concerning social proximity except in an indirect way. In responding to item six a larger number of girls than boys said that a white man should not strike a Negro unless he would strike a white man under the same conditions. Perhaps the most reasonable explanation of the difference between the beliefs of the two groups on this issue lies in the fact that in our culture females are expected to be less aggressive physically and are taught to value gentleness and to abhor violence more than males. It appears that this item re-

flects this cultural difference in part.

The fourth item on which the females appeared to express an attitude more favorable to the Negro than that expressed by the males was item 18. The issue raised by this item is whether white filling station attendants should perform certain free service for Negro automobile owners such as wipe his windshield and check his tires and water. A larger number of females than males agreed that they should. It is possible that one of the factors which contributed to the females' response was the almost nonexistent possibility of their ever having to perform such services for a Negro. This possibility in the case of the males would hardly be quite so remote. This tendency for the members of a group to hold attitudes more favorable to the Negro on items which do not or are not likely to affect them personally continues to reappear throughout the study although there are some instances wherein the tendency might have been expected to manifest itself and in which it was not observed.

The fifth item on which the white females expressed attitudes more favorable to the Negro than did the white males was item 21. This item proposes that Negroes should be allowed to buy Pullman tickets when traveling long distances on a train.

As previously stated there were three items on which neither the males or the females appeared to express atti-

tudes more favorable to the Negro but in which the males tended to select both of the extreme positions more often than the females. These items are concerned with the physical superiority of the Negro over the white man, whether or not the educated Negro is less of a burden on the courts and less likely to become a dependent or a defective than the educated white man, and whether the Negro should be given the same social advantages as the white man. Guttman and Suchman (20) have emphasized the relationship between the certainty with which one holds a belief or attitude and the intensity of the attitude. In so far as this relationship holds true, it would appear that the attitudes of the males as reflected by these three items were more intense than those of the females.

The eight items on which the white males and females differed significantly have been discussed. The results obtained are similar in some respects to those in the 1940 study. In this earlier study the statistical treatment of the data consisted of computing the probable error of percentage differences and critical ratios for each of the five possible ways of responding to each item. The results obtained thus are not directly comparable to those obtained when the chi-square test of significance is used. However, it appears that the 1940 females' responses indicate a more favorable attitude toward the Negro than those of the 1940 males on five of the items. Two of these items are the same

as those on which sex membership seemed to be a factor in 1948. They are items six and 21, the items dealing with whether a white man should strike a Negro and whether a Negro should be permitted to buy a Pullman ticket. On one item the 1940 males appeared to express an attitude more favorable to the Negro than that expressed by the 1940 females. This item was number nine which raises the question as to whether it is proper for white people and Negroes to work together in the fields and in similar kinds of work.

The 1940 and 1948 results are consistent in suggesting an attitude slightly more favorable to the Negro on the part of the white females than on the part of the white males. Sims and Patrick (49) and Moore (39) found this to be true of southern college students.

The next comparisons which will be considered are the responses of the "older" whites with those of the "younger" whites. The results of these comparisons are summarized in Table III-b and are presented in more detail in Table VIII, Appendix III. On only one item did the two groups differ significantly. This item was number 21. The difference was significant at the one per cent confidence level and appeared to indicate an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the "younger" group. The writer can offer no plausible reason why a larger number of the "younger" group than the "older" group would feel that Negroes should be permitted to travel in Pullman cars,

especially when the two groups did not differ significantly on any other item.

It appears that one is justified in concluding on the basis of the uniformity of the responses of the two age groups on 23 of the 24 items that the factor of age within the range represented in the study is not closely associated with attitude toward the Negro as measured by the test. A similar conclusion was reached in the earlier study.

2. Comparison of the Attitudes of the 1948 Negro Group
on the Basis of Sex and Age

Statistically significant differences were found between the responses of the Negro males and females to nine of the items. Five of these differences appeared to be indicative attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the Negro males; two appeared to be in the direction of an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the Negro females. In the case of the other significant differences the direction of the difference could not be determined accurately. Table III-c summarizes these data and Table IX, Appendix III presents them in greater detail.

The five items on which the Negro males showed attitudes more favorable to the Negro will be considered first. The first of these, item 18, proposes that white filling station attendants should wipe the windshield and check the tires and water for Negro motorists. The differences

between the responses of the Negro boys and girls were found to be significant at the one per cent level of confidence. The tendency appeared to be for a larger number of boys than girls to agree that the free services should be performed for the Negro. Since Negro males drive cars much more often than Negro females it is apparent that the matter proposed by this item would be of greater personal interest to the boys than to the girls. Item 19 deals with laws forbidding the marriage of whites and Negroes. The differences in the responses of the Negro boys and girls to this item were significant at the one per cent level, with the boys indicating less approval of such laws than the girls. The differences between the two sex groups reached the one per cent level of confidence on item 24 also. This item raises the question as to whether Negro barbers should be permitted to cut the hair of both whites and Negroes. It is clear that this issue would be of greater personal interest to the Negro male than to the Negro female since girls seldom have occasion to go to a barber shop.

The differences in the responses of the two sex groups to item seven were significant at the five per cent level of confidence and appeared to be indicative of an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the Negro males. This item proposes that Negro children should be allowed to attend the same schools that white children attend. In the comparison of the attitudes of the white boys and girls on

Table III-c

A summary of statistically significant differences obtained from comparisons of the 1948 Negro group divided on the basis of age and sex membership.

Item	Level of Confidence		
	1%	2%	5%
1			
2		F	
3			
4			
5	S?		
6			
7			M
8	A?		
9			
10			
11			
12			
13			
14			
15			
16			F
17			
18	M		
19	M		
20			
21		A?	S?
22			
23			M O
24	M		

Symbols

- F - Females' attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those of males.
- M - Males' attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those of females.
- S?- Direction of difference between males and females equivocal.
- O - "Older" Negroes' attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those of "younger" Negroes.
- Y - "Younger" Negroes' attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those of "older" Negroes.
- A?- Direction of difference between "younger" and "older" Negroes equivocal.

this item, both almost unanimously opposed the proposal. More than two-thirds of the Negro pupils agreed with the proposal, and the comparison on the basis of sex membership indicates that it is probable that a larger proportion of the boys than of the girls approved of the proposal.

The differences between the responses of the two sex groups to item 23 likewise were significant at the five per cent level of confidence. This item states that Negroes should not be permitted to live near the homes of white people unless they live in servants' houses. A larger number of the Negro boys than girls disagreed with this statement also.

The two items to which the Negro females tended to make responses which appeared to be more favorable to the Negro than those made by the Negro males were items two and 16. Item two is concerned with the Negro's right to a fair trial regardless of what he has done. The differences between the two groups were found to be significant at the two per cent level. It is unusual that a significant difference should be found between the two Negro sex groups when this was the only item on which a significant difference was not found between the responses of the two ethnic groups. Also one would hardly expect 45 out of 626 Negro pupils to indicate a willingness to deny the Negro the right of a trial under certain circumstances; but 45 of the Negro group marked the item either "False" or "Probably False". Item 16

states that if two white men who are walking on a sidewalk which is only wide enough for two meet a Negro, one of the white men should drop behind the other and let the Negro pass. It already has been stated that a larger number of the Negro group agreed with this statement than with any other on the test. It is probable that a situation similar to the one described by this item occurred quite often in the experience of many of the respondents and that the matter was of considerable personal interest to them. The differences between the responses of the males and females were significant at the five per cent level, with the females apparently showing the greater tendency to agree with the statement. It is not clear why the Negro girls would endorse this proposal in greater numbers than the boys. It may be that in our society girls are taught to attach more importance to matters of etiquette and that this is a reflection of that teaching.

There were two items on which significant differences were found but the direction of the difference could not be determined. They were items five and 21. The differences on item five were significant at the one per cent level and on item 21 at the five per cent-level. Item five states that most Negroes should be satisfied with being servants. In responding to this item the females tended to take the extreme positions in greater numbers than would be expected and particularly to concentrate at the false end of the five point scale. Item 21 proposes that Negroes should be allowed

to buy Pullman tickets. A majority of both males and females agreed with this proposal, but it appears likely that a larger number of the male group than the female group endorsed it. Even after combining the entries in the "False" and "Probably False" cells, however, the numbers were still small, and in addition to this the direction of the difference was somewhat equivocal although the primary direction appeared to be toward an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the Negro males.

The nine items on which significant differences between the responses of the Negro males and females were found have been discussed. The comparison of the responses of the two groups to five of the items appeared to indicate an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the males than on the part of the females. On two of the items the differences between the two groups appeared to be in the direction of an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the females than on the part of the males. The direction of the difference in the case of the two remaining items on which significant differences were found was equivocal. No significant differences were found in the comparison of the responses of the two sex groups to the remaining 15 items of the test.

It is probably safe to say that there was a tendency for the Negro males to make responses somewhat more favorable to the Negro than those of the Negro females, although this

tendency may not have been quite as clear-cut or pronounced as was the tendency for the white females, more than the white males, to make such responses or hold such attitudes. A similar finding in connection with the comparison of the white group on the basis of sex membership was noted in 1940, but few significant differences between the Negro males and females were found in 1940.

A comparison of the attitudes of the Negro groups divided on the basis of age will be considered. The results of this comparison are summarized in Table III-c, and the data are presented in greater detail in Table X, Appendix III.

The group designated as the "older" group was composed of students who were 17 years of age or older; the group designated as the "younger" group included the students who had not reached their seventeenth birthday. Significant differences were found between the responses of the two age groups to three items. In the case of one of the items the direction appeared to be clear-cut and in the direction of an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the "older" group than the "younger" group. In the case of the other two items the direction of the difference was somewhat equivocal but also appears to be in the direction of an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the "older" group than on the part of the "younger" group. In addition to the difficulty in determining the direction both of these items had numbers smaller than five in one of the cells even

after the "False" and "Probably False" frequencies had been combined. It is probably wise to take the results of the comparison of these two items as only suggestive of an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the "older" Negroes.

The item on which the direction of the difference appeared to point clearly to an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the "older" group was item 23. The differences between the two groups reached only the five per cent level of confidence. This item raises the question of whether Negroes should be permitted to live near the homes of white people if they do not live in servants' houses. A larger number of the "older" group than the "younger" group opposed the idea of the "restricted" residential section.

One of the items on which the direction of the difference was not clear-cut was number eight. This item is concerned with a white man shaking hands with a Negro. The differences between the responses of the two groups to this item were significant at the one per cent level. The other item on which the direction of the difference was somewhat equivocal was item 21. The differences between the responses of the "older" and "younger" Negroes to this item were found to be significant at the two per cent level. This item is concerned with Negroes being permitted to buy Pullman tickets.

Although it appears that there may have been a slight tendency for the "older" Negroes to express attitudes more

favorable to the Negro than those expressed by the "younger" Negroes, probably the best generalization which can be made from this set of data is that no important relationship was found between the age of the subjects and their attitudes toward the Negro. This statement holds for whites and Negroes alike.

The results for the comparison of the two white age groups are consistent with the findings in the 1940 study, but this is not true of the Negro comparisons on the basis of age. In the earlier study the "older" Negro group marked responses indicative of attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those marked by the "younger" Negroes on approximately half of the items of the test. It would appear that in 1948 the attitudes which the "older" group had held in 1940 had been acquired by the "younger" group. While both Negro age groups held attitudes more favorable to the Negro on a number of issues in 1948 than in 1940, it appears that a greater change was made in this direction by the "younger" group than by the "older" group.

Summary

The Negro subjects and white subjects were found to disagree markedly on virtually every issue proposed by the Test of Racial Attitudes. Statistically significant differences between the two groups were found on 23 of the 24

items of the test. There was a tendency for the white and Negro students in 1948 to differ most on the same issues on which they differed most in 1940. The ranks-difference coefficient computed between the "per cents of difference" between the two "racial" groups on the 24 items of the test was .88. The most spectacular exception to this generalization was caused by a sizable increase in the number of Negro pupils who took the position that Negro children should be permitted to attend the same schools that white children attend. The items to which the white group responded with answers unfavorable to the Negro in large numbers tended to be the same items on which the Negro and white pupils differed most. The results discussed in this chapter support Myrdal's white man's "rank order of discrimination" provided one takes into consideration the effect the proposal would have on the respondent himself. Repeatedly the white students appeared to hold attitudes more favorable to the Negro on issues which did not concern them personally. This is perhaps the most important organizational principle of the study.

The 1948 data are consistent with the 1940 data in showing a slight tendency for the attitudes of the white females to be more favorable to the Negro than those of the white males. This tendency was noted on five of the 24 proposals in 1948.

Age as defined by the study and within the limits included in the study did not appear to be associated with the

white students' attitudes toward the Negro. The two age groups differed significantly on only one item.

The attitudes of the Negro students appeared to be more closely associated with sex membership than with age although there were few clear-cut differences in either set of comparisons. The Negro males expressed attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those expressed by the Negro females on five of the issues proposed, while the females expressed attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those of the males on two of the items.

No important differences between the attitudes of the "younger" and "older" Negroes were found in 1948. The 1940 data showed a tendency for the "older" Negroes to hold attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those held by the "younger" Negroes. In 1948 the "younger" Negroes appeared to have acquired attitudes or points of view quite similar to those of the "older" Negroes in addition to the greater tendency on the part of the Negro group as a whole to express attitudes more favorable to the Negro.

B. Comparison of Attitudes of White Students in 1940
with Attitudes of White Students in 1948

The supposition that the attitudes of the white high school students toward the Negro in 1948 differed from those of the white students enrolled in the same schools eight years earlier was the second major hypothesis tested.

Table IV summarizes the results of applying the chi-square test of significance to (1) the differences between the responses of the 1940 white group as a whole and the responses of the 1948 white group as a whole on each item of the test, (2) the differences between the responses of the 1940 white group and the 1948 white group on the basis of sex membership, and (3) the differences between the 1940 white group and the 1948 white group on the basis of age. The "younger" group is composed of the pupils who had not reached their seventeenth birthday and the "older" group is composed of the pupils who were seventeen years of age or older. The data summarized in Table IV are presented in more detail in Tables XI, XII, XIII, XIV, and XV, Appendix III.

Using the five per cent level of confidence as the criterion of statistical significance, there were eight items on which the 1940 white group taken as a whole differed significantly from the 1948 white group taken as a whole. Six of the differences appear to reflect an attitude which might be described as more favorable to the Negro, and in two of the items the differences between the two groups appear to indicate a less favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 group than on the part of the 1940 group. The items on which the 1948 group marked responses more favorable to the Negro were numbers 1, 5, 9, 16, 17, and 21. Responses to these items will be discussed

first, and then responses to the other items will be considered.

Item one states that the white man and the Negro have about the same natural ability. The differences between the responses of the whites in 1940 and in 1948 were significant at the two per cent level of confidence.

This is believed to be a key question in "racial" attitudes since the rejection of this proposition makes the justification or rationalization of a number of prejudices easier for the individual. It is interesting to note that in 1940 a majority of the respondents rejected the statement by marking it either "False" or "Probably False"; further, more than three times as many pupils marked it "False" as "Probably False". Of the 1948 group more than half accepted the statement or said that they did not know.

The question arises as to whether the differences between the two groups are associated with the factors of sex membership and age. Referring again to Table IV the differences between the responses of the white females tested in 1940 and the white females tested in 1948 are significant at the two per cent level of confidence and appears to be in the direction of a more favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 group. In 1940 a clear majority of the girls rejected item one by responding either "Probably False" or "False". Moreover, more than half of those who rejected the proposition marked the more

Table IV

A summary of statistically significant differences obtained from the comparison of the 1940 white group as a whole with the 1948 white group as a whole, 1940 "younger" whites with 1948 "younger" whites, 1940 "older" whites with 1948 "older" whites, 1940 male whites with 1948 male whites, and 1940 female whites with 1948 female whites.

Item	Level of Confidence		
	1%	2%	5%
1		W* F* O?	Y*
2			
3	M#		
4			
5	Y*	W*	
6			
7			
8			F?
9	W* F* M* Y* O*		
10			
11			
12	F#	W#	
13			
14		W#	
15			
16	W* Y*	F* M*	
17	F*	W*	Y?
18			
19			
20			
21	W* M* Y*		O?
22			
23			
24	O#	M#	

Symbols

W - White groups as a whole
Y - "Younger" groups
O - "Older" groups
M - Male groups
F - Female groups

- 1940 group more favorable to the Negro
* - 1948 group more favorable to the Negro
? - Direction of difference equivocal

extreme position, "False". On the contrary, most of the girls tested in 1948 accepted the statement even though three times as many marked the item "Probably True" as marked it "True".

The differences between the responses of the male respondents in 1940 and the male respondents in 1948 were not statistically significant. More than half of the males in both 1940 and 1948 rejected the proposition that the Negro and the white man have about the same natural ability. It would seem that much of the difference between the 1940 group and the 1948 group on item number one is associated with differences between the responses of the female components of the 1940 and 1948 groups and to a somewhat lesser extent with the differences between the responses of the 1940 and 1948 "younger" groups.

The differences between the responses of the "older" whites in 1940 and the "older" whites in 1948 were significant at the two per cent level, but it is not clear as to whether the differences indicate a more favorable or less favorable attitude toward the Negro. The differences between the responses of the "younger" whites in 1940 and the "younger" whites in 1948 were significant at the five per cent level and appear to be in the direction of a more favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 group.

The second item on which there was a significant dif-

ference between the responses of the 1940 group and the 1948 group was item number five. The difference was found to be significant at the two per cent level of confidence and appears to be in the direction of a more favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 group. Item five states that most Negroes should be satisfied with being servants. In 1940 most of the pupils accepted this statement, marking it either "True" or "Probably True". These responses are clearly unfavorable to the Negro. While a majority of the 1948 group did not reject the proposition that most Negroes should be satisfied with being servants by marking it either "False" or "Probably False", there was a systematic shift of opinions in this direction.

The differences between the responses of the white males in 1940 and the responses of the white males in 1948 were not statistically significant. The same was true of the differences between the white females in 1940 and 1948, and this also was true of the differences between the "older" whites in 1940 and the "older" whites in 1948. Thus, it appears that the subgroup comparison which showed the greatest difference on this item was the comparison of the "younger" groups of 1940 and 1948. The difference between the responses made by the "younger" whites in 1940 and the "younger" whites in 1948 were significant at the one per cent level of confidence. It does not follow that the attitudes of the "younger" whites in 1948 were more favorable

toward the Negro than the attitudes of the "older" whites in 1948. The difference between these two age groups was not statistically significant.

The third item on which the responses made by the 1940 white group taken as a whole and the 1948 white group taken as a whole differed significantly was item nine. This item states that it is all right for whites and Negroes to work together in the field, or in other such forms of work. The chi-square is significant at the one per cent level of confidence. Not only did the groups taken as a whole differ significantly but the same is true of both of the sex groups and both of the age groups. Moreover, all of the differences appear to indicate a more favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 group. This statement was generally acceptable to the groups as a whole, to both sexes, and to both age groups in 1940 as evidenced by a majority of each group marking the item either "True" or "Probably True". A great many more of the 1948 group accepted the proposal that it is all right for the two "races" to work together in the field or in other such forms of work, however. Eighty-two per cent marked the item either "True" or "Probably True" while only twelve per cent rejected it by answering either "Probably False" or "False"; the remainder were undecided. It should be noted that item nine is the item in which the wording was changed slightly in 1948. The reasons for this change have

been discussed in Chapter II, Section C.

The differences between the responses of the 1940 white group as a whole and the 1948 white group as a whole on item sixteen were significant at the one per cent level of confidence. The differences appear to indicate a more favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 group. This item states that if two white men walking together on a sidewalk that is only wide enough for two, meet a Negro, one of the white men should drop behind the other to let the Negro pass. The 1940 group was about evenly divided in its acceptance and rejection of this item with a few more responses that were unfavorable to the Negro than were favorable to the Negro. In 1948 a clear majority of the group agreed with the statement, marking it either "True" or "Probably True". Of course, these responses are favorable to the Negro. The only one of the subgroup comparisons which did not yield a statistically significant difference was that of the 1940 "older" whites with the 1948 "older" whites. The differences between the responses of the 1940 "younger" whites and the 1948 "younger" whites were significant at the one per cent level. The differences between 1940 females and the 1948 females were significant at the two per cent level as were those between the 1940 male group and the 1948 male group.

The differences between the responses of the 1940 white group taken as a whole and those of the 1948 white group to

item 17 were found to be significant at the two per cent level of confidence. This item states that all Negroes should answer all grown white men by saying "Yes sir" or "No sir" instead of "Yes" or "No". The differences between the responses of the two groups appear to indicate a tendency for the 1948 group to disagree with the statement more often than for the 1940 group to do so. However, ninety-one per cent of the 1948 group indicated their agreement with the statement by marking it either "True" or "Probably True". Moreover, more than seven times as many marked the item "True" as marked it "Probably True".

The differences between the 1940 female group and the 1948 female group were found to be significant at the one per cent level of confidence. The difference appears to indicate a greater tendency on the part of the 1948 group to disagree with the statement. This is considered to be an attitude more favorable to the Negro. The differences between the responses of the 1940 "younger" group and the 1948 "younger" group were significant at the five per cent level, but it is not clear whether the differences indicate an attitude more favorable or less favorable toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 "younger" group than on the part of the 1940 "younger" group.

The final item on which the 1948 white group indicated a more favorable attitude toward the position of the Negro than did the 1940 white group was item twenty-one. This

item states that Negroes who can afford to buy Pullman car tickets should be permitted to do so when traveling long distances on a train. The difference between the two groups is significant at the one per cent level. Although the attitudes of the 1948 group as indicated by this item appear to be more favorable to the Negro than those of the 1940 group, approximately one-third of the group was sure that Negroes should not be permitted to buy Pullman tickets, and when the responses of these students are added to those of the students who answered "Probably False", the percentage of the group rejecting the item rises to forty-two per cent. Thirty-two per cent accepted the statement by marking it either "True" or "Probably True". The remaining twenty-six per cent said that they did not know. From these figures it will be seen that there was little agreement within the 1948 white group on this item.

Considering the subgroups, the responses of the 1948 males differed significantly from those of the 1940 males, and also this was true of the comparison of the 1948 "younger" group with the 1940 "younger" group. The differences in both instances are significant at the one per cent level and appeared to be in the direction of an attitude more favorable to the Negro. In none of the subgroups did as many as half of the respondents accept the statement. The differences between the responses of the 1948 "older" group and those of the 1940 "older" group were significant

at the five per cent level of confidence, but it is not clear as to whether the changes indicate a tendency for the 1948 group to mark responses more favorable or less favorable to the Negro than those marked by the "older" group in 1940.

The six items on which the responses of the 1948 white group differed significantly from those of the 1940 group and in which the differences appeared to indicate a more favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 group have been discussed. What generalizations can be made from data analyzed thus far?

Beginning with relatively objective observations, the most frequent statistically significant differences among the subgroups were found between the "younger" groups of 1940 and 1948. The students who composed these groups differed significantly on all six of the items which have been discussed. In all instances except one the difference appeared to indicate an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1948 "younger" group than on the part of the 1940 "younger" group. It already has been said that on item 17 it is not clear as to whether the differences between the two groups indicate a more favorable or less favorable attitude toward the Negro. The differences between the two "younger" groups were not significant on any of the remaining eighteen items.

The 1940 and 1948 female groups differed significantly

on four of the six items which already have been discussed. The two items on which significant differences were not found were item five and item 21. The 1940 and 1948 males differed significantly on three of the six items and the 1940 and 1948 "older" groups on only one of the items. This suggests that the differences between the responses of the 1940 and 1948 "older" groups played a relatively unimportant part in the more favorable attitude toward the Negro shown by the 1948 group as a whole on these six items. On the other hand the differences between the responses of the 1940 and 1948 "younger" groups perhaps exercised more influence on the composite difference in attitude than did any other of the four subgroups. Of course, it does not follow from this statement that the attitudes of the "younger" whites in 1948 were more favorable toward the Negro than those of the "older" whites in 1948. The comparison of the 1948 subgroups is discussed in Section A of this chapter.

From the items that have been discussed thus far it appears that there was more of a tendency on the part of the 1948 whites than on the part of the 1940 whites to feel that the Negro has about the same natural ability as the white man, that he should not be satisfied with being a servant, that he should be allowed to work in the fields or in other forms of work with the white man, that a white man should inconvenience himself slightly in order to prevent

the Negro from having to get off of a sidewalk, that it is not necessary for all Negroes to say, "Yes sir" or "No sir" to all white men, and that Negroes should be permitted to buy Pullman tickets. These more favorable attitudes toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 white group appear to support the contention that the Negro is being accepted more nearly as an equal in the section in which the study was made. It is difficult to group these six items into one category. The terms economic equality, equality in ability, equality in public places or transportation might describe one or more of the items, but not all of them. When the issues on which the 1948 whites expressed attitudes more favorable to the Negro than the 1940 whites are considered in conjunction with the issues on which no important differences were noted, it appears that the general principle which they may have been following was that of avoiding social contact or social proximity with the Negro. This generalization is not completely satisfactory, however, since some degree of social equality if not social contact is implied when the Negro is permitted to answer a white man by saying "Yes" instead of "Yes, sir". In general the white man in the area in which the study was made has not abhorred the physical proximity of the Negro. The white man has been happy enough for the Negro to prepare his food, care for his children, and when his duties required it, live in his home.

It always has been status proximity which has been denied the Negro, and the comparisons considered thus far have indicated few changes in the respondents' attitudes in this respect. A possible exception to this statement is found in the greater acceptance of the Negroes' right to ride in Pullman cars. While this is an issue in the area in which the study was conducted and while the item approaches the matter of social proximity in some respects, it appears likely that the respondents viewed the item primarily as a theoretical issue and not on a personal basis, since it is doubtful that very many of them had had occasion to ride in Pullman cars.

As already has been stated there were two items on which the responses of the 1948 white group taken as a whole were less favorable toward the Negro than those of their 1940 counterpart. These were items twelve and fourteen. Item twelve states that the Negro is physically superior to the white man. The difference between the two groups was significant at the two per cent level of confidence. The response "True" was considered to be the most favorable response toward the Negro; however, it is acknowledged that in some instances this might not be true. Thus it would be possible for a pupil who marked the item "True" to feel that the Negro being incapable of mental work has developed his physical capacities beyond those of the white man. Similarly, the pupil who marked the statement "False" simply may have been insisting on the physical equality of the Negro and the white

man. In any event the responses to this item do not seem to justify the unqualified statement that the attitudes of the 1948 group were less favorable toward the Negro than those of the 1940 group. The differences between the 1940 females and the 1948 females were significant at the one per cent level, and the 1948 group tended more toward the "False" end of the scale than did the 1940 group. The differences between the responses of none of the other subgroups to this item were statistically significant.

On item 14 the differences between the responses of the white students in 1940 and the white students in 1948 were significant at the two per cent level. This item states that the educated Negro is less of a burden on the courts and less likely to become a dependent or a defective than the educated white man.

It is probably that the differences represent a tendency for the 1948 group to accept this statement less often than for the 1940 group to do so. This is interpreted as a composite attitude less favorable to the Negro. The differences between none of the subgroups were statistically significant. It is interesting to note that both of the items on which the 1948 group gave responses which may be interpreted as less favorable to the Negro than those of the 1940 group deal not with equality of the Negro and the white man but with the superiority of the Negro over the

white man. These were the only items on the test which dealt with the superiority of the Negro, and while neither of them was generally accepted by the white group in 1940, they were even less popular with the 1948 group.

There were two more items on which one or more of the 1940 and 1948 subgroups differed significantly and on which the differences appeared to indicate a less favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 whites than on the part of the 1940 whites. These were items three and twenty-four. Item three states that it is all right for a Negro to sit on the same seat of an automobile with a white man. The differences between the 1940 males and the 1948 males were significant at the one per cent level. The differences between none of the other subgroup comparisons made were statistically significant. Item 24 states that Negro barbers should be allowed to cut the hair of both whites and Negroes. Again the differences between the males in the 1940 group and the males in the 1948 group were significant, on this item at the two per cent level. Also the responses of the "older" whites in the 1948 group differed significantly from those of the "older" whites in the 1940 group on this item. Neither of the other two subgroup comparisons yielded a statistically significant difference. On item eight the responses of the female component of the 1948 group

differed significantly from the responses of its counterpart in the 1940 group; however, it is not clear as to whether the differences indicate a more favorable or less favorable attitude on the part of the 1948 group than on the part of the 1940 group. None of the other groups compared differed significantly on this item. Item eight states that a white man should shake hands with a Negro without hesitation. This statement was generally rejected by the white group as a whole; eighty-four per cent of this group marked the item either "Probably False" or "False" and nearly six times as many marked it "False" as marked it "Probably False". Since white girls in the area in which the study was made seldom have occasion to shake hands with Negroes, it is understandable that their responses to this proposition would be less stable than those of the other subgroups.

All of the items on which the responses of the 1948 white students differed significantly from those of the 1940 white students have been discussed. No significant differences were found between the responses of the 1940 and the 1948 whites on the following items: 2, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23. One of these items, number four, deals with permitting Negroes to vote in all elections, including Democratic primaries. One might suspect that opinions on this issue would have changed con-

siderably in one direction or the other during the eight year period due to the heated controversy concerning "civil rights". If these discussions of the Negro's rights affected the responses of the 1948 white group to this item, there must have been compensating factors which prevented the composite opinion of this group from differing significantly from the opinion of the students in the same schools eight years before. The same appears to be true of item two which deals with the Negro's right to a fair trial regardless of what he has done. As would be expected, a large majority of the white students both in 1940 and 1948 agreed with this statement.

No significant differences were found between the attitudes of the white groups in 1940 and 1948 toward equal rights in such public places or institutions as schools, one-way bridges, motion picture theatres, and drug store soda fountains. Also no significant differences were found between the attitudes of the two groups toward such miscellaneous propositions as forcing all Negroes to leave the United States, the ability of the Negro to develop outstanding leaders, white filling station attendants wiping the windshield of Negroes' cars, laws forbidding the marriage of whites and Negroes, equal social advantages for the two "racial" groups, and the proximity of the homes of Negroes to those of whites.

Summary

In general the belief that there are measurable differences in opinion on some issues concerning the Negro on the part of white students attending the high schools included in the study in 1940 and the students attending the same schools in 1948, appears to be supported by the data.

Of the six items on which the 1948 white students expressed attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those of the white students who responded to the test in 1940, five involve little or no social proximity between the two "races". The sixth concerns the Negro's right to buy Pullman tickets and while this perhaps approaches social proximity in some respects, it appears likely that the respondents viewed the item primarily as a theoretical issue since it is doubtful that very many of them had had occasion to ride in Pullman cars.

Of the subgroups, significant differences indicating a more favorable attitude toward the Negro were found on more items in the comparison of the 1948 "younger" group with the 1940 "younger" group than in any other. The female groups were next, followed by the male groups. Of the subgroups compared the "older" groups differed on the smallest number of items. The "older" groups of 1940 and

1948 differed significantly on only one of the six items.

The two items on which the 1948 students as a whole gave responses significantly less favorable to the Negro than those of the 1940 students were the only two items on the test which dealt with the superiority of the Negro over the white man.

There were two more items on which the responses of the male group in 1948 appeared to indicate attitudes less favorable to the Negro than those of the male group in 1940. Also this was true of the responses of the 1948 "older" group on one of the same two items. This lends additional support to the finding that the differences between the "older" groups and the differences between the male groups played a less important part in the more favorable attitudes toward the Negro, found in the 1948 group as a whole, than did the differences between the "younger" groups and between the female groups.

C. Comparison of Attitudes of 1940 Negro Group
and 1948 Negro Group

The third major hypothesis was that measurable differences exist between the attitudinal responses of the members of the Negro group tested in 1940 and the members of the same ethnic group in the same schools in 1948. It was assumed further that these differences might be a function of age and sex.

Table V summarizes the data presented in Tables XVI,

XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XX which may be found in Appendix III. Table XVI shows the number of Negro students in the 1940 group and the number of Negro students in the 1948 group who responded in each of the five possible ways to each of the items on the Test of Racial Attitudes. Also this table shows the value of chi-square when the responses of the groups were compared, the degrees of freedom, the level of confidence, and the apparent direction of the difference. Table XVII gives the same information for the comparisons of the 1940 Negro females with the 1948 Negro females; Table XVIII gives this information for the comparisons of the 1940 Negro males with the 1948 Negro males; Table XIX gives this information for the comparisons of the 1940 "younger" Negroes with the 1948 "younger" Negroes, and Table XX for the comparison of the 1940 "older" Negroes with the 1948 "older" Negroes. As in the case of the white students, the "younger" group was composed of pupils who had not reached their seventeenth birthday, and the "older" group included the pupils who were seventeen years of age or older.

Using the five per cent level of confidence as the criterion of statistical significance, there were sixteen items on which the responses of the 1948 Negro students differed significantly from those of the Negro subjects who took the test in 1940. On the eight remaining items the

Table V

A summary of statistically significant differences obtained from the comparison of the 1940 Negro group as a whole with the 1948 Negro group as a whole, 1940 "younger" Negroes with 1948 "younger" Negroes, 1940 "older" Negroes with 1948 "older" Negroes, 1940 male Negroes with 1948 male Negroes, and 1940 female Negroes with 1948 female Negroes.

Item	Level of Confidence		
	1%	2%	5%
1	N#	Y?	F# O#
2			
3	N* F* Y*		
4			
5	Y*		
6			
7	N* F* M* Y* O*		
8	N* F* M* Y* O*		
9	N* F* M* Y* O*		
10		N?	Y?
11	N* Y* F*		
12			
13	N# O#		F# M#
14			
15	N* F* M* Y* O*		
16	F* Y*		N*
17	N* F* M* Y* O*		
18			
19	N* M*	O*	
20	N* F* M* Y* O*		
21	N* F* M* Y* O*		
22	N*		Y*
23			
24	N* F* M* Y* O*		

Symbols

N - Negro group as a whole	# - 1940 group more favorable to the Negro
Y - "Younger" groups	* - 1948 group more favorable to the Negro
O - "Older" groups	? - Direction of difference equivocal
M - Male groups	
F - Female groups	

groups as a whole did not differ significantly; however, on one of these items significant differences were found in one of the subgroup comparisons. Of the 16 significant differences, 13 appeared to denote attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1948 group than on the part of the 1940 group, two appeared to indicate a less favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 group, and the direction of the difference in one item appeared to be equivocal. The 13 items on which the 1948 group marked responses more favorable to the Negro were items 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 24. On all but one of these items the differences were significant at the one per cent level of confidence, and on eight of the 13 items significant differences were found between all four of the subgroup comparisons as well as for the group as a whole.

The items on which the responses of the 1948 group denoted attitudes more favorable to the Negro will be considered first, and they will be discussed in the order of the size of the chi-square. That is, the item on which the largest chi-square was obtained will be discussed first, the item on which the second largest chi-square was obtained will be discussed next and so on. It is interesting to note at this point that on only one of the five items for which the largest chi-squares were obtained were signifi-

cant differences noted also in the comparison of the 1940 white group with the 1948 white group. This suggests that on several of the items on which the composite Negro attitude changed the most between 1940 and 1948, the attitude of the white group remained essentially unchanged. However, on several of the items on which the Negroes made less drastic changes toward an attitude more favorable to the Negro, the white group made comparable changes in the same direction.

In addition to the data concerning statistically significant differences between the responses of the two "racial" groups it is also of interest to know what per cent of the two groups selected responses favorable to the Negro on each item in 1940 and in 1948 and whether the two groups approached agreement more closely on the issues proposed, in 1940 or in 1948. Figure I presents this additional data graphically. Since the per cent of Negro students who gave responses favorable to the Negro are represented by equal distances on the abscissa and ordinate respectively, it is clear that any points which fall on the diagonal drawn from the lower left corner of the graph to the upper right corner indicate complete agreement between the two groups, that is, the same per cent of both groups made responses indicative of a favorable attitude toward the Negro on the item. Similarly any point plotted above the diagonal would indicate an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of

Figure I

Figure I presents graphically the per cent of white students and the per cent of Negro students who made responses favorable to the Negro on each item of the Test of Racial Attitudes in 1940 and in 1948. The numbers in the circles correspond to the number of the item; the point at which the shaft of the arrow joins the circle indicates the per cent of both groups who made responses favorable to the Negro in 1940; the point of the arrow indicates the per cent of both groups who made responses favorable to the Negro in 1948.

Issues raised by the Test of Racial Attitudes:

1. Equal natural ability	9. Working together	17. Use of "Yes, sir" and "No, sir"
2. Right to fair trial	10. Force Negroes to leave U.S.	18. Services to Negroes at gas stations
3. Sit on same seat of auto	11. Precedence at one-way bridge	19. Laws concerning interracial marriage
4. Vote in all elections	12. Physical superiority	20. Equal rights in soda fountains
5. Servant status of Negro	13. Quality of Negro leadership	21. Right to ride in Pullman cars
6. Striking a Negro	14. Social worth of educated Negro	22. Same social advantages
7. Attend same schools	15. Non-segregation in movies	23. Non-segregation in housing
8. Hand shaking	16. Sidewalk etiquette	24. Negro barbers serve both "races"

the white group than on the part of the Negro group. In no instance did this occur. Points plotted below the diagonal indicate attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the Negro group than on the part of the white group. Every point except one, which was directly on the diagonal, fell below the diagonal. Each arrow represents an item on the Test of Racial Attitudes and the number in the circle at the base of the arrow corresponds to the number of the item represented. The location, length, and direction of each arrow is determined by drawing a line between two points. The first point was found by plotting the per cent of Negro responses favorable to the Negro in 1940 against the per cent of white responses favorable to the Negro in 1940. This is the point at which the base of the arrow joins the circle. The second point was found by plotting the per cent of Negro responses favorable to the Negro against the per cent of white responses favorable to the Negro in 1948. This point is the tip of the head of the arrow.

It is apparent that any arrow which points in a direction above the horizontal indicates that a larger per cent of white students made responses favorable to the Negro in 1948 than in 1940; an arrow which points in a direction below the horizontal indicates an attitude less favorable to the Negro on the part of the white students in 1948 than in 1940. Further, it will be noted that arrows which tend toward convergence with the diagonal indicate less disagree-

ment between the members of the two ethnic groups in 1948 than in 1940, and arrows which tend toward divergence with the diagonal indicate greater disagreement between the members of the two ethnic groups in 1948 than in 1940. Figure I does not take into account whether or not the differences presented are statistically significant.

It should be stated at this point that the writer does not wish to leave the impression that a "racial" problem is necessarily solved and that conditions are as they should be simply because there is agreement between the two "racial" groups. In other words, the acceptance of discrimination by a minority group does not make it proper for members of the majority group to discriminate against them. But a tendency toward agreement between the two groups would be expected to result in less "racial" tension.

The largest value of chi-square which was found in the comparison of the Negro groups was 126.4914, and this was on item 15. Item 15 states that Negroes should be allowed to sit with white people in the movies. In 1940 more than half of the Negro students rejected this statement by marking it either "Probably False" or "False"; whereas in 1948 three-fourths of them accepted the statement by marking either the "True" or "Probably True" response. This is one of the items on which significant differences were not found between the white groups tested in 1940 and 1948. All four of the Negro subgroup comparisons showed differences

significant at the one per cent confidence level and all appeared to be in the direction of an attitude more favorable to the Negro. It already has been stated that no significant difference was found on this item between the responses of "younger" and "older" Negroes when tested in 1948. Approximately the same proportion of "younger" and "older" Negroes in 1948 accepted the proposal made in this item, 73 per cent and 78 per cent, respectively; however, in 1940 the two Negro age groups differed considerably with the "older" group expressing attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those expressed by the "younger" group. The comparison of the responses of the females with those of the males in 1940 did not yield differences which were statistically significant. The same was true in 1948. It would seem that there was less agreement between the two ethnic groups on this item in 1948 than there was in 1940. Figure I shows that this was true. Moreover, this is one of the items on which they differed most widely in 1940.

The second largest chi-square, 120.4416, was obtained on item seven. This item states that Negro children should be allowed to attend the same school that white children attend. Here the situation is similar to that found in item 15, the differences between both of the age groups and both of the sex groups were significant at the one per cent level and all appeared to be in the direction more favorable to the Negro

on the part of the 1948 groups. As in the case of item 15 significant differences were not found between the white students in 1940 and the white students in 1948. This suggests that the attitudes of the two ethnic groups may have diverged between 1940 and 1948 with respect to the matter of attending the same schools, just as it appeared that there might be less agreement between the 1948 "racial" groups than between the 1940 "racial" groups with respect to whites and Negroes attending the same movies. This greater divergence is presented graphically in Figure I.

The item having the third largest chi-square, was number 21, this value being 75.0444. This item states that Negroes who can afford to buy Pullman car tickets should be permitted to do so when traveling long distances on a train. Again all four of the subgroup comparisons yielded chi-squares which indicated significance at the one per cent level and all of the differences appeared to indicate attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1948 group. This is one of the items on which the attitudes of the 1948 white subjects appeared to be significantly more favorable toward the Negro than those of the 1940 white subjects. Hence, it is probably correct to say that this is one of the issues on which the members of both ethnic groups have changed to an attitude more favorable to the Negro. It does not follow, however, that the two groups approached agreement on this item more closely in 1948 than

they did in 1940. The differences between the two ethnic groups were significant at the one per cent level in 1940 and again in 1948. Inspection of Figure I suggests that there was slightly less agreement between the two ethnic groups on this issue in 1948 than in 1940 although the difference is small and probably not statistically significant.

The fourth largest chi-square found in this series of comparisons, 72.6794, was in connection with item 20. This item states that Negroes should be allowed to eat ice cream at a table in a drug store the same as whites. This was the item on which the two ethnic groups differed more than on any other in 1940. On this item as on item 15 and 7, a significant difference was not found in the comparison of the white students' responses in 1940 with the white students' responses in 1948. The data presented in Figure I confirms the expectations that disagreement between the Negro students and the white students on this issue was greater in 1948 than in 1940. In all four of the 1948 Negro subgroup comparisons which were made, differences were significant at the one per cent level.

The item which yielded the fifth largest chi-square was item 24. This value was 52.4014. Item 24 states that Negro barbers should be permitted to cut the hair of both whites and Negroes. This is another item on which a significant difference was not found in the comparison of the re-

sponses of the 1940 white group with the 1948 white group. However, two of the subgroup comparisons, 1940 "older" whites with 1948 "older" whites and 1940 male whites with 1948 male whites, showed statistically reliable differences which appeared to be in the direction of less favorable attitudes toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 groups. The four comparisons on the basis of sex and age all yielded differences which were significant at the one per cent level. As in the case of items 15, 7, and 20, Figure I shows a greater divergence of attitude between the two ethnic groups on the issue proposed by item 24 in 1948 than in 1940.

The five items which have been discussed thus far are items on which the Negroes tested in 1948 demonstrated attitudes considerably more favorable to the Negro than did the Negro students who were attending the same schools in 1940. Although the 1948 white group expressed attitudes more favorable to the Negro than the 1940 white group on six items, only one of these six was among the five which yielded the largest chi-squares in the comparison of the attitudes of the Negro groups in 1940 and 1948. Of the next five items selected on the basis of size of chi-square significant differences were also found in the comparison of the whites in 1940 and 1948 on three of the items. This suggests that while there was little tendency for the whites in 1948 to indicate attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the items on which the Negro subjects apparently changed

most between 1940 and 1948, there was a tendency for the 1948 white students to respond more favorably toward the Negro on some of the items on which the differences between the 1940 and 1948 Negro groups were less marked, but nevertheless statistically significant.

The sixth largest chi-square, 47.7232, was obtained on item 17. This item states that all Negroes should answer all grown white men by saying "Yes, sir," or "No, sir", rather than "Yes" or "No". The "True" end of the five point scale was thought to be least favorable to the Negro. This is one of the items on which the 1948 white group also selected responses more favorable to the Negro than did the white group in 1940. All four of the Negro subgroup comparisons yielded differences which were significant at the one per cent level.

The next largest value of chi-square in this series of comparisons was obtained in connection with the comparison of responses to item nine. The magnitude of chi-square was 43.3106. This item states that it is all right for whites and Negroes to work together in the fields and in other such forms of work. It already has been pointed out that this is the item on which the largest chi-square was obtained in the comparison of the white pupils in 1940 with the white pupils attending the same schools in 1948. The value of chi-square in this instance was 73.3136. Since the next largest chi-square obtained on any item in the comparison

of these two groups was only 22.2587, it suggests that there probably was more of a shift in opinion between 1940 and 1948 on this issue on the part of the white subjects than on any other included in the study. Moreover, it appears likely that the tendency of the 1948 whites to respond more favorably to the Negro on this item than did the white students in 1940 was more marked than was the tendency for Negro students in 1948 to respond in a manner more favorable to the Negro than for the Negroes in 1940 to do so. This statement is also supported by the data for item nine presented in Figure I. Even so, the differences between the responses of 1948 Negroes and 1948 whites on this issue were highly significant and apparently in the direction of a more favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the Negro group. If it is true that on this item the whites "changed" more in the pro-Negro direction between 1940 and 1948 than did the Negro group, it would appear that the two groups were more nearly in agreement on this matter in 1948 than in 1940. All of the subgroup comparisons which were made yielded differences which were significant at the one per cent level.

The next item to be discussed is item eight, which states that a white man should shake hands with a Negro without hesitation. The value of the chi-square obtained for the comparison of the 1940 Negroes with the 1948 Negroes was 41.8531. This is one of the items on which the 1940

whites and 1948 whites did not differ significantly. Also this is one of the items on which the white group and Negro group differed most in 1940. The same was true of the 1948 comparison of these two groups, the value of chi-square in this instance being 753.9219. This is the second largest chi-square which was found in the comparison of the two ethnic groups in 1948. Figure I shows that disagreement between the two ethnic groups on the matter of the white man shaking hands with the Negro was greater in 1948 than in 1940. As is the case with all items which have been discussed thus far, but not with any of those which follow, the differences between all four pairs of the subgroups compared were significant at the one per cent level. Responses to item eleven will be considered next. This item may be stated as follows: "If a Negro driving a car gets to a one-way bridge slightly before a car driven by a white man arrives at the other end, it is all right for the Negro to make the white man wait." The comparison of the 1940 Negro groups with the 1948 Negro groups was found to yield a chi-square which was significant at the one per cent level. The same was true of the comparison of the 1940 "younger" Negroes with the 1948 "younger" Negroes, as well as the comparison of the 1940 female Negroes with 1948 female Negroes. Neither of the other subgroup comparisons yielded significant differences. This is another item on which significant differences were not found between the

1940 white group and the 1948 white group, and again the data fail to show that the two ethnic groups are working toward unanimity of opinion in "race" relations. Figure I suggests that the amount of disagreement on this issue was about the same in 1948 as in 1940.

The next item which will be considered is item three. This item proposes that it is all right for a Negro to sit on the same seat of an automobile with a white man. In addition to the comparison of the 1940 Negro group with the 1948 Negro group, two of the subgroup comparisons also yielded differences which were significant at the one per cent level. These were the comparison of the 1940 females with the 1948 females and the comparison of the 1940 "younger" Negroes with the 1948 "younger" Negroes. The other two subgroup comparisons did not yield significant differences. As in the case of six of the nine items which have been discussed, the comparison of the responses of the 1940 white group with those of the 1948 white group did not show a statistically significant difference. However, the comparison of the 1940 white males' responses with those of the 1948 white males did yield a significant difference. The direction of the difference appeared to indicate a more favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1940 group than on the part of the 1948 group. This suggests that while the Negroes in 1948 responded to

this item in a manner more favorable to the Negro than did a comparable Negro group in 1940, just the opposite was true of the male segment of the white group. The other three white subgroup comparisons did not yield chi-squares of sufficient magnitude to meet the criterion of statistical significance.

The next item which will be considered is one of the two on which the 1948 Negro group appeared to express attitudes significantly less favorable to the Negro than those expressed by the 1940 Negro group. Item number thirteen states that the inability of the Negro to develop outstanding leaders dooms them to a low place in society. It was thought that marking the "False" end of the scale would indicate an attitude more favorable than marking the "True" end of the scale would indicate. The differences between the 1940 and 1948 Negroes are significant at the one per cent level. It is interesting to note that the comparison of the 1940 "older" Negroes with the 1948 "older" Negroes also yields a chi-square which is significant at the one per cent level; moreover, the value of the chi-square obtained in that comparison, 22.4503, is larger than the chi-square obtained in the comparison of the entire 1940 Negro group with the entire 1948 Negro group and this is in spite of the fact that the total number of subjects in the former comparison is only 474 and in the latter comparison 1093. This is one of the few instances in this series of

comparisons in which the value of chi-square of a subgroup comparison has been larger than that of the comparison of the groups as a whole. The data appear to reflect a more pessimistic outlook for the Negro on the part of the "older" Negroes in 1948 than in 1940. No significant differences between the responses to this item were found in the comparison of the 1948 "younger" Negroes with the 1948 "older" Negroes. Both of the subgroup comparisons on the basis of sex showed differences significant at the five per cent level. And in both instances the attitude of the 1940 group appeared to be more favorable to the Negro than that of the 1948 group. The comparison of the 1940 "younger" Negroes with the 1948 "younger" Negroes did not result in a difference which was statistically significant. The 1940 and 1948 whites did not differ significantly in their responses to this item.

Continuing with the practice of discussing the items in the order of the size of the chi-square obtained, item 19 will be considered next. This item deals with the desirability of laws forbidding the marriage of Negroes and whites. The differences between the 1940 and 1948 Negro groups taken as a whole, and the difference between the male Negroes in 1940 and in 1948 were significant at the one per cent level, while the comparison of the 1940 "older" Negroes with the 1948 "older" Negroes yielded a chi-square

with an indicated significance at the two per cent level. The direction of the difference in all three of the comparisons appeared to indicate less approval of such laws on the part of the 1948 groups than on the part of the 1940 groups. This is interpreted as an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the students who took the test in 1948. The differences between the responses of the 1940 and 1948 whites to this item were not statistically significant. This is interesting in view of Myrdal's "rank order of discriminations" to which previous reference has been made. It will be recalled that according to Myrdal, intermarriage and related issues outrank all other aspects of "racial" interaction for the white man. He suggests that this issue is probably near the bottom of the Negro's rank order of importance in "racial" matters. Yet, one observes that in an essentially rural area of the South, Negro high school students in 1948 tended to disapprove of laws forbidding the intermarriage of the two "races" in significantly larger numbers than did the students eight years before. Even in 1948, however, more of the Negroes favored such laws than viewed these laws with disfavor.

The other item, in addition to item 13, to which the responses of the 1940 Negro group appeared to be more favorable to the Negro than those of the 1948 group was item number one. This item states that the Negro and the white

man have about the same natural ability. It may be significant that both of the items on which the responses of the 1948 group were less favorable to the Negro than those of the 1940 group are concerned not with social, legal, or economic equality but with the ability of the Negro, in item 13 with his ability to develop outstanding leaders and in item one with his ability as compared with that of the white man. However, in the case of item one, most of the Negroes agreed with the statement, whereas, in the case of item 13 more gave the response less favorable to the Negro than gave the response more favorable to the Negro.

Two of the subgroup comparisons yielded differences which were significant at the five per cent level of confidence and both appeared to be in the direction of a less favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 groups. These were the comparison of the 1940 Negro females with the 1948 Negro females and the comparison of the 1940 "older" Negroes with the 1948 "older" Negroes. The difference between the responses of the "younger" Negroes in 1948 were significant at the two per cent level, but it is not clear as to the direction of the difference. The differences between the responses of the 1940 male Negroes and the 1948 male Negroes were not statistically significant.

The next item to be considered is item 22 which might be thought of as summarizing several of the other items which deal with social equality. This item states that the

Negro should be given the same social advantages as the white man. The differences between the 1940 and 1948 Negro groups were significant at the one per cent level. The only subgroup comparison to reach statistical significance was the comparison of the 1940 "younger" Negroes with the 1948 "younger" Negroes. Both this comparison and that of the whole group in 1940 and 1948 appeared to indicate an attitude more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1948 groups. The white group tested in 1948 did not differ significantly from the white group tested in 1940 on this item. In 1940 and 1948 this was one of the items on which the Negroes and whites differed most. In the latter year 599 of the 626 Negroes or 96 per cent endorsed the proposition that they should have the same social advantages as the whites. Only 20 per cent of the whites in 1948 indicated agreement by marking the "True" or "Probably True" categories.

The next item to be discussed is number ten which states that all Negroes should be forced to leave the United States. This item was included in the test because it was thought to be extreme and thus would help to establish a high "ceiling" for the test, that is, give the person with extreme "racial" prejudice an opportunity to differentiate himself from persons with less extreme prejudices. It was thought that most of these highly prejudiced persons would

be members of the white group, although it is to be noted that such attitudes are not without precedent among members of the Negro "race" (26).

The differences between the 1940 and 1948 Negro group were significant at the two per cent level of confidence, but it is not clear as to which group expressed an attitude more favorable to the Negro. It appears that much of the difference is due more to a tendency for the 1948 group to mark the more extreme positions on the five point scale than for either of the groups to hold an attitude more favorable to the Negro than that held by the other group. The differences between the 1940 "younger" Negroes and the 1948 "younger" Negroes were found to be statistically significant, but here also the direction of the difference was equivocal. None of the other three subgroup comparisons yielded differences which were statistically significant.

The sixteenth and last item, arranged in order of the magnitude of chi-square, on which the 1940 Negroes and 1948 Negroes differed significantly was item number sixteen. The differences between the two groups were sufficiently great to reach the five per cent confidence interval. This item states that if two white men, walking together on a walk that is only wide enough for two, meet a Negro, one of the white men should drop behind the other to let the Negro pass.

Two of the subgroup differences were found to be sig-

nificant at the one per cent level. One of these was the comparison of the responses of the 1940 female Negroes with the 1948 female Negroes and the other was the comparison of the 1940 "younger" Negroes with the 1948 "younger" Negroes. The direction of the difference in the case of the 1940 and 1948 groups as a whole and in the subgroup comparisons appeared to indicate a tendency for the 1948 groups to select responses more favorable to the Negro than for the 1940 group to select such responses. That the Negro group had a unified opinion on the matter proposed by this item is indicated by 612 of the 626 subjects endorsing the proposition by marking it either "True" or "Probably True". Moreover of the 612, 581 selected the "True" category, thereby indicating that they were sure that they agreed with the statement. While the differences between the responses of the two ethnic groups were large and highly significant, more than half of the 1948 white group agreed with the statement also. Forty-six per cent of the 1940 white group agreed.

Item 16 was the last of the 16 items on which the 1940 and 1948 Negro groups as a whole differed significantly. As has already been stated there was one item on which one of the subgroups differed and on which the comparison of the groups as a whole did not show statistically significant differences. This was item five and the only comparison

which yielded a significant difference was that of the 1940 "younger" Negroes with the 1948 "younger" Negroes. This difference was significant at the one per cent level. This item states that most Negroes should be satisfied with being servants.

In the 1940 comparisons a statistically reliable difference was found between the "younger" and "older" Negro groups, with the "older" group showing attitudes more favorable to the Negro. In 1948 the comparison of responses of these two groups to this item did not reveal significant differences between them. The same is true of the comparison of the responses of the 1940 "older" group with the 1948 "older" group. It appears then that the differences noted between the 1940 "younger" group and the 1948 "younger" group represents a tendency for the 1948 "younger" group to conform more closely to the attitudes of the "older" Negro students than did the "younger" Negroes in 1940. Moreover, this same trend appears to be in evidence in the case of as many as eight or nine of the other items of the test.

Statistically significant differences were not found between the responses of the Negro subjects in 1940 and 1948 or between any of the responses of the subgroups to the remaining seven items of the Test of Racial Attitudes. These seven items are numbers 2, 4, 6, 12, 14, 18, and 23. They deal with the right of the Negro to a fair trial, his

right to vote in all elections, whether a white man should strike a Negro under circumstances which he would not strike a person of his own ethnic group, whether the Negro is physically superior to the white man, whether the educated Negro is less likely to become a burden on society than the educated white man, the courtesies which should be extended to the Negro by white filling station attendants and the matter of segregation of residential areas on the basis of "race".

If we may assume that the white man's "rank order of discriminations" as observed by Myrdal is fairly accurate, it would be interesting to note at what level in this rank order the major differences between the views of the Negro pupils in 1940 and in 1948 occurred. Stated another way, one might ask, "How important to the white man are these attitudes which are more favorable to the Negro which are expressed more frequently by the Negro group in 1948 than by the Negro group in 1940?" The first suggestion of their significance comes from the fact that all thirteen of the items on which the Negro groups differed are classifiable under Myrdal's categories of discrimination. Of these thirteen items all but one fit one of the three highest ranks assigned by the white man. The only item on the test which deals with the intermarriage of the two ethnic groups (rank number one) was endorsed by larger numbers of the 1948

Negroes than of the 1940 Negroes. On five of the six items which deal with personal relations of a social nature (rank number two) the 1948 group expressed attitudes which indicated that they disagreed with present practices in greater numbers than was true of the 1940 group. The only exception was in the case of item 23 which deals with Negroes living near the homes of whites. It may be noted in this connection that there is little formal residential segregation in the area in which the study was made. While the social cleavage remains sharp, it is not unusual to find houses occupied by Negroes near those of whites. The value of the house in which the Negro lives seldom approximates the value of the white man's house, and there is little thought that physical proximity implies social equality. It is reasonable to suppose that in an urban area the opinions of the two ethnic groups would diverge more than they did in the present sample. However, in this study the whites and the Negroes are in general disagreement on the issue. The important point to note here is that the failure to find attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the Negroes in 1948 than in 1940 on an item that appears to deal with social equality to a considerable extent may not be inconsistent with the tendency for the 1948 Negro group to show attitudes more favorable to the Negro on items dealing with social equality. The Negroes may have seen that the nearness of homes of the

white man and the Negro does not mean social acceptance of the Negro.

On six of the seven items on the test which may be thought of as dealing with discrimination in public places, Myrdal's rank number three, the 1948 Negroes made responses more favorable to the Negro than did the 1940 Negroes.

The one remaining item of the thirteen on which differences were found, item nine, appeared to fit Myrdal's rank number six best. Rank six deals with discrimination in securing land, credit, jobs, or other means of securing a living. Item nine deals with the matter of whites and Negroes working together in the fields and in other similar forms of work.

It would appear from this analysis of the differences between the views of the Negro pupils in 1940 and 1948 that of the issues on which the 1948 group expressed attitudes more favorable to the position of the Negro, many of the differences are on matters at the upper end of the white man's "rank order of discriminations". Stated differently, the shift of opinion in the Negro schools between 1940 and 1948 was along the dimensions which are most basic to the white man's doctrine of discrimination. This does not imply that differences in attitudes were confined only to the issues highest in the "rank order" scale. Most of the test items were concerned with issues fairly

high in the white man's "rank order of discriminations". Nevertheless, it does appear that the 1948 group more than the 1940 group availed themselves of nearly every opportunity to disapprove of these discriminations.

Summary

In summarizing the results of this series of comparisons, it is clear that the items on which the differences between the 1940 and 1948 group tended to be found most often and consistently were items dealing with what might be called equality in the use of public facilities and equality in personal social relationships. More of the larger values of chi-square tended to occur in items which were concerned with discrimination in the use of public facilities. Thus the comparisons yielding the five largest chi-squares deal with equal rights in the movies, schools, Pullman cars, drug store soda fountains, and barber shops. The case is not quite as clear-cut in classifying the five items yielding the next largest chi-squares, but the predominant point is equality in what might be termed personal social relationships. Thus, these items are concerned with Negroes answering whites with "Yes sir" instead of "Yes", working together, shaking hands, etiquette on a one-way bridge, and sitting on the same seat of an automobile.

The items on which the five largest chi-squares were obtained conform almost perfectly to Myrdal's "rank number

three" while the second series of five, ranked according to the size of chi-square, tend to relate to Myrdal's "rank number two". The item on which the twelfth largest chi-square was obtained deals with intermarriage of the ethnic groups, "rank number one". There can be little doubt that the issues on which these differences were found are matters of fundamental importance in the white man's pattern of discrimination.

There was a tendency for the subgroups to differ on the same items on which the groups as a whole differed. In only one instance the comparison of the "younger" groups on item five, was a significant difference found in a subgroup comparison on an item on which the groups as a whole did not differ significantly.

The differences between the 1940 and 1948 "younger" groups were statistically significant in the case of 14 items. Twelve of the differences appeared to be in the direction of a more favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 group and the direction of the difference in the case of two of the items was equivocal. The "older" groups in 1940 and 1948 differed significantly on eleven items; nine of the differences appeared to be in a direction more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1948 group and two in a direction less favorable to the Negro on the part of this group. The females in 1940 and

1948 differed significantly on 13 items, eleven of which appeared to be in the direction of more favorable attitudes toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 group and two of which appeared to be in the direction of a less favorable attitude on the part of the 1948 group. The male groups in 1940 and 1948 differed significantly on ten items, nine of which appeared to indicate more favorable attitudes toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 group, and the comparison of the responses to the other item appeared to indicate a less favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the 1948 group than on the part of the 1940 group. One of the broadest generalizations which can be made concerning the subgroup comparisons is that they tended to differ on the same items and to differ in the same direction. There is some evidence which suggests that the differences between the "younger" Negroes in 1940 and 1948 were somewhat larger and more numerous than was true of the other comparisons; however, it does not appear that in 1948 this group held attitudes more favorable to the Negro than did the other groups. It does appear that the "younger" Negroes held attitudes somewhat less favorable to the Negro in 1940 than those held by the "older" Negroes and that in 1948 they tended to agree more closely with the attitudes of the "older" group.

The data indicate that there was greater disagreement

between the two "racial" groups in 1948 than in 1940. This was especially true of issues proposing social interaction between the two groups. In general the attitudes of the white students remained unchanged on these issues between 1940 and 1948. The greater difference between the two groups in 1948 was due largely to attitudinal shifts on the part of the Negro students in the direction of equal rights for the Negro in the use of public facilities and in social relationships with the white man.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Three major hypotheses were tested: first, that white and Negro high school students in the area in which the study was conducted differ significantly in their attitudes toward the Negro; second, that the attitudes of white high school students in the area in 1948 differed in some respects from the attitudes of white students enrolled in the same schools in 1940; third, that the attitudes of Negro high school students in the area in 1948 differed in some respects from the attitudes of Negro students enrolled in the same schools in 1940. It was further assumed that the differences between the groups were a function of sex membership and age.

Methodology similar to that used in the study has previously been used by Buck (8), Pressey (44), Meenes (35), and Meltzer (36), but no studies were found in which this methodological approach had been applied to the attitudes of high school students toward the Negro.

The sample consisted of the students attending three high schools for white children and four high schools for Negro children in a rural area in the southwestern part of Tennessee. In none of the counties from which the sample was drawn did either the white or the Negro population con-

stitute less than one-fourth of the total population of the county.

A test of "racial" attitudes was constructed which included in its twenty-four items, many of the situations in which the members of the two ethnic groups appeared to come in contact and conflict. A test-retest reliability coefficient of .92 was obtained when the test was administered to college students with a fifteen day interval between the two testing sessions. Validity of the test is claimed on the basis of its clear differentiation of members of the two ethnic groups.

All of the students present in the seven schools included in the study took the Test of Racial Attitudes in 1940. In 1948 the writer again administered the test to all students present. The total number of complete test papers in 1940 was 927 and in 1948, 1082. Approximately half of the total group were Negroes and the other half were whites.

The statistical treatment of the data consisted primarily of applying the chi-square test of significance to the responses of the various groups to each item of the test. In all, the chi-square test was applied to 360 comparisons.

Although the writer believes that the attitudes of high school students more closely approximate the attitudes of all people in an area than do the attitudes of more

highly selected groups, such as college students, no claim that the findings of this study are applicable to a larger group than the students enrolled in the seven schools is made.

The principal findings of the study follow:

1. The Negro students and white students held decidedly different views as to the relationships which should exist between members of the two ethnic groups. The data indicate that the two ethnic groups were closer to agreement in 1940 than in 1948. This appeared to be due primarily to the increased favorable attitude toward the Negro on the part of the Negro group in 1948.
2. The data are interpreted as supporting Myrdal's hypothesis of the white man's "rank order of discriminations" provided one takes into consideration the effect which the matter proposed would have on the responding individual himself in terms of social proximity to the Negro.
3. The 1948 data are consistent with the 1940 data in showing a slight tendency for the attitudes of the white females to be more favorable to the Negro than those of the white males. No important relationship was found between the age of the white students and their attitudes toward the Negro.
4. The relationship between sex membership and attitude toward the Negro was less clear-cut in the comparison of the Negro students than in the comparison of the white

students. There appeared to be a slight tendency for the male Negroes to express more favorable attitudes toward the Negro than those of the Negro females. No important relationship was found between age of the Negro students and their attitudes toward the Negro in 1948.

5. There was a tendency for the white group in 1948 to express attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those expressed by the white group in 1940. The items on which such differences were found, however, were items on which marking the responses favorable to the Negro implied little in the way of social proximity between the Negro and the white respondent. The white group as a whole and the sub-groups as well appeared to indicate attitudes more favorable to the Negro in 1948 than in 1940 on issues which would not be likely to involve them personally in relations of a social nature with the Negro. The differences between the attitudes of the "younger" group in 1940 and 1948 and the differences between the attitudes of the girls in 1940 and 1948 appeared to play a more important part in the more favorable attitudes toward the Negro than did the differences between the attitudes of the "older" group in 1940 and 1948 and the boys in 1940 and 1948. The students who composed the "younger" group had not reached their seventeenth birthday and those who composed the "older" group were seventeen years of age or older.

6. The tendency for the Negro students to express

attitudes more favorable to the Negro in 1948 than in 1940 was greater than was this tendency on the part of the white students. Moreover, the items on which the greatest differences between the 1940 Negroes and 1948 Negroes were found were items higher on the white man's "rank order of discriminations" than were those on which the whites expressed attitudes more favorable to the Negro. The types of items on which the Negroes differed most in 1940 and 1948 were, first, equality in public places such as movies, schools, and soda fountains, and second, with matters of personal social relations, such as shaking hands, saying "Yes sir" instead of "Yes" and riding on the same seat of an automobile.

7. The 1948 Negro females and 1948 Negro males when compared with their counterparts in the 1940 group tended to differ on the same items. The data do not show that the differences between the attitudes of the Negro groups in 1940 and 1948 are a function of sex membership.

8. There is evidence which suggests that the differences between the attitudes of the "younger" Negroes in 1940 and 1948 contributed more to differences between the 1940 and 1948 Negro groups as a whole than did the differences between the 1940 "older" group and the 1948 "older" group. That is, the attitudes of the "younger" group in 1948 appeared to differ more from the attitudes of the "younger" group in 1940 than the attitudes of the 1948 "older" group

differed from those of the 1940 "older" group. However, it does not appear that in 1948 the "younger" group expressed attitudes more favorable to the Negro than those expressed by the "older" Negroes. It does appear that in 1940 the attitudes of the "younger" Negroes were less favorable to the Negro than those of the "older" Negroes and that in 1948 the attitudes of both age groups were equally favorable to the Negro.

The principal findings of the study reduced to their briefest form may be stated as follows: both the white and the Negro groups expressed attitudes more favorable to the Negro in 1948 than in 1940; even so, the two ethnic groups were farther from agreement on issues involving interracial relations in 1948 than they were in 1940; this was due to the much greater shift of attitudes by the Negro students than by the white students between 1940 and 1948.

APPENDIX I

TEST OF RACIAL ATTITUDES

DIRECTIONS

Before you start the test indicate your grade in school, your age, and whether you are a boy or a girl in the blanks provided. You will not sign your name; so feel free to respond to each part of the test with complete frankness. On this test there are no right nor wrong answers; just score the items according to what you think about the matter proposed. You will notice under each item the terms True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False. If you are sure you agree with the statement, draw a line under the word TRUE. If you think you agree with the statement but are not sure, underscore the term PROBABLY TRUE. If you do not have any very definite opinion on the matter one way or the other, or don't know anything about it, underscore the term DON'T KNOW. If you think you disagree with the statement but are not sure, underscore the term PROBABLY FALSE. If you are sure you disagree with the statement, underscore the word FALSE. You will have plenty of time; so read every item very carefully and answer frankly. Remember, you are not to sign your name.

Grade _____ Age _____ Sex _____

1. The Negro and the white man have about the same natural ability.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
2. A Negro has a right to a fair trial in court regardless of what he has done.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
3. It is all right for a Negro to sit on the same seat of an automobile with a white man.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
4. Negroes should be allowed to vote in all elections, including Democratic primaries.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
5. Most Negroes should be satisfied with being servants.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False

6. A white man should never strike a Negro if he would not hit a white man under the same conditions.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
7. Negro children should be allowed to attend the same school that white children attend.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
8. A white man should shake hands with a Negro without hesitation.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
9. It is all right for whites and Negroes to work together in the field, or in other such forms of work.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
10. All Negroes should be forced to leave the United States.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
11. If a Negro driving a car gets to a one way bridge slightly before a car driven by a white man arrives at the other end, it is all right for the Negro to make the white man wait.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
12. The average Negro is physically superior to the average white man.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
13. The inability of the Negroes to develop outstanding leaders dooms them to a low place in society.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
14. The educated Negro is less of a burden on the courts and is less likely to become a dependent or a defective than the educated white man.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
15. Negroes should be allowed to sit with white people in the movies.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
16. If two white men, walking together on a walk that is only wide enough for two, meet a Negro, one of the white men should drop behind the other to let the Negro pass.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
17. All Negroes should answer all grown white men by saying "Yes, sir", or "No, Sir", rather than "Yes", or "No".
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False

18. White filling station attendants should wipe the windshield and check the tires and water for Negro automobile owners.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
19. There should not be a law forbidding the marriage of whites and Negroes.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
20. Negroes should be allowed to eat ice cream at a table in a drug store the same as whites.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
21. Negroes who can afford to buy Pullman car tickets should be permitted to do so when traveling long distances on a train.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
22. The Negro should be given the same social advantages as the white man.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
23. Negroes should not be permitted to live near the homes of white people, unless they live in servants' houses.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False
24. Negro barbers should be allowed to cut the hair of both whites and Negroes.
True Probably True Don't Know Probably False False

APPENDIX II

Comparison of _____ with _____

Item

Group	Response					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
						h
						i
Total	g	f	d	c	b	a

$$g/a \times h = e \text{ in } 1 \quad \text{---} \quad X =$$

$$f/a \times h = e \text{ in } 2 \quad \text{---} \quad X =$$

$$d/a \times h = e \text{ in } 3 \quad \text{---} \quad X =$$

$$c/a \times h = e \text{ in } 4 \quad \text{---} \quad X =$$

$$b/a \times h = e \text{ in } 5 \quad \text{---} \quad X =$$

$$g/a \times i = e \text{ in } 1 \quad \text{---} \quad X =$$

$$f/a \times i = e \text{ in } 2 \quad \text{---} \quad X =$$

$$d/a \times i = e \text{ in } 3 \quad \text{---} \quad X =$$

$$c/a \times i = e \text{ in } 4 \quad \text{---} \quad X =$$

$$b/a \times i = e \text{ in } 5 \quad \text{---} \quad X =$$

Total

	o	e	o-e	(o-e) ²	$\frac{(o-e)^2}{e}$
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
Total				$\chi^2 =$	

Degrees of Freedom

$$d.f. = (r-1) (k-1)$$

$$d.f. = \quad X \quad =$$

Significant at _____ % level of confidence

APPENDIX III

1948 White (N=456)				1948 Negroes (N=626)					Chi-sq.	d.f.	Confid. Level	Apparent Direction		
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5					
1	57	144	39	71	145	325	113	26	35	127	185.6048	4	1	N
2	359	54	11	14	18	509	58	14	8	37	8.7637	4	-	-
3	62	88	36	64	206	424	113	21	19	49	382.4410	4	1	N
4	89	51	63	54	199	467	96	40	6	17	453.6459	4	1	N
5	123	81	62	82	108	53	51	47	49	426	212.9858	4	1	N
6	214	90	55	40	77	532	39	21	10	24	181.5517	4	1	N
7	1	3	7	7	438	272	161	47	32	114	600.3983	3	1	N
8	10	23	36	56	331	436	117	34	16	23	753.9219	4	1	N
9	232	140	31	27	26	531	67	5	10	13	151.6894	4	1	N
10	43	32	73	63	245	19	6	29	11	561	185.7213	4	1	N
11	155	92	40	40	129	507	42	28	11	37	254.9414	4	1	N
12	58	72	143	56	127	237	138	166	37	48	147.0160	4	1	N
13	108	115	145	37	51	123	110	195	49	149	32.0661	4	1	N
14	49	58	153	65	131	175	128	135	66	122	73.0083	4	1	N
15	2	3	3	7	441	346	124	32	56	88	676.6237	3	1	N
16	170	106	19	38	123	581	31	6	4	4	393.9734	3	1	N
17	369	50	18	7	12	119	60	23	47	377	486.8312	4	1	N
18	162	113	67	41	73	491	57	32	20	26	201.3823	4	1	N
19	92	6	16	11	331	176	58	109	49	234	156.0740	4	1	N
20	7	5	16	22	406	526	61	16	6	17	918.3043	4	1	N
21	80	65	117	48	146	513	51	42	8	12	477.1260	4	1	N
22	42	47	60	74	233	557	42	15	6	6	729.1589	4	1	N
23	172	85	57	71	71	69	48	29	50	430	304.3356	4	1	N
24	25	27	34	49	320	338	124	51	22	91	458.9627	4	1	N

Table VI. Number of 1948 white and 1948 Negro pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. N indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the Negroes.

1948 White Males (N=227)					1948 White Females (N=229)					Chi-sq.		d.f.	Confid. Level		Apparent Direction
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5						
1	27	54	19	38	88	30	90	20	33	56	16.6885	4	1		F
2	186	21	5	5	10	173	33	6	9	8	5.6489	4	-		-
3	32	32	17	26	120	30	56	19	38	86	8.6920	4	-		-
4	38	23	23	22	121	51	28	40	32	78	17.5772	4	1		F
5	67	36	30	32	62	56	45	32	50	46	8.3472	4	-		-
6	95	48	13	16	55	119	42	22	24	22	21.5373	4	1		F
7	0	1	3	3	220	1	2	4	4	218	1.1518	2	-		-
8	4	15	12	30	166	6	8	24	26	165	5.3899	3	-		-
9	129	66	11	10	11	103	74	20	17	15	7.3883	4	-		-
10	29	14	38	33	113	14	18	35	30	132	8.2523	4	-		-
11	93	43	17	12	62	62	49	23	28	67	8.6622	4	-		-
12	37	31	53	29	77	21	41	90	27	50	21.1110	4	1		?
13	63	53	70	12	29	45	62	75	25	22	7.4671	4	-		-
14	31	26	75	23	72	18	32	78	42	59	11.1309	4	5		?
15	0	2	1	4	220	2	1	2	3	221	.5334	2	-		-
16	85	58	11	17	56	85	48	8	21	67	3.0218	4	-		-
17	190	24	6	2	5	179	26	12	5	7	3.3147	3	-		-
18	76	48	33	21	49	86	65	34	20	24	12.2425	4	2		F
19	52	3	12	5	155	40	3	4	6	176	6.6778	3	-		-
20	4	2	6	11	204	3	3	10	11	201	1.3950	3	-		-
21	40	27	44	24	92	40	38	73	24	54	18.1306	4	1		F
22	21	16	34	30	126	21	36	26	44	107	9.6040	4	5		?
23	94	31	29	35	38	79	53	28	36	33	8.1294	4	-		-
24	10	11	17	17	172	15	16	17	32	149	7.0305	4	-		-

Table VII. Number of 1948 White male and 1948 white female pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. F indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1948 white female group. M on the part of the white male group. ? indicates that the direction of the difference is equivocal.

	1948 Older Whites (N=122)					1948 Younger Whites (N=334)					Chi-sq.	d.f.	Confid. Level	Apparent Direction
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
1	22	28	11	22	39	35	116	28	49	106	9.4699	4	-	-
2	93	17	4	5	3	266	37	7	9	15	1.6720	3	-	-
3	15	23	10	17	57	47	65	26	47	149	.4807	4	-	-
4	20	13	16	10	63	69	38	47	44	135	5.2112	4	-	-
5	31	26	10	24	31	92	55	52	58	77	5.5724	4	-	-
6	51	25	9	8	29	163	65	26	32	47	7.5427	4	-	-
7	0	0	1	1	120	1	3	6	6	318	2.1304	2	-	-
8	0	4	7	14	97	10	19	29	42	234	6.1404	3	-	-
9	63	34	5	9	10	169	105	26	18	15	4.4268	4	-	-
10	16	13	20	20	53	27	19	53	43	192	8.0982	4	-	-
11	43	26	9	7	37	112	66	31	33	92	2.8522	4	-	-
12	16	23	35	13	34	42	49	108	43	92	1.8308	4	-	-
13	30	33	36	10	13	78	82	109	27	38	.6391	4	-	-
14	11	15	40	13	43	38	43	113	52	88	4.3082	4	-	-
15	1	0	0	0	121	1	3	3	7	320	1.2201	2	-	-
16	47	28	8	6	33	123	78	11	32	90	3.4034	4	-	-
17	105	11	5	1	0	264	39	13	6	12	5.2556	3	-	-
18	40	33	18	9	22	122	80	49	32	51	1.4657	4	-	-
19	26	0	1	4	91	66	6	15	7	29	5.2765	3	-	-
20	0	0	3	4	115	7	5	13	18	291	5.0951	2	-	-
21	14	16	25	21	46	66	49	92	27	100	13.2893	4	1	0
22	11	13	13	16	69	31	34	47	58	164	2.9401	4	-	-
23	52	23	12	17	18	120	62	45	54	53	1.5375	4	-	-
24	4	4	9	9	96	21	23	25	40	225	6.7822	3	-	-

Table VIII. Number of 1948 young white and 1948 old white pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. 0 indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the older white group.

1948 Negro Males (N=189)				1948 Negro Females (N=437)				Chi-sq.	d.f.	Confid. Level	Apparent Direction	
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3					4
1	98	36	4	11	40	225	77	22	24	89	4	-
2	156	8	5	4	16	353	50	9	4	21	3	F
3	127	31	10	6	15	297	82	11	13	34	4	-
4	149	19	15	0	6	318	77	25	6	11	3	-
5	15	12	24	19	119	38	39	23	30	307	4	?
6	156	12	8	4	9	376	27	13	6	15	3	-
7	97	45	16	9	22	175	116	31	23	92	4	M
8	130	36	11	3	9	306	81	23	13	14	3	-
9	162	15	1	6	5	369	52	4	4	8	3	-
10	4	1	7	2	175	15	5	22	9	386	2	-
11	160	8	10	3	8	347	35	18	8	29	3	-
12	76	35	55	7	16	161	102	111	30	32	4	-
13	40	27	57	17	48	83	83	138	32	101	4	-
14	56	31	45	21	36	119	96	90	45	86	4	-
15	109	32	15	13	20	237	92	17	23	68	4	-
16	173	7	3	3	3	408	24	3	1	1	3	F
17	29	20	9	17	114	90	40	14	30	263	4	-
18	168	6	6	3	6	323	51	26	17	20	3	M
19	69	18	32	17	53	107	40	77	32	181	4	M
20	161	20	4	2	2	365	41	12	4	15	3	-
21	164	7	14	2	2	349	44	28	6	10	3	?
22	168	16	2	1	2	389	26	13	5	4	3	-
23	14	11	14	12	138	55	37	15	38	292	4	M
24	121	32	15	6	15	217	92	36	16	76	4	M

Table IX. Number of 1948 Negro male and 1948 Negro female pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. F indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the Negro female group, M on the part of the Negro male group. ? indicates that the direction of the difference is equivocal.

1948 Younger Negroes (N=401)					1948 Older Negroes (N=225)					Chi-sq.	d.f.	Confid. Level	Apparent Direction
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
1	203	78	16	29	75	122	35	10	6	52	4	-	-
2	321	40	10	5	25	188	18	4	3	12	3	-	-
3	274	73	13	11	30	150	40	8	8	19	4	-	-
4	298	63	24	6	10	169	33	16	0	7	3	-	-
5	36	35	32	32	266	17	16	15	17	160	4	-	-
6	336	26	14	9	15	196	12	7	1	9	3	-	-
7	181	92	31	22	75	91	69	16	10	39	4	-	-
8	270	80	17	12	22	166	37	17	4	0	3	1	?
9	338	47	2	5	9	193	20	3	5	4	3	-	-
10	14	4	13	6	364	5	2	16	5	197	3	-	-
11	320	30	19	10	22	187	13	9	1	15	3	-	-
12	150	83	105	25	38	87	55	61	12	10	4	-	-
13	74	61	128	34	104	48	49	67	15	45	4	-	-
14	108	79	87	41	86	67	49	48	25	36	4	-	-
15	218	77	23	24	58	128	47	9	12	29	4	-	-
16	372	22	4	2	1	209	9	2	2	3	3	-	-
17	84	32	15	36	234	35	28	8	11	143	4	-	-
18	307	39	23	15	17	184	18	9	5	9	4	-	-
19	111	37	72	28	153	65	21	37	21	81	4	-	-
20	331	43	11	4	12	195	18	5	2	5	3	-	-
21	315	36	32	9	11	198	15	10	1	1	3	2	?
22	349	29	12	5	6	208	13	3	1	0	3	-	-
23	51	38	20	33	258	18	10	9	17	171	4	5	0
24	215	71	34	15	66	123	53	17	7	25	4	-	-

Table X. Number of 1948 older Negro and 1948 younger Negro pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. 0 indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1948 older Negro group. ? indicates that the direction of the difference is equivocal.

1940 Whites (N=460)		1948 Whites (N=456)					Chi-sq.	d.f.	Confid. Level	Apparent Direction				
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5					
1	48	120	32	61	199	57	144	39	71	145	13.0331	4	2	48
2	363	50	9	12	26	359	54	11	14	18	1.9622	4	-	-
3	90	98	29	58	185	62	88	36	64	206	5.5816	4	-	-
4	103	65	51	45	196	89	51	63	54	199	5.0243	4	-	-
5	152	107	49	62	90	123	81	62	82	108	12.6269	4	2	48
6	205	81	34	44	96	214	90	35	40	77	2.9447	4	-	-
7	5	3	1	10	440	1	3	7	7	438	7.4073	3	-	-
8	10	21	23	48	358	10	23	36	56	331	4.8654	4	-	-
9	139	142	45	53	81	232	140	31	27	26	73.3136	4	1	48
10	41	31	49	56	283	43	32	73	63	245	7.8250	4	-	-
11	131	89	35	45	160	155	92	40	40	129	6.2345	4	-	-
12	82	94	121	41	122	58	72	143	56	127	11.9839	4	2	40
13	136	107	128	44	45	108	115	145	37	51	5.4316	4	-	-
14	77	68	114	68	133	49	58	153	65	131	13.0385	4	2	40
15	2	0	5	19	434	2	3	3	7	441	7.4729	3	-	-
16	134	79	21	38	188	170	106	19	38	123	22.2587	4	1	48
17	396	40	5	11	8	369	50	18	7	12	12.0898	4	2	48
18	205	102	49	36	68	162	113	67	41	73	9.4611	4	-	-
19	105	14	15	12	314	92	6	16	11	331	4.6802	4	-	-
20	9	18	13	30	390	7	5	16	22	406	8.8084	4	-	-
21	39	75	132	57	157	80	65	117	48	146	17.2697	4	1	48
22	36	59	53	66	246	42	47	60	74	233	3.0523	4	-	-
23	179	91	35	80	75	172	85	57	71	71	5.9171	4	-	-
24	30	48	22	40	320	25	27	34	49	320	9.3267	4	-	-

Table XI. Number of 1940 white and 1948 white pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. 40 indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1940 group, 48 on the part of the 1948 group.

1940 White Females (N=261)					1948 White Females (N=229)					Chi-sq.	d.f.	Confid. Level	Apparent Direction
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
1	20	73	16	43	109	30	90	20	33	56	13.2015	2	48
2	207	35	3	9	7	173	33	6	9	8	2.2462	-	-
3	41	58	18	35	109	30	56	19	38	86	2.6582	-	-
4	60	42	34	25	100	51	28	40	32	78	5.1484	-	-
5	74	70	26	44	47	56	45	32	50	46	7.2599	-	-
6	125	53	20	26	37	119	42	22	24	22	3.4902	-	-
7	3	1	1	4	252	1	2	4	4	218	2.2637	-	-
8	5	16	11	29	200	6	8	24	26	165	9.6417	5	?
9	61	98	27	29	46	103	74	20	17	15	32.0179	1	48
10	18	12	29	31	171	14	18	35	30	132	5.8281	-	-
11	68	51	17	30	95	62	49	23	28	67	4.2059	-	-
12	41	69	73	22	56	21	41	90	27	50	13.9448	1	40
13	73	65	78	27	18	45	62	75	25	22	4.9062	-	-
14	35	40	70	44	72	18	32	78	42	59	6.4418	-	-
15	1	0	4	13	243	2	1	2	3	224	1.7151	-	-
16	69	46	8	25	113	85	48	8	21	67	11.7967	2	48
17	226	23	0	8	4	179	26	12	5	7	13.8974	1	48
18	114	65	30	21	31	86	65	34	20	24	2.8721	-	-
19	58	10	7	7	179	40	3	4	6	176	4.4288	-	-
20	3	13	9	19	217	3	3	10	11	201	4.6958	-	-
21	26	46	80	40	69	40	38	73	24	54	7.5543	-	-
22	18	40	29	43	131	21	31	26	44	107	1.8404	-	-
23	84	63	21	51	42	78	53	28	36	33	3.5498	-	-
24	12	26	15	24	184	15	16	17	32	149	5.7982	-	-

Table XII. Number of 1940 white female and 1948 white female pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes, together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. 40 indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1940 white females, 48 on the part of the 1948 white females. ? indicates that the direction of difference is equivocal.

1940 White Males (N=199)										1948 White Males (N=227)										Chi-sq.	d.f.	Confid. Level	Apparent Direction
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20				
28	47	16	18	90	27	54	19	38	88	5	9927	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
156	15	6	3	19	186	21	5	10	10	5	4.7277	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
49	40	11	23	76	32	32	17	26	120	5	13.8229	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	23	17	20	96	38	23	23	22	121	26	2.6538	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	37	23	18	43	67	36	30	32	62	22	6.9577	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
80	28	14	18	59	95	48	13	16	55	32	5.3595	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	2	0	6	189	0	1	3	220	2	3	4.8385	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	5	12	19	158	4	15	12	30	166	3	4.2244	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
78	44	18	24	35	129	66	11	10	11	10	36.7332	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	19	20	25	112	29	14	38	33	113	33	6.5805	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	38	18	15	65	93	43	17	12	62	12	4.6849	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
41	25	48	19	66	37	31	53	29	77	29	2.1846	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	42	50	17	27	63	53	70	12	29	12	3.1994	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	28	44	24	61	31	26	75	23	72	23	9.4224	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1	0	1	6	191	0	2	1	4	220	4	.2242	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
65	33	13	13	75	85	58	11	17	56	17	11.8968	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
170	17	5	3	4	190	24	6	2	5	2	.4369	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
91	37	19	15	37	76	48	33	21	49	21	7.2917	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	4	8	5	135	52	3	12	5	155	5	.4636	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	5	4	11	173	4	2	6	11	204	11	2.6275	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	29	52	17	88	40	27	44	24	92	24	14.3483	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	19	24	23	115	21	16	34	30	126	30	2.0294	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
95	28	14	29	33	94	31	29	35	38	35	4.4698	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	22	7	16	136	10	11	17	17	172	17	13.2208	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table XIII. Number of 1940 white male and 1948 white male pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes, together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. 40 indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1940 white males, 48 on the part of the 1948 white males.

	1949 Younger Whites (N=313)					1948 Younger Whites (N=334)					Chi-sq.	d.f.	Confid. Level	Apparent Direction
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
1	32	77	24	47	133	35	116	28	49	106	10.2724	4	5	48
2	237	38	9	10	19	266	37	7	9	15	2.0239	4	-	-
3	70	63	20	36	124	47	65	26	47	149	7.8722	4	-	-
4	76	41	32	25	139	69	38	47	44	135	7.5192	4	-	-
5	103	80	35	36	59	92	55	52	58	77	15.4906	4	1	48
6	146	57	24	22	64	163	65	26	32	47	5.0411	4	-	-
7	3	2	1	11	296	1	3	6	6	318	5.5868	3	-	-
8	9	19	16	38	231	10	19	29	42	234	3.6672	4	-	-
9	111	89	37	30	46	169	105	26	18	15	32.7550	4	1	48
10	25	17	32	39	200	27	19	53	43	192	4.8866	4	-	-
11	89	56	25	34	109	112	66	31	33	92	4.9650	4	-	-
12	54	59	83	31	86	42	49	108	43	92	7.5395	4	-	-
13	83	67	94	33	36	78	82	109	27	38	2.6771	4	-	-
14	51	43	82	49	88	38	43	113	52	88	6.0886	4	-	-
15	2	0	4	15	292	1	3	3	7	320	3.7672	3	-	-
16	85	52	17	27	132	123	78	11	32	90	21.4867	4	1	48
17	265	28	3	9	8	264	39	13	6	12	9.6840	4	5	?
18	142	61	36	25	49	122	80	49	32	51	6.2292	4	-	-
19	68	12	11	11	211	66	6	15	7	239	4.2199	4	-	-
20	8	12	10	23	260	7	5	13	18	291	5.4759	4	-	-
21	31	47	92	44	99	66	49	92	27	100	16.5730	4	1	48
22	26	39	36	48	164	31	34	47	58	164	2.5796	4	-	-
23	122	62	25	49	55	120	62	45	54	53	5.0009	4	-	-
24	14	33	15	28	223	21	23	25	40	225	7.0478	4	-	-

Table XIV. Number of 1940 younger white and 1948 younger white pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. 40 indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1940 younger whites, 48 on the part of the 1948 younger whites. ? indicates that the direction of the difference is equivocal.

1940 Older Whites (N=147)					1948 Older Whites (N=122)					Chi-sq. d.f. Confid. Level			Apparent Direction	
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5					
1	16	43	9	13	66	22	11	22	39	11.8275	4	2	?	
2	126	12	0	2	7	93	17	4	5	7.7344	3	-	-	
3	20	35	9	22	61	15	23	10	17	1.3642	4	-	-	
4	27	24	19	20	57	20	13	16	10	6.6975	4	-	-	
5	49	27	14	26	31	31	26	10	24	2.4016	4	-	-	
6	59	24	10	22	32	51	25	9	8	5.6665	4	-	-	
7	2	1	0	3	141	0	0	1	121	3.7056	2	-	-	
8	1	2	7	10	127	0	4	7	14	2.6494	3	-	-	
9	28	53	8	23	35	63	34	5	10	36.4739	4	1	48	
10	16	14	17	17	83	16	13	20	53	4.6354	4	-	-	
11	42	33	10	11	51	43	26	9	7	1.4639	4	-	-	
12	28	35	38	10	36	16	23	35	13	4.1380	4	-	-	
13	52	40	35	11	9	30	33	36	10	4.9735	4	-	-	
14	26	25	32	19	45	11	15	40	13	8.4824	4	-	-	
15	0	0	1	4	142	1	0	0	121	2.0282	2	-	-	
16	49	27	4	11	56	47	28	8	6	7.2927	4	-	-	
17	131	12	2	2	0	105	11	5	1	2.7539	3	-	-	
18	63	41	13	11	19	40	33	18	9	4.9389	4	-	-	
19	37	2	4	1	103	26	0	1	4	2.3688	2	-	-	
20	1	6	3	7	130	0	0	3	4	5.9881	2	-	-	
21	9	27	40	13	58	14	16	25	21	9.6561	4	5	?	
22	10	20	17	18	82	11	13	13	16	.9597	4	-	-	
23	57	29	10	31	20	52	23	12	17	3.7237	4	-	-	
24	16	15	7	12	97	4	4	9	96	13.1387	3	1	40	

Table XV. Number of 1940 older white and 1948 older white pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. 40 indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1940 older whites, 48 on the part of the 1948 older whites, and ? indicates that the direction of the difference is equivocal.

1940 Negroes (N=467)					1948 Negroes (N=626)					Chi-sq.	d.f.	Confid. Level	Apparent Direction
F	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
1	242	122	10	15	78	325	113	26	35	127	15.8555	4	1
2	390	28	11	15	23	509	58	14	8	37	9.0398	4	-
3	261	90	22	28	66	424	113	21	19	49	24.3624	4	1
4	350	67	24	10	16	467	96	40	6	17	3.5889	4	-
5	47	44	37	52	287	53	51	47	49	426	6.2242	4	-
6	401	30	10	13	13	532	39	21	10	24	3.8527	4	-
7	100	83	27	43	214	272	161	47	32	114	120.4416	4	1
8	258	91	39	31	48	436	117	34	16	23	41.8531	4	1
9	322	84	14	16	31	531	67	5	10	13	43.3106	4	1
10	5	7	23	22	410	19	6	29	11	561	12.7191	4	2
11	321	68	21	23	34	507	43	28	11	37	30.2060	4	1
12	169	104	127	28	39	237	138	166	37	48	.4220	4	-
13	70	74	118	61	144	123	110	195	49	149	19.2667	4	1
14	117	103	106	41	100	175	128	135	66	122	2.7440	4	-
15	135	70	25	47	190	346	124	32	36	88	126.4919	4	1
16	410	22	14	5	16	581	31	6	4	4	11.2731	4	5
17	159	65	18	34	191	119	60	23	47	377	47.7232	4	1
18	386	41	14	8	18	491	57	32	20	26	6.2159	4	-
19	114	38	63	21	231	176	58	109	49	234	17.8923	4	1
20	295	83	16	28	45	526	61	16	6	17	72.6794	4	1
21	272	84	83	13	15	513	51	42	8	12	75.0444	4	1
22	383	53	15	3	13	557	42	15	6	6	14.1389	4	1
23	52	50	22	48	295	69	48	29	50	430	5.4347	4	-
24	179	81	33	36	138	338	124	51	22	91	52.4014	4	1

Table XVI. Number of 1940 Negro and 1948 Negro pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. 40 indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1940 group, 48 on the part of the 1948 group, and ? indicates that the direction of the difference is equivocal.

1940 Negro Females (N=290)					1948 Negro Females (N=437)					Chi-sq.	d.f.	Confid. Level	Apparent Direction
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
1	147	75	9	10	49	225	77	22	24	89	9.6330	4	5
2	240	20	7	11	12	353	50	9	4	21	5.5333	3	-
3	145	63	15	24	43	297	82	11	13	34	31.7113	4	1
4	206	48	18	9	9	318	77	25	6	11	2.9906	4	-
5	28	29	27	28	178	38	39	23	30	307	8.3204	4	-
6	241	24	6	11	8	376	27	13	6	15	6.4169	4	-
7	66	50	16	22	136	175	116	31	23	92	121.3310	4	1
8	163	53	29	20	25	306	81	23	13	14	25.0383	4	1
9	202	53	10	10	15	369	52	4	4	8	25.6162	3	1
10	3	4	14	16	253	15	5	22	9	386	8.4806	3	-
11	195	51	11	13	20	347	35	18	8	29	22.6424	4	1
12	107	65	88	9	21	161	102	111	30	32	6.9929	4	-
13	37	52	84	35	82	83	83	138	32	101	10.6102	4	5
14	63	67	66	28	66	119	96	90	45	86	3.5596	4	-
15	88	43	12	30	117	237	92	17	23	68	74.3825	4	1
16	257	13	6	3	11	408	24	3	1	1	19.7167	3	1
17	99	36	11	18	126	90	40	14	30	263	23.9888	4	1
18	232	31	11	5	11	323	51	26	17	20	6.0511	4	-
19	76	22	35	14	143	107	40	77	32	181	8.5078	4	-
20	182	55	9	18	26	365	41	12	4	15	38.9875	3	1
21	163	58	56	6	7	349	44	28	6	10	49.7427	4	1
22	240	32	8	3	7	389	26	13	5	14	7.5018	3	-
23	32	39	11	30	178	55	37	15	38	292	6.3258	4	-
24	107	50	20	26	87	27	92	36	16	76	28.3592	4	1

Table XVII. Number of 1940 female Negro and 1948 female Negro pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. 40 indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1940 group, 48 on the part of the 1948 group, and ? indicates that the direction of the difference is equivocal.

1940 Negro Males (N=177)					1948 Negro Males (N=189)					Chi-sq. d.f.	Confid. Level	Apparent Direction
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5			
1	95	47	1	5	29	98	36	4	11	40	7.2415	-
2	150	8	4	4	11	158	8	5	4	16	.7220	-
3	116	27	7	4	23	127	31	10	6	15	1.7067	-
4	144	19	6	1	7	149	19	15	0	6	3.5011	-
5	19	15	10	24	109	15	12	24	19	119	6.7612	-
6	160	6	4	2	5	156	12	8	4	9	5.7543	-
7	34	33	11	21	78	97	45	16	9	22	68.4508	48
8	95	38	10	11	23	130	36	11	3	9	16.3071	48
9	120	31	4	6	16	162	15	1	6	5	19.5303	48
10	2	3	9	6	157	4	1	7	2	175	.2721	-
11	126	17	10	10	14	160	8	10	3	8	6.1064	-
12	62	39	39	19	18	76	35	55	7	16	8.6323	-
13	33	22	34	21	62	40	27	57	17	48	9.9230	40
14	54	36	40	13	34	56	31	45	21	36	2.1031	-
15	47	27	13	17	73	109	32	15	13	20	54.8352	48
16	153	9	8	2	5	173	7	3	3	3	4.1666	-
17	60	29	7	16	65	29	20	9	17	114	26.1193	48
18	154	10	3	3	7	168	6	6	3	6	1.7108	-
19	38	16	28	7	88	69	18	32	17	53	22.9281	48
20	113	28	7	10	19	161	20	4	2	2	29.9018	48
21	109	26	27	7	8	164	7	14	2	2	32.2751	48
22	143	21	7	0	6	168	16	2	1	2	7.4547	-
23	20	11	11	18	117	14	11	14	12	138	3.8145	-
24	72	31	13	10	5	121	32	15	6	15	15.3583	48

Table XVIII. Number of 1940 Negro male and 1948 Negro male pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. 40 indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1940 Negro males, 48 on the part of 1948 Negro males. ? indicates that the direction of the difference is equivocal.

1940 Younger Negroes (N=218)				1948 Younger Negroes (N=401)				Chi-sq.	d.f.	Confid. Level	Apparent Direction			
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5					
1	95	66	7	8	42	203	78	16	29	75	12.0958	4	2	?
2	181	15	5	9	8	321	40	10	5	25	8.4991	4	-	-
3	104	43	16	14	41	274	73	13	11	30	36.4251	4	1	48
4	147	41	15	6	9	293	63	24	6	10	4.1714	4	-	-
5	40	23	16	26	113	36	35	32	32	266	17.8671	4	1	48
6	175	19	6	9	9	336	26	14	9	15	3.7445	4	-	-
7	36	32	13	21	116	181	92	31	22	75	99.1618	4	1	48
8	102	46	24	19	27	270	80	17	12	22	38.9213	4	1	48
9	144	44	9	8	13	338	47	2	5	9	30.7409	4	1	48
10	2	2	13	8	193	14	4	13	6	364	8.7327	3	5	?
11	132	40	11	14	21	320	30	19	10	22	31.5087	4	1	48
12	64	50	71	13	20	150	83	105	25	38	4.7970	4	-	-
13	26	31	74	27	60	74	61	128	34	104	6.5250	4	-	-
14	51	47	53	18	49	108	79	87	41	86	2.2034	4	-	-
15	55	27	9	25	102	218	77	23	24	58	97.3678	4	1	48
16	188	14	5	2	9	372	22	4	2	1	13.5855	3	1	48
17	85	28	14	16	75	84	32	15	36	234	38.9077	4	1	48
18	174	19	12	4	9	307	39	23	15	17	1.1771	3	-	-
19	54	16	35	9	104	111	37	72	28	153	6.3037	4	-	-
20	133	36	11	16	22	331	43	11	4	12	43.1343	3	1	48
21	119	42	43	6	8	315	36	32	7	11	42.7292	4	1	48
22	172	26	8	2	10	349	29	12	5	6	8.2458	3	5	48
23	27	26	16	22	127	51	38	20	33	258	3.3390	4	-	-
24	65	37	19	16	81	215	71	34	15	66	46.6525	4	1	48

Table XIX. Number of 1940 young Negroes and 1948 young Negroes responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. 40 indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1940 group, 48 on the part of the 1948 group, and ? indicates that the direction of the difference is equivocal.

1940 Older Negroes (N=249)				1948 Older Negroes (N=225)				Chi-sq. d.f. Confid. Apparent Level Direction					
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
1	147	56	3	7	36	122	35	10	6	52	10.8085	4	5
2	209	13	3	7	15	188	18	4	3	12	2.7195	3	-
3	157	47	6	14	25	150	40	8	8	19	1.5553	4	-
4	203	26	9	4	7	169	33	16	0	7	5.0385	3	-
5	17	21	11	26	174	17	16	15	17	160	2.7970	4	-
6	226	11	4	4	4	196	12	7	1	9	2.0152	3	-
7	64	51	14	22	98	91	69	16	10	39	35.7472	4	1
8	156	45	15	12	21	166	37	17	4	0	26.1245	3	1
9	178	40	5	8	18	193	20	3	5	4	15.2301	3	1
10	3	5	10	14	217	5	2	16	5	197	5.8540	3	-
11	189	28	10	9	13	187	13	9	1	15	4.8175	3	-
12	105	54	56	15	19	87	55	61	12	10	3.8793	4	-
13	44	43	44	34	84	49	49	67	15	45	22.4503	4	1
14	66	56	53	23	51	67	49	48	25	36	2.0080	4	-
15	80	43	16	22	88	128	47	9	12	29	45.2229	4	1
16	222	9	8	3	7	209	9	2	2	3	4.8202	3	-
17	74	37	4	18	116	35	28	8	11	143	19.9524	4	1
18	212	22	2	4	9	184	18	9	5	9	6.2772	3	-
19	60	22	28	12	127	65	21	37	21	81	12.7476	4	2
20	162	47	5	12	23	195	18	5	2	5	34.1497	3	1
21	153	42	40	7	7	198	15	10	1	1	45.8157	3	1
22	211	27	7	1	3	208	13	3	1	0	7.6716	3	-
23	24	25	6	26	168	18	10	9	17	171	9.0820	4	-
24	114	44	14	20	57	123	53	17	7	25	19.5150	4	1

Table XX. Number of 1940 older Negro and 1948 older Negro pupils responding in each of five possible ways, True, Probably True, Don't Know, Probably False, and False, to the 24 items of the Test of Racial Attitudes together with the value of the chi-square, degrees of freedom, level of confidence, and apparent direction of difference of each comparison. 40 indicates attitudes more favorable to the Negro on the part of the 1940 group, 48 on the part of the 1948 group, and ? indicates that the direction of the difference is equivocal.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, George Douglas Mayo, was born in Somerville, Tennessee, February 3, 1917. I received my secondary education in the public schools of the town of Somerville, Tennessee. My undergraduate training was obtained at The University of Tennessee Junior College and at Memphis State State College. From the latter institution, I received the degree Bachelor of Science in 1939. From George Peabody College, I received the degree Master of Arts in 1941. I served in the United States Navy from 1942 to 1946. During 1945-46, I was an assistant professor of Naval Science and Tactics at The Rice Institute. In 1946, I entered The Ohio State University Graduate School and during 1947-48, I acted in the capacity of an assistant in the Department of Psychology. In 1948, I received an appointment as Associate Professor of Psychology at Birmingham-Southern College, and at the same time was enrolled at The Ohio State University for off-campus research. I returned to The Ohio State University in the summer of 1949 to complete the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.