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An experimental examination of racial distance attitude change in young delinquent girls

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AN EXPERIMENTAL EXAMINATION OF RACIAL DISTANCE
ATTITUDE CHANGE IN YOUNG DELINQUENT GIRLS

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Sociology
and the
Faculty of the Graduate College
University of Nebraska at Omaha

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

by
Jane Anne Beem
January 1970

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Accepted for the faculty of The Graduate College of the
University of Nebraska at Omaha, in partial fulfillment of the require-
ments for the degree Master of Arts.

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CHAPTER I

SOCIAL DISTANCE AND RACIAL DISTANCE ATTITUDES

Introduction

This research project was designed and expedited as the result of several long standing interests and concerns. These interests, theoretical in nature, focus upon: (a) the individual consequences of positive and/or negative interracial attitudes, and (b) the social consequences of existing interracial interaction patterns manifested throughout the United States, particularly within the past two decades. The concerns, pragmatic in nature, are with "social reform."

Relevant to both these interests and concerns, many behavioral scientists report that those persons manifesting negative or rejective attitudes toward members of other racial and ethnic groups are generally (a) insecure, (b) rigid, (c) intolerant of ambiguity, (d) conservative in political outlook, (e) feel constantly threatened, and (f) are antagonistic toward many outgroups, not just some particular outgroups.¹ These individuals are classified as "authoritarian personalities."²

¹T. W. Adorno, et al., The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper and Row, Inc., 1950); P. H. Mussen, "Some Personality and Social Factors Related to Changes in Children's Attitudes Toward Negroes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 45 (July, 1950), pp. 423-41; and H. G. Cough, "Studies of Social Intolerance: I.. 'Some Psychological and Sociological Correlates of Anti-Semitism,'" Journal of Social Psychology, 33 (May, 1951), pp. 237-46.

²T. W. Adorno, et al., The Authoritarian Personality, p. 971.

Behaviorial scientists have also isolated a different pattern of correlated qualities comprising what is variously called a "democratic," "mature," "productive," or a "self actualizing" personality. Individuals of this type are characterized by: (a) a high degree of inner security, (b) flexibility, (c) liberal political outlook, (d) tolerance for ambiguity, and (e) voluntary and "open" acceptance of outgroup members.³

As one consequence of their particular characteristics and attitudes authoritarian individuals often seek "safety" through rejection or social exclusion of those belonging to groups other than their own. Exclusive and rejective attitudes toward various minority groups in the United States have been examined extensively during the past twenty-five years.⁴ Additionally, observations of certain current Negro-white interaction patterns in America have caused a number of groups and individuals to feel that these configurations constitute a "social problem" in need of "reform."⁵ Evolving from segregation and discriminatory

³The classic comparison of these two personality types is found in T. W. Adorno, et al., op. cit. See also, A. Scodel and F. Mussen, "Social Perceptions of Authoritarians and Non-Authoritarians," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 48 (April, 1953), pp. 181-84.

⁴See for example, Gunnar Myrdahl, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper and Row, Inc., 1944); also G. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1954).

⁵Some of these groups are: (a) The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) which fights for the establishing and upholding of Negro rights by legal action and court battle, (b) The American Jewish Congress which has often worked with the NAACP in promoting new legislation, (c) The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) which was the first interracial organization to attempt to bring public attention to various discriminatory establishments. Direct action methods such as picketing, "sit-ins" and leaflet distribution were employed, (d) The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, formed under the

practices within our society, i.e. "racial distancing," is a social and spatial separation of Negroes and whites. That the cleavage between these two particular groups is regarded as a "social problem" follows from a consideration of its cumulative and far reaching individual and social consequences.

Empirical work focusing upon possible means of resolving this problem could be of great importance. The research described herein is an effort to expedite just such a systematic inquiry. A social-psychological framework is utilized for consideration of the possible changes in racial distance attitudes which may be produced by a particular "attitude change" technique.

Review of the Literature

Gabriel Tarde, Georg Simmel, Robert Park and Ernest Burgess were among early sociologists who explored the ramifications of social distance in their work.⁶ According to Park's widely accepted definition:

guidance of such Negro ministers as the late Rev. Martin L. King, which presses for immediate reforms through non-violent demonstrations, (e) The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee which enabled so many southern Negro college students to play a significant role in the development of the general protest movement in the South, (f) The National Urban League, essentially a social work agency, which strives for enlarged economic opportunities for the Negro through community organization, and (g) the United States Congress which established the "United States Commission on Civil Rights" in 1957 in order to examine urban racial problems. See A Time to Listen . . . A Time to Act, Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D.C., November, 1967). For a discussion concerning some of the individuals who feel that current interaction patterns constitute a "social problem," see Appendix D, pp. 76-94.

⁶K. Wolff (ed.), The Sociology of Georg Simmel (New York: The Free Press, 1950), pp. 345-76 and 402-8; R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1921), pp. 226-338.

The concept of "distance" as applied to human, as distinguished from spatial relations . . . [refers to] the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize personal and social relations generally.⁷

Personal distance is characterized by that situation wherein at least one of two individuals is aware that a common life of ideas, beliefs and sentiments is not shared with the other. Social distance encompasses that regard which one individual has for another as a representative of a particular group or collectivity. Both these types of distance may be personally observed and empirically examined on either the objective or the subjective level.⁸

In 1926 E. S. Bogardus designed a scale which elicits expressions of distance attitudes held by various respondents.⁹ When employed to discern racial distance attitudes specifically, the scale measures degrees of intimacy or distance which members of particular groups prefer to maintain between themselves and members of other racial and ethnic groups. A modified form of the early Bogardus Social Distance Scale was used in this study, for:

⁷R. E. Park, "The Concept of Social Distance: As Applied to the Study of Racial Attitudes and Racial Relations," Journal of Applied Sociology, 8 (July-August, 1924), pp. 339-44.

⁸W. Poole, "Distance in Sociology," American Journal of Sociology, 33 (July, 1927), pp. 99-104. Note: The objective level is characterized by those things external to the mind, i.e. the observer would note overt distance relationships as they actually exist. Conversely, the subjective level is characterized by those things internal to the mind and the empiricist would thus strive to elicit and examine individual conceptions of distance relationships; conceptions which may or may not correspond to overt or actual relationships.

⁹E. S. Bogardus, The New Social Research (Los Angeles: J. R. Miller Press, 1926). See Appendix A for a copy of the original version of this scale. Appendix B portrays the modified version.

We see between racial groups the phenomenon of a subjective social distance. . . . These subjective social distances arise out of history, . . . myth, propaganda. . . . They are more important than truth, for they are the basis of group interaction. We call them race prejudice when we feel they do not correspond as favorably as they might to the objective social distance.¹⁰

Bogardus defines the concept of attitude as "a mental construct . . . [which refers to] an acquired, established tendency to act toward or against something."¹¹

Attitudes are formed in relation to situations, persons, or groups with which the individual comes into contact in the course of his development. Once formed, they determine that the individual react in a characteristic way to these or related situations, persons, or groups.¹²

Knowledge about any specific attitude is acquired indirectly, i.e. by inferences made or "drawn" from either the overt actions of individuals or from their verbal responses of feeling, belief and disposition to act relevant to attitude objects. Racial distance attitudes in particular, are operationally defined in this study as those written expressions¹³ of the degrees of intimacy or distance which respondents prefer to maintain between themselves and members of six other racial and ethnic groups.

¹⁰W. Poole, op. cit., pp. 102-3.

¹¹E. S. Bogardus, Fundamentals of Social Psychology (New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, Ind., 1950), p. 65.

¹²M. Sherif and C. Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper and Row, Inc., 1956), p. 490.

¹³Elicited by the modified Bogardus scale.

Attitudes, once formed, are subsequently structured within the confines of the individual personality.¹⁴ Social psychologists have developed a number of theories concerning this matter of attitude organization¹⁵ but Festinger's approach was considered most relevant to the specific focus of this study. His theory of "cognitive dissonance"¹⁶ encompasses the following propositions: (a) an individual's psychological structure is composed of an organized and integrated set of cognitions regarding some object or event, (b) the introduction of new information disrupts that cognitive organization thereby causing disequilibrium, (c) the individual reacts to this disequilibrium by exerting various adjustive efforts intended to restore equilibrium once again, and (d) manifestations of adjustive efforts may include behavioral changes, changes of cognition, and even circumspect exposure to new information and/or opinions.

As previously noted, behavioral scientists have examined and measured interracial attitudes for many years. Empirical interest in

¹⁴"Personality" is herein defined in general terms as: "that differentially organized pattern of all the mental, emotional, and social characteristics of the individual." Many social-psychologists such as Mead claim that man is endowed with his personality or "self" by society; that he is the product rather than the creator of that society. "The organized community or social group . . . gives to the individual his unity of self. . . ." A. Strauss (ed.), George H. Mead on Social Psychology (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 218.

¹⁵For excellent summaries of these theories see: A. Cohen, Attitude Change and Social Influence (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964); and C. I. Hovland and M. Rosenberg (eds.), Attitude Organization and Change (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960).

¹⁶Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Evanston, Illinois: Row-Peterson, 1957).

studying the "effects" of intimate contact upon individual or group racial attitude change is largely an outgrowth of what Ernest Works¹⁷ calls the "prejudice-interaction" hypothesis. In general, this rather widely accepted hypothesis¹⁸ includes the belief that outgroup prejudice is somehow reduced during the process of interaction which usually occurs in intimate contact situations. Extensive examination of research findings relevant to the prejudice-interaction hypothesis reveals that, generally, the stimulus of intimate contact per se does not tend to produce or accompany racial attitude change in a positive direction.¹⁹ Conversely, in numerous instances this same stimulus does tend to produce or accompany racial attitude change in a positive direction when contiguous with one or several of the following conditions:

- a. When both the majority and minority group involved are of approximately equal status.²⁰

¹⁷E. Works, "The Prejudice-Interaction Hypothesis from the Point of View of the Negro Minority Group," American Journal of Sociology, 67 (July, 1961), pp. 47-52.

¹⁸See for example: M. J. Yinger, A Minority Group in American Society (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1965), pp. 118-30.

¹⁹G. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1954); and A. Rose, "Intergroup Relations Vs. Prejudice: Pertinent Theory for the Study of Social Change," Social Problems, 4 (October, 1956), pp. 173-6. Both men emphasize the fact that various psychological personality factors of those involved in the socio-cultural situation are also important determinants relevant to the occurrence or non-occurrence of racial attitude change.

²⁰L. Festinger and H. Kelley, Changing Attitudes Through Social Contact (Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan Press, 1951); and M. Deutsch and M. Collins, Interracial Housing: A Psychological Evaluation of a Social Experiment (Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota Press, 1951).

- b. When the contact takes place within a structured situation.²¹
- c. When the contact occurs within a context which encourages and supports a spirit of tolerance as a socially and/or legally sanctioned norm or value.²²
- d. When the personality structures of those involved are of the non-authoritarian type.²³
- e. When majority group participants understand and make allowances for "sensitive area complexes" of minority group participants.²⁴

Empirical interest in the "principal of consistency"²⁵ has resulted in a number of studies testing the "effects" of lectures and/or group discussions upon individual or group attitude change.²⁶ Analysis and comparison of results elicited by this research indicates that the lecture stimulus is generally less effective than the group discussion

²¹L. Killian, "The Effects of Southern White Workers on Race Relations in Northern Plants," American Sociological Review, 17 (June, 1952), pp. 327-31; and E. Falmore, "The Introduction of Negroes into White Departments," Human Organization, 14 (Spring, 1955), pp. 27-8.

²²R. Gundlach, "Effects of On the Job Experiences with Negroes upon Racial Attitudes of White Workers in Union Shops," Psychological Reports, 2 (March, 1956), pp. 67-77.

²³P. Mussen, "Some Personality and Social Factors Related to Changes in Children's Attitudes Towards Negroes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 45 (July, 1950), pp. 423-41.

²⁴R. Lambert and M. Bressler, "The Sensitive Area Complex: A Contribution to the Theory of Guided Culture Contact," American Journal of Sociology, 60 (May, 1955), pp. 583-92.

²⁵That is, is it true that the introduction of new information disrupts the cognitive organization and that the individual reacts to this disorganization or disequilibrium by changing his behavior or attitudes; etc.

²⁶See for example, L. Mitnick and E. McGinnies, "Influencing Ethnocentrism in Small Discussion Groups Through a Film Communication," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 56 (January, 1958), pp. 82-90; and E. P. Torrance, "An Experimental Evaluation of No-Pressure Influence," Journal of Applied Psychology, 43 (April, 1959), pp. 109-13.

stimulus in terms of inducing desired change.²⁷ One major reason for this is that lecture recipients have been found to observe and as a result, base their perceptive "judgements" upon one or many of the following listed communication components: (a) the point of view represented,²⁸ (b) the "source" of the point of view,²⁹ (c) the communicator of the point of view,³⁰ (d) the form of presentation,³¹ (e) the medium through which it is presented,³² and (f) the social context prevailing at the time of the communication.³³

Review of the aforementioned "principle of consistency" experiments which have focused upon changes in racial attitudes³⁴ reveals

²⁷E. B. Bennett, "Discussion, Decision, Commitment and Consensus in Group Decision," Human Relations, 8 (1955), pp. 251-74.

²⁸C. Hovland, O. Harvey and M. Sheriff, "Assimilation and Contrast Effects in Reactions to Communication and Attitude Change," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 55 (September, 1957), pp. 244-52.

²⁹C. Hovland and W. Weiss, "The Influence of Source Credibility on Communication Effectiveness," Public Opinion Quarterly, 15 (Winter, 1951-52), pp. 635-50.

³⁰Hovland, Harvey and Sheriff, loc. cit.

³¹David Kipnis, "The Effects of Leadership Style and Leadership Power upon the Inducement of an Attitude Change," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 57 (September, 1958), pp. 173-80.

³²L. Mitnick and E. McGinnies, loc. cit.

³³E. P. Torrance, loc. cit.

³⁴See for example, J. Himelhoch, "Tolerance and Personality Needs: A Study of the Liberalization of Ethnic Attitudes Among Minority Group College Students," American Sociological Review, 15 (February, 1950), pp. 79-88; D. Byrne and T. Wong, "Racial Prejudice, Interpersonal Attraction, and Assumed Dissimilarity of Attitudes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 65 (October, 1962), pp. 246-53; and E. R. Carlson, "Attitude Change Through Modification of Attitude Structure," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 52 (March, 1956), pp. 256-61.

that: (a) the lecture and group discussion stimuli have seldom been utilized as a "combination" stimulus, and (b) the ramifications of a subject's contact experience with a lecturer-discussion leader of another race have seldom been explored. Since this study constitutes an attempt to investigate the possible significance of both these issues, three relevant hypotheses were therefore formulated. These hypotheses are noted below.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1.....Girls participating in the lecture-discussion series involving Negro lecturers will manifest greater degrees of racial attitude change in a positive direction than will those participating in the series involving white lecturers.

Hypothesis 2.....Girls participating in the lecture-discussion series involving Negro lecturers will manifest greater degrees of racial attitude change in a positive direction than will those who were members of the control group.

Hypothesis 3.....Girls participating in the lecture-discussion series involving white lecturers will manifest greater degrees of racial attitude change in a positive direction than will those who were members of the control group.

These hypotheses are based upon the research tradition described earlier in this chapter and were tested in the manner outlined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

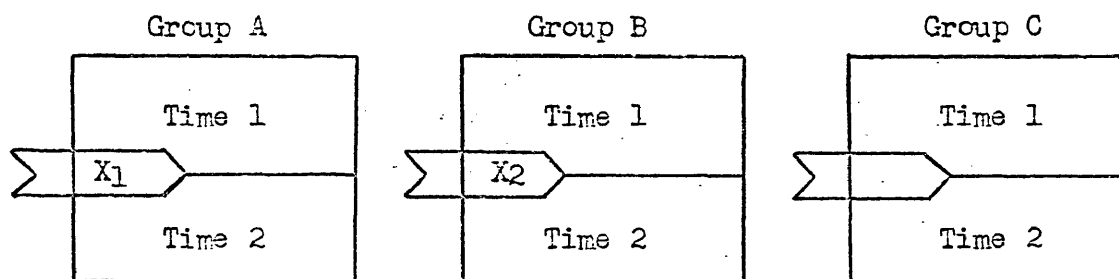
Research Design

Classical experimental design involves at least two sample groups: the experimental group (E) and the control group (C), drawn from a particular universe. These C and E groups are drawn in such a way that they are as closely alike as possible in regard to those characteristics which the experimenter feels might effect his results.

Following the drawing of the sample groups the amount of the dependant variable (Y) which is manifested or "possessed" by all members of these groups is then measured by one or more appropriate instruments such as attitude scales. Next, the stimulus which is the hypothesized "cause" or "determinant" of change (X) is introduced into the E group but with-held from the C group. Lastly, at some time subsequent to this procedure, the amount of Y manifested by members of both groups is again measured and the results of the "before" and "after" measurements are then compared. This comparison enables the experimenter to note any differences in the degree or amount of change occurring in members of the E group and to attribute this change to the "influence" or "effect" of X.

Figure 1 on the following page represents the specific experimental design of this research project. It was intended that this same design serve as a model for the pilot study but due to the small number

of participants in that study, it was impossible to use a control group. In all other aspects, however, both the pilot study and the research project proceeded in the manner portrayed in the figure.



Key

X_1 The lecture-discussion series involving white speakers.

X_2 The lecture-discussion series involving Negro speakers.

Group A Those girls exposed to four lecture-discussion periods involving white speakers.

Group B Those girls exposed to four lecture-discussion periods involving Negro speakers.

Group C Control Group--Those girls exposed to neither of the stimuli.

Figure 1. Experimental Design of the Research Project

At Time 1 both the modified Bogardus scale and the Remmers scale for the Measurement of Attitudes Toward Defined Groups³⁵ were administered to the respondents. Following this the two experimental groups involving white speakers (X_1) and Negro speakers (X_2) participated in four lecture-discussion periods held once a week. At Time 2 the Remmers scale and a

³⁵See Appendix B, Sections I and II.

questionnaire which included the modified Bogardus scale³⁶ was administered to all respondents. Additional and more elaborate details of the exact methods and procedures employed during the pilot study and the research project are delineated later in this chapter.

Dependent and Independent Variables

The dependent variable, i.e. racial distance attitudes of respondents, was operationally defined as those written expressions³⁷ of the degrees of intimacy or distance which respondents preferred to maintain between themselves and members of six other racial and ethnic groups. The independent variable was the race of the lecturer.

Measuring Instruments

The scale employed to measure racial distance attitudes of respondents participating in both the pilot study and the research project was a modified form of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale.

The original scale, when used for measuring racial distance attitudes, contains seven gradations of distance preferences ranging over a continuum from "farthest distance" (i.e. "would debar from my nation") to "nearest intimacy" (i.e. "would marry into this group"). Included among instructions for filling out the scale is a request that the respondent give his "first feeling reactions" to each of the thirty listed racial and ethnic groups. Bogardus' assumption concerning this

³⁶See Appendix B, Sections II and III.

³⁷Elicited by the modified Bogardus scale.

matter was that "first feeling reactions" revealed attitudes better than did anything else except actual behavior over a period of time. Zeligs and Hendrickson³⁸ tested this assumption by interviewing children who had completed a modified form of the scale and found that

It seems possible that in the measuring of attitudes an individual's first quick reactions may be more valid than those which require thought and analysis. The more considered answers in the interviews were less often negative than the immediate responses written into the blanks. . . .³⁹

The number at the top of the (scale) column containing the most intimate social nearness preference checked by an individual, relevant to a particular group, is considered her racial distance "score" for that group. For example, when a respondent indicates willingness to have a Negro as a roommate, a close personal friend, and a member of her gang, her racial distance "score" for Negroes is 2. The racial distance "score" or "racial distance quotient" for an aggregate of individuals, relevant to a particular group, is computed through use of the arithmetic mean. In other words, the "racial distance quotient" of an E group which is ranking Negroes is that value which results from taking the arithmetic mean of all the individual racial distance scores expressed by group respondents relevant to Negroes.

Bogardus employed the original scale to test college undergraduate and graduate students.⁴⁰ Consequently, a change in wording of

³⁸R. Zeligs and G. Hendrickson, "Checking the Social Distance Technique Through Personal Interviews," Sociology and Social Research, 18 (May-June, 1934), pp. 420-30.

³⁹Ibid., p. 429.

⁴⁰E. S. Bogardus, Immigration and Race Attitudes (San Francisco: D. C. Heath and Co., 1928); E. S. Bogardus, Social Distance (Yellow Springs: Antioch Press, 1959); E. S. Bogardus, "Measuring Social Distance," Journal of Applied Sociology, 9 (March-April, 1925), pp. 299-308.

the seven column headings pertaining to intimacy-distance preferences seemed necessary if the scale was to be utilized for this particular study in which respondents were young, white, delinquent girls possessing limited verbal resources and skills. Following examination of numerous other studies⁴¹ in which the original column headings had been reworded to make their content more meaningful to various types of respondents, the specific column headings of the modified scale were created. Additionally, only six of the thirty racial and ethnic groups listed on the original scale were retained on the modified scale. This was done not only to simplify the work of the respondents, but also because the primary focus of the present study was upon racial distance attitude change toward Negroes only. As in the studies of Spoerl⁴² and Edlefsen⁴³ the particular groups retained were ones which would be most apt to be found residing either in the general locality where the respondents had grown up or within the confines of their present environment.

As an attempt to validate the aforementioned modified Bogardus scale, the Remmers Scale for the Measurement of Attitudes Toward Defined Groups was also administered to all respondents at Time 1 and Time 2 of

⁴¹L. Brooks, "Racial Distance as Affected by Education," Sociology and Social Research, 21 (November-December, 1936), pp. 128-33; M. Krout, "Periodic Change in Social Distance: A Study in the Shifting Bases of Perception," Sociology and Social Research, 27 (May-June, 1943), pp. 339-51; and J. Muraskin and M. Iverson, "Social Expectancy as a Function of Judged Social Distance," Journal of Social Psychology, 48a (August, 1958), pp. 11-14.

⁴²D. Spoerl, "Some Aspects of Prejudice as Affected by Religion and Education," Journal of Social Psychology, 33 (February, 1951), pp. 69-75.

⁴³J. Edlefsen, "Social Distance Attitudes of Negro College Students," Phylon, 17 (Spring, 1957), pp. 79-83.

both the pilot study and the research project. Although this scale was originally developed by Grice, Remmers devised a shorter seventeen item form⁴⁴ which was employed in this study. A number of experiments utilizing Remmer's form of the scale⁴⁵ have shown that it is internally consistent and gives substantially the same results as other scales employing Thurstone techniques when testing attitudes towards Negroes. In contrast to Thurstone's scaling techniques, however, Remmers' items are arranged in descending order of scale value and thus the individual's "score" relevant to the attitude object is the median of the scale values of the items which he has endorsed as "agree."

In addition to the Remmers and the modified Bogardus scales a questionnaire was administered, at Time 2 only, to respondents in both the pilot study and the research project. Items included in this questionnaire were chosen from previously validated attitude scales⁴⁶ designed to elicit attitudes of respondents concerning such matters as (a) conservative-liberal political tendencies, (b) self-others concepts, (c) salience of religious affiliation and ideologies, and (d) previous social experience with Negroes. Responses to the questionnaire were tabulated in order to furnish descriptive material for use during subsequent data analysis. Scoring of items was done in the following

⁴⁴M. E. Shaw and J. M. Wright, Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1967), pp. 410-14.

⁴⁵See L. Albright, A. Kirsch, C. Lawshe and H. H. Remmers, "A Longitudinal Comparison of Student Attitudes Toward Minorities," Journal of Educational Psychology, 47 (October, 1956), pp. 372-79.

⁴⁶M. E. Shaw and J. M. Wright, op. cit., pp. 371-77; 338-41; 307-11 and 432-36.

manner: (a) within sections A, B, and C: "S.A." was given a score of 4, "A" a score of 3, "D" a score of 2, and "S.D." was given a score of 1. Items with a negative weight were scored in the same manner and given a minus sign, (b) within section E; answer "a" received a score of 5; answer "b" a score of 4, etc., and items with a negative weight were similarly scored in a negative direction.

Following Time 2 when the questionnaires had been filled out, all respondents' scores for each section were computed and dichotomous categories devised for classification purposes. Within section A, the highest possible score was plus or minus 9 and the lowest possible score was 0. Since no respondent manifested a score of 9, scores of 7 to 4 denoted "highly liberal" (or conservative) and scores of 3 to 0 denoted "mildly liberal" (or conservative). Relevant to section B, the highest possible score was plus or minus 12 and the lowest possible score was 0. Since the highest score manifested by a respondent was 8, scores of 8 to 5 denoted "highly negative" (or positive) self-others concepts and scores of 4 to 0 denoted "mildly negative" (or positive) self-others concepts. Regarding section C, the highest possible score was plus or minus 9 and the lowest possible score was 0. Scores of 9 to 5 denoted higher religious salience (or non-salience). Pertinent to section E, the highest possible score was plus or minus 20 and the lowest possible score was 0. The highest score manifested by a respondent in this section was 15 and thus scores of 15 to 7 denoted wider previous social experience with Negroes while scores of 6 to 0 denoted narrower previous social experience with Negroes. Individual response scores were not

subjected to any statistical manipulation other than the computation of per cent figures.

Such a small number of usable protocols were procured within the context of the pilot study that no statistical testing of resultant findings was undertaken.

Statistical work with data emerging from the research project involved utilization of the Extension of the Median Test,⁴⁷ the Fisher Exact Probability Test,⁴⁸ and the Chi square (X^2) Test of Significance.⁴⁹ In the context of this study, if the observed value of Chi square was found to be .05 or less, the differences between observed and expected cell frequencies were considered significant.

The research hypotheses, design, and measuring instruments have now been fully defined and described within the preceding pages. Consequently, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of those procedures involved in expediting both the pilot study and the research project.

Pilot Study

Prior to Time 1 of the pilot study four Negro and four white females were recruited as lecturers. These women were to lecture as "matched pairs," i.e. at the same time that a white speaker met with

⁴⁷S. Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1956), pp. 179-184.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 96-104.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 175-179.

Group A to discuss Part I of the script⁵⁰ a Negro speaker met with Group B to discuss the same material. Each white and Negro "pair" was matched as closely as possible relevant to such characteristics as physical attractiveness, verbal skills, age, socio-economic background, amount of education completed and previous interracial experience. All white and Negro "pairs" were given identical scripts containing a historical summation of Negro life in the United States and requested to study total script content prior to attending a general "training meeting." At this subsequent meeting, the lecturers were informed of (a) intent and purpose of the study, (b) unique characteristics of the subjects with whom they would be interacting, and (c) variety of positive and/or negative interactive situations which might occur under the particular contact conditions prescribed by the study design.

The pilot study was carried out at Uta Halee Home for Girls in Omaha, Nebraska. This private social agency is sponsored by the Omaha Church Women United, an organization whose members are also affiliated with various Protestant women's groups and auxiliaries throughout the city. Private sources such as gifts, endowments, individual contributions, etc., furnish total financial support for the institution. The campus, comprising an administration building and one dormitory with kitchen and dining facilities, is located on an acreage at the northwest edge of the city.

At the time of the pilot study the twenty-one residents ranged in age from 13 to 18; attended North High, McMillan Junior High and Ponca

⁵⁰See Appendix D.

Grade Schools; and had been assigned to the home either by the courts, other social agencies or relatives. While none of the girls were adjudicated delinquents, their manifestations of resistance to authority (truancy, petty theft, running away from home, etc.) led to their placement within the institution.

At Time 1, early in January of 1969, the researcher met with the residents and explained that she was a graduate student interested in studying the social distance attitudes of present day teenage girls. The concept of racial distance was described in simplified form and the girls were told that their honest answers to items contained within the scales and the questionnaire would furnish helpful information which would be incorporated in a "paper" the researcher was writing. The way in which the study was to be carried out was not explained and the girls were simply asked if they would be willing to help the researcher by completing the same protocols at two different time periods. Following a question and answer session, the modified Bogardus and the Remmers scales were administered to the total sample. A few days later participants were randomly placed in two experimental groups by drawing slips of paper marked "Group A" or "Group B" from a dish. The lecture-discussion series was subsequently carried out once weekly, on January 15, 20, 29 and February 3, 1969. A week after the last lecture, the Remmers scale and the questionnaire (including the Bogardus scale) were administered to all participants.

Protocol deletions were necessitated because: (a) several girls ran away during the course of the study, (b) there were three non-white participants, and (c) several girls entered the home after one or more

lecture-discussion periods had taken place. These deletions reduced the total N to eleven. Because of this small N no statistical tests of association were applied to resultant data. A test of correlation, ~~Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient~~,⁵¹ was utilized in an attempt to ascertain the validity of the modified Bogardus scale. Results of this test showed that the correlation between the two scales was $-.68$ at Time 1 and $-.48$ at Time 2. The first value was significant at the .05 level, while the latter did not obtain this level. The fact that the first value wasn't larger and that the second did not obtain significance indicated that the modified Bogardus scale was not as precise a measuring instrument as had been envisioned during the planning stages of the research.

Research Project

The research project was conducted at Girls Town, a private social agency operated by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd in Omaha, Nebraska. Financial support for the institution comes primarily from tuition fees paid by parents, relatives and referral agencies. The campus, located near the business district of the city, encompasses an outdoor swimming pool and one large building which contains administrative offices, dormitory rooms, a gymnasium, chapel, kitchen, dining facilities and school rooms. The school, St. Josephs Academy, is fully accredited and attended by all Girls Town residents.

⁵¹S. Siegel, op. cit., pp. 202-213.

At the time of the experiment the fifty-seven residents were all adjudicated delinquents assigned to the institution primarily by the courts or other social agencies. Demographic characteristics of the sample, obtained from St. Josephs Academy records, revealed that: (a) these girls ranged in age from 15 to 18 with the median age being 16.3, (b) 47.5 per cent were Catholic, 37.5 per cent were Protestant and 15 per cent were non-associated, (c) 32.5 per cent came to Girls Town from Iowa, 27.5 per cent from Nebraska and 40 per cent from the states of Kansas, Missouri, North and South Dakota and Illinois, and (d) 30 per cent had previously resided with both parents, 25 per cent with one parent, and 45 per cent with either one parent and a stepparent, with relatives, or with guardians.

To work within the formal structure at Girls Town, it was required that members of the World Literature and Cosmetology classes (N=24) be assigned to "Group A," members of the English I and Algebra classes (N=24) to "Group B" and members of the Typing class (N=13) to "Group C."

From the pilot study it was learned that: (a) the presence of an officially sanctioned adult at least during the lecture period, contributed greatly to group attentiveness, and (b) the administration of the scales and questionnaire would have to be done in small (class) groups if respondent's names were to be subsequently noted (secretly) upon their completed protocols. For these reasons, a special meeting was held with the teachers of the previously described classes prior to Time 1. At this meeting they were informed of the intent and purpose of the study and also of the way in which they were to administer the scales and questionnaire to their class members at Time 1 and Time 2. No

training meeting was held for the eight speakers who participated in the project since they were the same women who had lectured during the pilot study.

At Time 1, early in March, 1969, the researcher met with the residents for an "explanatory session" similar to that carried out at Time 1 with participants in the pilot study. Subsequent to this meeting the lecture-discussion series was expedited on March 6, 13, 27 and April 10, 1969. As may be noted from these dates, the continuity of the once a week lecture and discussion period was twice interrupted, first because of a school vacation and secondly, due to the illness of two of the lecturers.

A week after the final lecture the Remmers scale and the questionnaire were administered to all participants. Attached to the questionnaire at this time were two additional items.⁵² The first of these items concerned whether or not the respondent would be willing to marry a member of any or all of the six racial and ethnic groups listed on the modified Bogardus scale. Early examination of the completed Time 1 protocols revealed that, in the case of Negroes, 57 per cent of the respondents preferred the closest degree of racial intimacy listed (i.e. "would have as a relative") and it thus seemed plausible that answers to the question "Would you marry a Negro?" could either validate or refute the respondent's original declaration of preference. The second item (added) was a request that the respondent list her "three best friends at Girls Town." Since the participants had been arbitrarily placed in

⁵²See Appendix C.

their particular experimental groups, it was felt that answers to this question might give some indication of the true randomness of the sample and also of the lines of interpersonal influence operating among the girls themselves.

Protocol deletions were necessitated because: (a) a significant number of girls left the institution during the course of the project, (b) there were four non-white participants, and (c) many girls entered the institution after one or more lecture-discussion periods had been completed. These deletions reduced the total N to 40. Statistical work with data elicited from these 40 protocols involved testing the possible relationships between racial distance attitude change and the influence of the following variables: (a) Negro lecturers, (b) lecture-discussion series as opposed to no lecture-discussion series, (c) age, (d) religious affiliation, (e) amount of education completed, and (f) length of residence within the institution. The results of this testing process are tabulated and analyzed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The major objective of this research project was to examine the "effect" of personal contact with Negro lecture-discussion leaders upon the racial distance attitudes of young, white, delinquent girls. Three hypotheses were formulated for testing purposes. These hypotheses stated that: (a) girls participating in the lecture-discussion series involving Negro lecturers would manifest greater degrees of racial attitude change in a positive direction than would those participating in the series involving white lecturers, (b) girls participating in the lecture-discussion series involving Negro lecturers would manifest greater degrees of racial attitude change in a positive direction than would those who were members of the control group, and (c) girls participating in the lecture-discussion series involving white lecturers would manifest greater degrees of racial attitude change in a positive direction than would those who were members of the control group.

Findings

To test the first hypothesis, data collected during the course of the project was first subjected to the Extension of the Median Test. This was done in order to determine the common median of the racial distance change scores manifested by all respondents participating in the study. The common median was found to be .195, and using this figure, the change scores were properly categorized as either "positive" or "negative."

The Chi square (χ^2) test was then applied to the data shown in Table I in order to determine whether the disparity between the observed and the expected frequencies in the cells was too large to be ascribed to chance. The value of Chi square did not obtain the .05 level of significance and thus the first research hypothesis was not supported.

TABLE I

ATTITUDE CHANGE MANIFESTED BY THE TWO
EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS ON THE MODIFIED
BOGARDUS SCALE (PERCENTAGES)

| Group | Attitude Change | | | N |
|---------|-----------------|----------|-------|----|
| | Negative | Positive | Total | |
| Group A | 57 | 43 | 100 | 14 |
| Group B | 62 | 38 | 100 | 16 |

To test the second hypothesis the Fisher Exact Probability Test was utilized since more than twenty per cent of the cells had expected frequencies of less than five. The achieved value did not obtain the .05 level of significance and thus the second research hypothesis was also unsupported.

TABLE II

ATTITUDE CHANGE MANIFESTED BY THE CONTROL GROUP AND THE
EXPERIMENTAL GROUP INVOLVING THE NEGRO LECTURER
ON THE MODIFIED BOGARDUS SCALE (PERCENTAGES)

| Group | Attitude Change | | | N |
|---------|-----------------|----------|-------|----|
| | Negative | Positive | Total | |
| Group B | 62 | 38 | 100 | 16 |
| Group C | 90 | 10 | 100 | 10 |

The Fisher Exact Probability Test was also employed for testing data relevant to the third hypothesis. Since the achieved value did not obtain the .05 level of significance this hypothesis was unsupported also.

TABLE III

ATTITUDE CHANGE MANIFESTED BY THE CONTROL GROUP AND THE
EXPERIMENTAL GROUP INVOLVING THE WHITE LECTURER
ON THE MODIFIED BOGARDUS SCALE (PERCENTAGES)

| Group | Attitude Change | | | N |
|---------|-----------------|----------|-------|----|
| | Negative | Positive | Total | |
| Group A | 57 | 43 | 100 | 14 |
| Group C | 90 | 10 | 100 | 16 |

Because the statistical work with data secured through administration of the modified Bogardus scale revealed no support for the research

hypotheses, data from the Remmers scale⁵³ was also subjected to the Extension of the Median Test. The common median of the racial distance change scores manifested by all respondents participating in the study was found to be $-.442$ and using this figure the change scores were properly categorized as either "positive" or "negative." The Chi square test was then applied to the data shown in Table IV in order to discern whether the differences in observed and expected cell frequencies were too large to be ascribed to chance. The value of Chi square did not obtain the .05 level of significance and thus the first research hypothesis was again unsupported.

TABLE IV
ATTITUDE CHANGE MANIFESTED BY THE TWO EXPERIMENTAL
GROUPS ON THE REMMERS SCALE (PERCENTAGES)

| Group | Attitude Change | | | N |
|---------|-----------------|----------|-------|----|
| | Negative | Positive | Total | |
| Group A | 71 | 29 | 100 | 14 |
| Group B | 69 | 31 | 100 | 16 |

Table V portrays data relevant to the second research hypothesis. In testing this hypothesis the achieved value of Chi square did not obtain the .05 level of significance thus the second hypothesis remained unsupported.

⁵³Relevant to attitudes towards Negroes.

TABLE V

ATTITUDE CHANGE MANIFESTED BY THE CONTROL GROUP AND THE
EXPERIMENTAL GROUP INVOLVING THE NEGRO LECTURER
ON THE REMMERS SCALE (PERCENTAGES)

| Group | Attitude Change | | | N |
|---------|-----------------|----------|-------|----|
| | Negative | Positive | Total | |
| Group B | 69 | 31 | 100 | 16 |
| Group C | 50 | 50 | 100 | 10 |

To test the third hypothesis the Fisher Exact Probability Test was applied since more than twenty per cent of the cells had expected frequencies of less than five. The achieved value did not obtain the .05 level of significance and this hypothesis remained unsupported also.

TABLE VI

ATTITUDE CHANGE MANIFESTED BY THE CONTROL GROUP AND THE
EXPERIMENTAL GROUP INVOLVING THE WHITE LECTURER
ON THE REMMERS SCALE (PERCENTAGES)

| Group | Attitude Change | | | N |
|---------|-----------------|----------|-------|----|
| | Negative | Positive | Total | |
| Group A | 71 | 29 | 100 | 14 |
| Group C | 50 | 50 | 100 | 10 |

Various studies have shown that a respondent's religion,⁵⁴ age,⁵⁵ amount of education completed,⁵⁶ social class or status,⁵⁷ personality type⁵⁸ and previous social experience with individuals of the particular racial or ethnic group under study,⁵⁹ are related to positive or negative racial distance preferences and attitudes. Findings from several other studies, however, have indicated no relationship at all between these same variables.⁶⁰ For this reason, the variables of religious affiliation, age, amount of education completed and length of residence at Girls Town were also examined during statistical operations in an effort to determine their possible significance within the context of this study.

⁵⁴H. and L. Triandis, "Race, Social Class, Religion and Nationality as Determinants of Social Distance," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 61 (July, 1960), pp. 110-18.

⁵⁵J. S. Gray and A. H. Thompson, "The Ethnic Prejudices of White and Negro College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 48 (April, 1953), pp. 311-13.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷F. R. and M. L. Westie, "The Social Distance Pyramid: Relationships Between Caste and Class," American Journal of Sociology, 63 (September, 1957), pp. 190-96.

⁵⁸P. H. Mussen, loc. cit.

⁵⁹B. MacKenzie, "The Importance of Contact in Determining Attitudes Toward Negroes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 43 (October, 1948), pp. 417-441.

⁶⁰See for example, D. Spoerl, loc. cit.; and J. Sheffield and D. Byrne, "Attitude Similarity-Dissimilarity, Authoritarianism and Interpersonal Attraction," Journal of Social Psychology, 71a (February, 1967), pp. 117-123.

Following utilization of the Chi square test, no relationship was found between the dependent variable and age, amount of education completed, or length of residence at Girls Town. The relation between religious affiliation and racial distance attitude change did meet the level of significance necessary in the Chi square test however. The value of Chi square was significant at the .02 level and Yules ϕ indicated a fairly high ($\phi = .70$) positive relationship between the two variables.

TABLE VII

ATTITUDE CHANGE MANIFESTED BY PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC RESPONDENTS ON THE BOGARDUS SCALE (PERCENTAGES)

| Religious Affiliation | Attitude Change | | | N |
|--------------------------|-----------------|----------|-------|----|
| | Negative | Positive | Total | |
| Protestant | 40 | 60 | 100 | 15 |
| Catholic | 79 | 21 | 100 | 19 |

What at first appears to be an enigmatic difference between Catholic and Protestant girls, relevant to the direction of racial distance attitude change manifested, may be clarified by reference to individual racial distance scores expressed on the modified Bogardus scale. Examination of Table VII shows that 60 per cent of the Protestant girls ($n=9$) expressed positive racial distance attitude change scores while only 21 per cent of the Catholic girls ($n=4$) manifested change in this same direction. This means that while only 40 per cent of the

Protestant girls (n=6) expressed negative racial distance attitude change scores, 79 per cent of the Catholic girls (N=15) manifested change scores of this nature. Examination of the Time 1 and Time 2 protocols of each Catholic respondent manifesting a negative change score however, reveals at both times over half these respondents expressed a desire for the closest intimacy with Negroes listed on the scale. Since this meant that their racial distance change scores were thus equal to zero they were, of necessity, assigned to the "negative change" category.⁶¹ Such an assignment thereby obscured the fact that over half the Catholic girls in the "negative change" category actually had not manifested preferences for greater distance from Negroes, but had merely retained their original desire for the closest intimacy listed on the scale.

Discussion

Statistical testing of data secured through administration of both the modified Bogardus scale and the Remmers scale revealed no support for the research hypotheses. Several possible explanations for this outcome are discussed in the following paragraphs.

First, in regard to the modified Bogardus scale, a test of correlation between it and the previously validated Remmers scale⁶² indicated that it did not measure the racial distance attitudes of respondents

⁶¹Racial distance change scores with a value larger than the common median of .195 were assigned to the "positive change" category while change scores with a value smaller than this median were assigned to the "negative change" category.

⁶²See Chapter II, p. 21.

precisely. During the course of the experiment examples of this lack of precision were identifiable in three major areas.

The first area concerns the manner in which individual protocols were filled out. Bogardus' intentions--and his instructions--were that the scale be used by respondents to rank racial and ethnic groups rather than particular members of those groups. Nonetheless many sample members emphatically stated that they preferred not to rate racial groups "as a whole" but would rather rate individuals according to their good or bad qualities, "no matter to what race they belonged." Thus it is plausible that respondents rated Negroes highly at both Time 1 and Time 2 because they knew and liked certain Negroes and therefore were unwilling to rank their friends' racial group in a low position.

Additionally, modification of scale content seemed to affect precision. For example, the nearest category listed on the original scale was: "I would marry into this group." The nearest category listed on the modified scale was: "I would be willing to have . . . [a member of this group] as a relative." Research data reveals that at Time 1 57 per cent of the total sample (N=40) expressed a desire, regarding Negroes, for this closest intimacy listed on the modified scale. Furthermore, questionnaire data reveals that 42 per cent of the girls who expressed this closest intimacy (n=23) would be "willing to marry a Negro." It thus appears that if the original wording of the nearest category had remained unchanged on the (modified) scale, a more adequate delineation of the racial distance attitudes of the sample could have been made.

Lastly, over half the respondents tested in order to discern if they might express greater degrees of racial nearness at Time 2, were already manifesting attitudes of maximum racial nearness prior to Time 1. Sixty per cent of the participants in Groups A and B stated on their Time 1 protocols that they would be willing to have a Negro as a relative, i.e. they preferred the closest intimacy listed on the modified Bogardus scale. Consequently, the only racial distance attitude change that could be measured for these same respondents at Time 2 was that of a negative nature and thus the possible positive "effects" of the research stimulus upon this segment of the sample remained unknown.

While the lack of validity of the modified Bogardus scale indicates the preimary reason that scale data produced non-significant results, several additional factors may have contributed to this particular outcome. These factors, noted briefly below, are also perceived as being the primary reasons that Remmers scale data likewise provided non-significant results.

First, the size of the sample was probably too small to furnish that adequate range of variation which might have produced the level of significance needed. Cognizance of some of the characteristics of delinquent girls and of the institutions which serve their needs⁶³ supplied prior knowledge that an institution with a much larger population should have been chosen. Unfortunately, no such institution was locally

⁶³In the majority of cases, these institutions house an "open ended" or constantly changing population. Girls are admitted by referral at any time during any given year. Residents also leave for another "placement" or simply run away at various times during any given year.

available and/or staffed by an administration willing to allow its residents to participate in the research project.

Secondly, the girls were tested while residing within an institutional context which encourages and supports a spirit of racial tolerance as a socially sanctioned norm and value. Consequently many of them may have considered this value worth expressing, at least outwardly, for any number of personal reasons. They may thus have marked intimate nearness preferences on their Time 1 and Time 2 protocols despite whatever positive or negative meaning the lecture-discussion experience held for them.

Lastly, it will be recalled that Festinger's Theory of Cognitive Dissonance includes the assumption that the introduction of new information is what disrupts the cognitive organization, thereby causing disequilibrium. The individual then reacts to this disequilibrium by exerting various adjustive efforts such as behavioral or attitudinal changes intended to restore equilibrium once again. Quite possibly the information contained in the lectures was not new or interesting to many sample members, nor was the experience with a Negro lecturer a unique event. Questionnaire data relevant to this issue indicates that 43 per cent of Group A members and 19 per cent of Group B members felt that: (a) the lecture-discussion groups were not a worthwhile experience and also, (b) they didn't like the speakers and/or the topic. For a majority of these girls then, no attitude change would be likely to occur.

No relationship was found between the racial distance attitudes of respondents and the independent variable, i.e. the race of the lecturer. However, further testing employing religious affiliation as the

independent variable did produce statistically significant results.

Although the anti-social activities of delinquent girls seem to indicate that religious precepts generally exert minimal influence upon their social attitudes, the previously noted findings were concerned only with the relationship between religion and specific interracial attitudes.

The resultant findings thus suggest that a majority of the sample members appear to be following the precepts of their religions regarding the equality and brotherhood of mankind.

The major findings of this chapter may be summarized as follows:

(a) none of the hypotheses proposed for the research project were supported by the data collected and, (b) a relationship was found between religious affiliation and racial distance attitude change.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The major objectives of this study were to examine racial distance attitudes of young, white, delinquent girls who were exposed to: (a) personal contact with either a white or Negro lecturer, and (b) a nonpersuasive communication.

Racial distance attitudes were defined as those written expressions⁶⁴ of the degrees of intimacy or distance which respondents preferred to maintain between themselves and members of six other racial and ethnic groups.

Examination of the literature pertinent to racial distance attitude change revealed that personal contact per se does not tend to produce or accompany positive racial distance changes. Conversely, positive changes often do occur in situations involving one or several of the following conditions:

- a. When both the majority and minority group involved are of approximately equal status.⁶⁵
- b. When the contact takes place within a structured situation.⁶⁶
- c. When the contact occurs within a context which encourages and supports a spirit of tolerance as a socially and/or legally sanctioned norm or value.⁶⁷

⁶⁴Elicited by the modified Bogardus scale.

⁶⁵L. Festinger and H. Kelley, loc. cit.

⁶⁶L. Killian, loc. cit.

⁶⁷R. Gndlach, loc. cit.

- d. When the personality structures of those involved are of the non-authoritarian type.⁶⁸
- e. When majority group participants understand and make allowances for "sensitive area complexes" of minority group participants.⁶⁹

Additionally, lectures have been found generally less effective than group discussions in terms of inducing desired attitude change.⁷⁰

In order to achieve the previously noted objectives, a research design similar to that of the classical experiment was employed. During the research project two racial attitude scales were administered to two E groups and a C group at Time 1. The two E groups were then exposed to the stimulus which was withheld from the C group. At Time 2 the same two attitude scales and an additional questionnaire were administered to all three groups. Statistical operations performed upon resultant data included the Extension of the Median Test, the Chi square (χ^2) Test of Significance, the Fisher Exact Probability Test, and Yules Q Test of Association.

The modified Bogardus scale and the Remmers scale for the Measurement of Attitudes Toward Defined Groups were employed to measure racial distance attitudes of respondents participating in both a pilot study and the research project. The questionnaire was utilized in order to gather descriptive material concerning the two samples. Questionnaire data from the research project was used both for comparative analysis and for illustration of sample characteristics. Demographic data concerning

⁶⁸P. Mussen, loc. cit.

⁶⁹R. Lambert and M. Bressler, loc. cit.

⁷⁰E. B. Bennett, loc. cit.

participants in both the pilot study and the project was secured from institutional records at the research sites.

The experience of conducting the pilot study resulted in new knowledge concerning more appropriate techniques for carrying out the research project. Additionally, protocols secured from pilot study participants furnished data for testing the validity of the modified Bogardus scale. Application of Spearmans Rank Correlation Coefficient to the racial distance change scores of respondents indicated that the modified Bogardus scale was not measuring the racial distance attitudes of these respondents precisely.

Data from the research project did not furnish support for any of the hypotheses. It was noted that the lack of validity of the modified Bogardus scale was primarily responsible for this outcome. The following points were delineated as contributing to this lack of validity: (a) respondents disregarded scale instructions and instead ranked the six racial and ethnic groups according to how they felt about individual members of these groups, and (b) revisions in scale (column) content did not allow respondents a choice of the closest intimacy possible, i.e. marriage into another racial group. Relevant to this second point, the majority of the respondents manifested maximum racial nearness preferences on the modified scale at both Time 1 and Time 2, thereby achieving racial distance change scores of zero. They might have achieved positive or negative change scores had the original scale (column) content been retained.

It was suggested that several other factors were also related to the lack of statistically significant findings, particularly in the case

of the Remmers scale data. First of all, the sample was probably too small to produce that adequate range of variation which might have resulted in reaching the .05 level of significance. Secondly, the respondents were tested within an institutional setting wherein egalitarianism was a socially sanctioned norm and value. They may therefore have considered this value worth expressing for any number of personal reasons.

A relationship between racial distance attitude change and religious affiliation was found. The fact that statistical operations resulted in the classification of 79 per cent of the Catholic girls within the "negative change" category was clarified by reference to individual racial distance change scores expressed on the modified Bogardus scale. At both Time 1 and Time 2 over half the Catholic girls preferred the closest intimacy with Negroes that was listed on the scale. Their racial distance change scores were thus equal to zero and this circumstance relegated them to the "negative change" category. This circumstance also obscured the fact that these particular respondents were not manifesting a desire for greater distance from Negroes but were merely retaining their original preferences for the closest intimacy listed on the scale. Clarification of this point suggested that a majority of the sample members tended to believe in, and to express, the ideologies of their religious groups concerning the brotherhood of all men.

Conclusions

As a result of that knowledge gained through formulating and conducting this research project, the following conclusions have been drawn:

First of all, the concept of racial distance is still relevant for use in discussion and empirical research concerning the phenomena of Negro-white interaction in the United States today.

Secondly, the research project was subject to a number of limitations. These limitations evolved from: (a) the lack of precision of the measuring instruments employed, (b) the type of sample tested, and (c) the homogeneity of that sample.

Relevant to the first noted limitation, many of those studies in which the Bogardus and the Remmers scales have been found to be quite adequate instruments for the measurement of racial distance attitudes have been cross sectional studies.⁷¹ As a result, the measurement of racial distance attitude change over a period of time has not been an issue. When such an issue is involved, as was the case in this project, the grossness of both scales appears to hinder their utility as instruments for the measurement of change.

Pertinent to the second limitation, i.e. the type of sample tested, is the fact that utilization of institutionalized respondents always involves the problems of situational influence and personal contamination. In the case of situational influence, the boundaries of the confining institution, particularly of an institution serving delinquent or criminal populations, often restrict interpersonal interaction of the sort which non-institutionalized persons experience. Additionally, confinement tends

⁷¹D. Spcerl, loc. cit.; J. Edlefsen, loc. cit.; S. M. H. Zaidi, "Students' Attitudes Toward Living with Different Ethnic Groups," Journal of Social Psychology, 72 (June, 1967), pp. 99-106; and J. S. Gray and A. H. Thompson, loc. cit.

to encourage residents to conform to the socially sanctioned norms and values of the institution. As previously noted, egalitarianism was encouraged and supported by those in authority at Girls Town. Thus, respondents may have expressed attitudes of acceptance toward outgroups either because: (a) they felt it was "the thing to do," or (b) lack of exposure to social interaction with members of those outgroups in "real life" situations denied them an adequate basis for judgement regarding racial distance preferences.

In the case of contamination, institutionalized participants are in such close physical and social contact throughout the duration of the experiment that they have maximum opportunity to influence each other's attitudes toward the subject in question. As noted in Chapter II, respondents were asked at Time 2 to list their three best friends at Girls Town. This request was formulated as a means of eliciting some indication of: (a) the true randomness of the sample, and (b) whether or not the girls actually were influencing one another. Compilation of responses indicated that not one girl who listed three other girls as her "best friends" was chosen in return by any of those three "best friends." In other words, if respondent A chose respondents B, C, and D as her "best friends," respondent B chose X, Y, and Z as her "best friends," respondent C chose L, M, and N as her "best friends," and respondent D chose Q, R, and S as her "best friends." It thus appears that institutionally sanctioned norms and values and/or lack of "real life" social interaction experiences with outgroup members limited the value of the study findings. Conversely, contamination appears to have had little to do with the results in this particular study.

Concerning the third limitation, i.e. the homogeneity of the sample, pre-testing of sample participants in order to discern their initial racial distance attitudes would have been a worthwhile undertaking. For example, a majority of the Girls Town respondents manifested initial attitudes of preference for maximum racial nearness. Had this phenomena been noted by the researcher following pre-testing procedures rather than after the experiment was already underway, greater efforts to secure a more objective sample might have been made.

Despite the above noted limitations of the research project a third, and final conclusion, is that several contributions were also effected. First, the research was carried out using a sample group and an organizational setting quite different from those groups and settings with which the majority of racial distance studies have been concerned.⁷² To continue conducting interracial research on the college campus and at summer camps, etc., seems highly illogical at this point in the development of empirical sociology. Examination of the literature indicates that at least a sufficient number of these types of studies have already been executed.⁷³ While the research findings did not support the hypotheses proposed in this study, nonetheless this experimental examination of

⁷²Examination of some forty studies focused upon racial distance attitudes revealed that a majority of the samples utilized were college students. A minority of the samples tested consisted of summer campers, business men, elementary school students, government workers and school teachers. Organizational settings included school classrooms, summer camps, factories and places of business.

⁷³For example, of just fifteen studies which employed the original or a modified form of the Bogardus scale, eleven out of those fifteen (i.e. 73 per cent) utilized college student samples.

an unusual type of sample group and organizational setting did provide a certain amount of consequential information. This information is relevant to the methodological problems inherent in executing experiments of the type described herein and it could assist others interested in conducting further research of this nature. Secondly, those findings regarding the association between religious affiliation and racial distance attitude change support the results of research in other settings.⁷⁴ As a result, greater confidence can be placed in the accumulated findings.

It is hoped that this project will stimulate further research focused upon possible methods of changing racial distance attitudes in a positive direction. A variety of sample groups and settings and a number of attitude change techniques have not been used within interracial studies. Consequently, further research of this type could be of significant value for those involved in present day social action.

⁷⁴See for example, H. and L. Triandis, loc. cit.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

THE BOGARDUS SCALE⁷⁵

1. In order to keep scale anonymous, do not sign name, but give yourself as much freedom as possible; use only check marks.
2. Please give your first feeling reactions in every case.
3. Give your feeling reactions to each ethnic group in terms of the chief picture or stereotype you have of entire group. Mark each group even if you do not know it.
4. Check as many of seven columns in each case as your feelings dictate.
5. Work as rapidly as possible.

| | 1 I would marry into group | 2 Would have as close friends | 3 Would have as next door neigh- bors | 4 Would work in same office | 5 Have as speaking acquain- tances only | 6 Have as visitors only to my nation | 7 Would debar from my nation |
|----|--|---|---|---|--|---|---|
| 1 | Armenians | | | | | | |
| 2 | Americans (U.S. white) | | | | | | |
| 3 | Canadians | | | | | | |
| 4 | Chinese | | | | | | |
| 5 | Czech's | | | | | | |
| . | . | | | | | | |
| . | . | | | | | | |
| . | . | | | | | | |
| . | . | | | | | | |
| . | . | | | | | | |
| 23 | Negroes | | | | | | |
| 24 | Norwegians | | | | | | |
| 25 | Poles | | | | | | |
| . | . | | | | | | |
| . | . | | | | | | |
| 30 | | | | | | | |

- Please check. (1) Your ethnic backgrounds: Caucasian__, Mongoloid__, Negro__.
- (2) Your religious backgrounds: R.Catholic__, Jewish__, Protestant__, other__.
- (3) Rural backgrounds__, urban backgrounds__. (4) Sex: Male__, Female__.
- (5) Education: 8th grade__, H.S. grad.__, 2 yrs. Coll.__, Coll. grad.__, Post-grad. work__.
- (6) Age: Under 15__, 15 to 30__, 31 to 50__, 50 or over__.
- (7) Occupation: None__, student__, housewife__, unskilled worker__, skilled__, clerical or secretarial__, managerial__, executive__, professional__.
- (8) Annual Income: None__, under \$2500__, \$2500 to \$5000__, over \$5000__.

⁷⁵As shown on page 31, E. S. Bogardus, Social Distance (Yellow Springs: Antioch Press, 1959).

APPENDIX B

PROTOCOLS ADMINISTERED TO RESPONDANTS OF
BOTH PILOT STUDY AND RESEARCH PROJECT

I

1. Do not sign your name to this paper.
2. To fully describe the way you feel about each of the groups listed, mark (x) in as many of the seven columns following each group as you wish.
3. The statements you mark (x) should describe your main ideas of each group as a whole. In other words, don't just mark the way you feel about one or two members of each group whom you may have known.
4. Be sure to mark (x) your "first feeling reactions." In other words, as you read the name of each group, quickly mark those statements in the following columns that tell how you feel. The more you "stop to think it over," the less valuable will be the results.
5. Mark (x) your feelings about every group on the list even if you think you don't know much about some of them.

| Groups | Would have as a relative | Would have as a roommate | Would have as a close personal friend | Would have as a member of my gang | Would have as a neighbor | Would speak to if necessary | Would have no contact with at all |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Italians | | | | | | | |
| Jews | | | | | | | |
| Negroes | | | | | | | |
| American Indians | | | | | | | |
| Bohemians | | | | | | | |
| Japanese | | | | | | | |

II

Check (x) only those questions that you agree with:

| GROUPS | QUESTION | ANSWER (x) |
|----------|---|------------|
| Italians | 1. Can be depended upon as being honest. | |
| | 2. Are far above my own group. | |
| | 3. Some of our best citizens are descendants from this group. | |
| | 4. Deserve much consideration from the rest of the world. | |
| | 5. Command the respect of any group. | |
| | 6. Are quick to apprehend. | |
| | 7. Are a God-fearing group. | |
| | 8. Have an air of dignity about them. | |
| | 9. Are highly emotional. | |
| | 10. Take an exceptional pride in themselves. | |
| | 11. Are superstitious. | |
| | 12. Are self-indulgent. | |
| | 13. Do not impress me favorably. | |
| | 14. I am not in sympathy with these people. | |
| | 15. Would likely prove disloyal to our government. | |
| | 16. Belong to a low social level. | |
| | 17. Are mentally defective. | |
| Jews | 1. Can be depended upon as being honest. | |
| | 2. Are far above my own group. | |
| | 3. Some of our best citizens are descendants from this group. | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| Jews (Cont'd) | 4. Deserve much consideration from the rest of the world. | | |
| | 5. Command the respect of any group. | | |
| | 6. Are quick to apprehend. | | |
| | 7. Are a God-fearing group. | | |
| | 8. Have an air of dignity about them. | | |
| | 9. Are highly emotional. | | |
| | 10. Take an exceptional pride in themselves. | | |
| | 11. Are superstitious. | | |
| | 12. Are self-indulgent. | | |
| | 13. Do not impress me favorably. | | |
| | 14. I am not in sympathy with these people. | | |
| | 15. Would likely prove disloyal to our government. | | |
| | 16. Belong to a low social level. | | |
| | 17. Are mentally defective. | | |
| | Negroes | 1. Can be depended upon as being honest. | |
| | | 2. Are far above my own group. | |
| | | 3. Some of our best citizens are descendants from this group. | |
| 4. Deserve much consideration from the rest of the world. | | | |
| 5. Command the respect of any group. | | | |
| 6. Are quick to apprehend. | | | |
| 7. Are a God-fearing group. | | | |
| 8. Have an air of dignity about them. | | | |
| 9. Are highly emotional. | | | |

| | | |
|---------------------|---|--|
| Negroes (Cont'd) | 10. Take an exceptional pride in themselves. | |
| | 11. Are superstitious. | |
| | 12. Are self-indulgent. | |
| | 13. Do not impress me favorably. | |
| | 14. I am not in sympathy with these people. | |
| | 15. Would likely prove disloyal to our government. | |
| | 16. Belong to a low social level. | |
| | 17. Are mentally defective. | |
| American Indians | 1. Can be depended upon as being honest. | |
| | 2. Are far above my own group. | |
| | 3. Some of our best citizens are descendants from this group. | |
| | 4. Deserve much consideration from the rest of the world. | |
| | 5. Command the respect of any group. | |
| | 6. Are quick to apprehend. | |
| | 7. Are a God-fearing group. | |
| | 8. Have an air of dignity about them. | |
| | 9. Are highly emotional. | |
| | 10. Take an exceptional pride in themselves. | |
| | 11. Are superstitious. | |
| | 12. Are self-indulgent. | |
| | 13. Do not impress me favorably. | |
| | 14. I am not in sympathy with these people. | |
| | 15. Would likely prove disloyal to our government. | |

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---|--|
| American Indians (Cont'd) | 16. Belong to a low social level. | |
| | 17. Are mentally defective. | |
| Bohemians | 1. Can be depended upon as being honest. | |
| | 2. Are far above my own group. | |
| | 3. Some of our best citizens are descendants from this group. | |
| | 4. Deserve much consideration from the rest of the world. | |
| | 5. Command the respect of any group. | |
| | 6. Are quick to apprehend. | |
| | 7. Are a God-fearing group. | |
| | 8. Have an air of dignity about them. | |
| | 9. Are highly emotional. | |
| | 10. Take an exceptional pride in themselves. | |
| | 11. Are superstitious. | |
| | 12. Are self-indulgent. | |
| | 13. Do not impress me favorably. | |
| | 14. I am not in sympathy with these people. | |
| | 15. Would likely prove disloyal to our government. | |
| | 16. Belong to a low social level. | |
| | 17. Are mentally defective. | |
| Japanese | 1. Can be depended upon as being honest. | |
| | 2. Are far above my own group. | |
| | 3. Some of our best citizens are descendants from this group. | |

| | | |
|----------------------|---|--|
| Japanese (Cont'd) | 4. Deserve much consideration from the rest of the world. | |
| | 5. Command the respect of any group. | |
| | 6. Are quick to apprehend. | |
| | 7. Are a God-fearing group. | |
| | 8. Have an air of dignity about them. | |
| | 9. Are highly emotional. | |
| | 10. Take an exceptional pride in themselves. | |
| | 11. Are superstitious. | |
| | 12. Are self-indulgent. | |
| | 13. Do not impress me favorably. | |
| | 14. I am not in sympathy with these people. | |
| | 15. Would likely prove disloyal to our government. | |
| | 16. Belong to a low social level. | |
| | 17. Are mentally defective. | |

III.

- (1) Don't sign your name to this paper.
- (2) SA means "strongly agree"
 A means "agree"
 D means "disagree"
 SD means "strongly disagree"

Section A

- 1) The idea of equality for all people shouldn't mean just political equality.

SA A D SD

- 2) We should get back to hard work to solve our country's problems.

SA A D SD

- 3) Our country can and should do more to take care of its citizens.

SA A D SD

- 4) Government spending is usually wasteful.

SA A D SD

- 5) The Supreme Court has taken over too much power for itself; power not given to it by our national Constitution.

SA A D SD

- 6) Unless we change social conditions, many kids from minority groups won't have a chance to "better themselves" in this country.

SA A D SD

Section B

- 7) When people say nice things about me, I find it hard to believe they really mean it. I think they're just kidding me or being phony.

SA A D SD

- 8) I don't approve of doing favors for people. If you're too nice, people will run all over you.

SA A D SD

- 9) I don't feel "above" or "below" the people I meet.

SA A D SD

10) I feel that as a person I'm just as important as any other person.

SA A D SD

11) I would rather be alone than have close friendships with any of the people around me.

SA A D SD

12) If I didn't always have such hard luck, I'd get much more done than I have.

SA A D SD

13) I like doing little favors for people even if I don't know them well.

SA A D SD

14) I'm not afraid of meeting new people. I don't think there's anything about myself that they would dislike.

SA A D SD

Section C

15) God hears and answers a person's prayers.

SA A D SD

16) The Church is nothing but a lot of phoniness and prejudice.

SA A D SD

17) The idea of God is just a superstition.

SA A D SD

18) The Church is the greatest helper in making a better world.

SA A D SD

19) God will, depending on how we act on earth, reward or punish us in the next world.

SA A D SD

20) The Church is hundreds of years behind the times and its ideas and activities are useless in modern day life.

SA A D SD

Section D

- (a) To fully describe the way you feel about each of the groups listed, mark (x) in as many of the seven columns following each group as you wish.
- (b) The statements you mark (x) should describe your main idea of each group as a whole. In other words, don't just mark the way you feel about one or two members of each group whom you may have known.
- (c) Be sure to mark (x) your "first feeling reactions." In other words, as you read the name of each group, quickly mark those statements in the following columns that tell how you feel. The more you "stop to think it over," the less valuable will be the results.
- (d) Mark (x) your feelings about every group on the list even if you think you don't know much about some of them.

| Groups | Would have as a relative | Would have as a roommate | Would have as a close personal friend | Would have as a member of my gang | Would have as a neighbor | Would speak to if necessary | Would have no contact with at all |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| American Indians | | | | | | | |
| Japanese | | | | | | | |
| Italians | | | | | | | |
| Negroes | | | | | | | |
| Bohemians | | | | | | | |
| Jews | | | | | | | |

Section E

- 21) How do whites in the town where you grew up feel about other whites who treat Negroes as equals?
- They really criticize them.
 - They dislike them.
 - There doesn't seem to be any agreement amongst the whites as to how they feel.
 - They usually don't say anything.
 - They think it's O.K.
- 22) Do whites call Negroes "niggers" to their faces in the town where you grew up?
- Yes, that's the word they always use.
 - Quite often, but usually when the white is mad or disgusted.
 - I've never had a chance to find out.
 - The word is almost never used.
 - The word is not mentioned when Negroes are near.
- 23) Were your parents (or guardians) in favor of treating whites and Negroes in the same way?
- Strongly in favor.
 - In favor.
 - They never said whether they were or not.
 - Against it.
 - Strongly against it.
- 24) Has it ever bothered you when white people were acting too friendly toward Negroes?
- Yes, many times.
 - Yes, a few times.
 - I haven't had much chance to see this sort of thing.
 - No.
 - Never. It's my feeling that whites are too unfriendly.
- 25) Have you ever noticed that Negroes have a bad body odor?
- Many times.
 - A few times.
 - Never noticed.
 - Yes, but at times (like in gym class) where whites often have a bad body odor too.
 - The Negroes I've met are as clean or cleaner than whites.

- 26) Can you remember any times when Negroes in public places seemed to be looking for trouble?
- a) Many times.
 - b) A few times.
 - c) I haven't had much chance to see this sort of thing.
 - d) Yes, but at times when whites would have done the same.
 - e) None.
- 27) For what reasons have you gone to the home of a Negro?
- a) For a friendly visit.
 - b) Usually on business, but sometimes for other reasons.
 - c) Never had reason to go.
 - d) On business or to show friendship, if the Negro was the kind who "kept in his place."
 - e) I would never go for any reason.
- 28) Think of the finest Negro, of all the Negroes you know, where would you rate him (or her) in comparison with the whites you know.
- a) Above any whites I know, except my own family.
 - b) Equal to my white friends.
 - c) Can't answer; don't know any Negroes well enough.
 - d) Below most whites.
 - e) Below the meanest of whites.
- 29) Have you ever had trouble with Negroes because you thought they were getting too "uppity"?
- a) No, I have defended Negroes that other people were trying to "put down."
 - b) No trouble.
 - c) I'm usually not any place where this might have happened.
 - d) Once in a while.
 - e) Many times.
- 30) Which of the following best describes Negro workers whom you have seen.
- a) Very poor workers; did as little work as possible.
 - b) Poor workers even when someone told them what to do.
 - c) I haven't seen enough of them to answer this question.
 - d) Good workers when someone tells them what to do.
 - e) Very good workers; did more work than they had to.

Section F

31) The lecture-discussion groups I went to were very boring.

SA A D SD

32) The lecture-discussion groups I went to were a very worthwhile experience.

SA A D SD

33) I liked the speakers, but not what they talked about.

SA A D SD

34) I didn't like the speakers, but did think that what they said was very interesting.

SA A D SD

35) I liked the speakers and the things they talked about.

SA A D SD

36) I didn't like the speakers or the things they talked about.

SA A D SD

APPENDIX C

ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL ADMINISTERED TO
THE RESEARCH SAMPLE AT TIME 2

IV

Check only those statements you agree with.

(1) I would be willing to marry a: Jew _____

Bohemian _____

Negro _____

American Indian _____

Japanese _____

Italian _____

(2) My three best friends at Girls Town are: _____

APPENDIX D

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Introduction

This is the first of four lecture and discussion periods about the history and culture of the American Negro. There are many facts and details of Negro history and culture which just aren't included in the American History texts now being used in our public schools. For example, one of these rather important facts is that even though America won her freedom, as a nation, from England, black Americans living in the newly "democratic" country at that time were still not free! True, Thomas Jefferson had written a Condemnation of Slavery into the Declaration of Independence, but the southern delegates to the Continental Congress succeeded in having that particular part of the document eliminated from the final printed text. Consequently, as the years of their slavery and inequality continued, more and more Negroes felt compelled to begin their own struggle for independence and equality in America.

It is this particular struggle which is the central theme of American Negro history, as well as being one of our major social concerns today, and in order to point out some of the more important events and participants in it, the four lectures will describe first, "The Years of Slavery"; second, "Civil War and Reconstruction"; third, "The Mobilization of Black Strength"; and fourth, "Struggle and Progress in the Last 25 Years."

(I) The Years of Slavery

Actually, the first Negroes who began arriving at the colonies in 1619 were indentured servants. Being an indentured servant meant that a person was entitled to his complete freedom at the end of a stated period of service to his master. This stated period was usually 10 years or less, but unlike most white indentured servants, most Negroes simply weren't set free when their time of servitude had ended. By 1660 the expansion of crop raising and farming in the colonies had created a demand for a larger labor force than indentured servants and unfreed Negroes could supply and thus the practice of actual slavery began. African Negroes were dragged, bought or kidnapped from their villages and shipped to the colonies for sale on the auction block. By 1700 most of the colonies had accepted the fact of Negro slavery and had enacted laws outlining what the slaves could and could not do and what punishments they would receive if they broke these laws. By 1750 slavery was declared a legal activity in every colony, for it had by then become an important part of the social and economic structure of our emerging nation.

When the Revolutionary War began, General George Washington and the Continental Congress agreed on a policy of keeping both slaves and free Negroes out of the army even though a runaway slave named Crispus Attucks had fought the British and died during the Boston massacre. As it turned out, however, the racial policy of Washington's Revolutionary Army was largely determined by what the British did. They issued a Proclamation promising freedom to male slaves who fought on England's side and after some 30,000 Virginia slaves ran away to do so, Washington

and the Congress approved the enlistment of Negroes within their own ranks. By the end of the war, some 5,000 Negroes had fought for the independence of the United States, but as was mentioned earlier, black men and women themselves were still not to be free and independent in America. For example, those who wrote the Constitution for our new nation included a clause stating that if for any reason a slave ran away, the full power of the Federal Government was to be used to deliver him back to his master. Also, even though--somewhat later--in 1808, an addition to the Constitution legally closed the foreign slave trade, this measure only served to increase the interstate buying of slaves and the practice of "slave breeding."

Throughout these years of bondage that we've been learning about, many slaves had been revolting against their masters in various ways. Some ran away or loafed on their jobs; others destroyed crops and stole property, etc. Actual "slave uprisings" were the most sensational and desperate forms of resistance, and those led by Gabriel Prosser in 1800, Denmark Vesey in 1822 and Nat Turner in 1831, were three of some 250 which were "nipped in the bud" by white citizens, troops, and vigilante committees. Prosser, Vesey and Turner were all deeply religious men and felt that God had chosen them to lead their people out of bondage. All three made plans to seize certain cities in Virginia and then to capture that whole state for use as an all Negro state. All three were betrayed by other slaves who informed their masters of what was about to happen; and all three (and their followers) were caught and hung by their necks until dead.

As a consequence of this sort of activity, even more harsh laws were passed in order to "keep the Negro in his place." Black clergymen were not allowed to preach, Negroes were not allowed to gather together in groups of more than two or three, and they were absolutely forbidden to carry sticks or stones at any time. Despite restrictions about speaking to groups, a young girl named Isabella, the eleventh child in her family to be sold into slavery, became the first woman anti-slavery speaker. She felt that the Lord had spoken to her and that her mission was to travel about the country preaching the truth about slavery. For this reason, she changed her name to Sojourner Truth and even though she was beaten and lamed for life as a result of her speeches, she talked to all who would listen. Another Negro woman, Harriet Tubman, considered her mission to be that of helping slaves escape to freedom in the North. She ran away from her master's plantation one day in 1849 after an overseer had dented her skull with a 21 pound weight, and a year later she reappeared at the cabin door of relatives and said "It's time to go North." With money she had saved from dishwashing and housework, Harriet made 19 trips back and forth and led more than 300 slaves to freedom by way of the Underground Railroad. This railroad, which began inside the slave states and ran in one direction--North--was staffed, at its peak, by some 3,200 volunteer agents (Negroes, white Quakers and white abolitionists, etc.), and its passengers were transported in covered farm wagons, loads of lumber and coal, on real railroad cars, in cargo on ships or nailed up in freight boxes. Miss Tubman's weapons were a pistol to fend off pursuers and paragonic to quiet babies and she was called

the "Moses of Her People." By 1852, slaveholders were offering a total of \$40,000 for her capture, dead or alive.

One other outstanding leader of his people who began his anti-slavery activities at about the same time that Harriet was active in the Underground Railroad was Frederick Douglass. As a boy he was a house servant and he taught himself to write by tracing carpenter's chalk marks at his master's shipyard and copying passages from the school books of white boys. Later, he saved 50¢ in pennies and bought his first book, a schoolbook of famous orations about liberty. He made this topic the theme of his talks to other slaves. For these efforts he was sent to a "slavebreaker" when he was 19, but the beatings he endured failed to break his spirit and he ran away to New Bedford, Massachusetts, and started his life of freedom as a shipyard laborer. In 1841 when he stood up at a white anti-slavery meeting and described the brutal experiences he'd been through as a slave, his career as a speaker really began. He soon became a paid abolitionist (i.e. anti-slavery) lecturer and organizer and later founded and edited an emancipation newspaper, "The North Star." Eventually, he and the white abolitionists of that day, Horace Greeley, William Lloyd Garrison and others, parted company, for Mr. Douglass began to request something more than freedom for the Negro, he demanded equality as well.

(Group Discussion Period.....)

(II) Civil War and Reconstruction

You'll remember that the last lecture ended with a discussion about Frederick Douglass and his activities after he became a free Negro.

During the years from 1831 to 1865 many more Negroes were gaining their freedom. Some slave owners gave it to them as an award for good service or when they (the slave owner) died; runaway slaves had always been considered free and children of free mothers were free. Also, some slaves bought their own freedom and others were bought by abolitionists and set free. Wherever they lived, however, their lives were still "shaped" to a great degree by the white man. In the South, any white could claim that a Negro was his own personal slave and be believed without question, and in the North "slave catchers" hunted them down and took away their "free papers." Because of these conditions, many of the free Negroes joined the anti-slavery (or abolitionist) crusade. As the years passed and northern white and Negro abolitionists kept the slavery issue before the public, the basis for a Civil War was being forged. To oversimplify, when the Civil War actually did begin, the South fought to defend its way of life (slavery) and the North, to keep the Union whole. Almost by accident, the freedom, or emancipation, of all slaves was thus morally and politically necessary to achieve the Northern objective. In 1861 Frederick Douglass wrote an editorial in which he challenged "men of color to arms," and many Negroes offered their services to the Union Army--only to be rejected. Later, however, President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 authorized the general enlistment of Negro troops and they did serve--in segregated units called United States Colored Troops. Commanded largely by white officers, these troops were paid \$7.00 per month while members of white units received \$13.00 per month. The 54th Massachusetts (Negro) Regiment served for a full year without pay rather than accept this differing wage scale.

Before the war ended, Negro troops saw action in every theatre of operation and there were at least 149 black regiments in existence, making up approximately one-tenth of the Union Army. Late in 1865 when total emancipation became effective, one out of every three Southerners and one out of every nine Americans was a recently liberated slave.

The next ten or twelve years of "Reconstruction" were a time of uncertainty and disillusionment for the newly freed Negroes. True, they were no longer anyone else's property, but they weren't really citizens either, for they weren't allowed to vote, to sit on juries, or to hold public office. Both President Lincoln and his successor, President Andrew Johnson, left it to each state to decide how the freed slaves' "freedom" should be defined. Southern state legislatures immediately passed "Black Codes" which forced Negroes to accept the same wages and working conditions under which they had served their former owners. Most employers either paid in paper money called "script," which was redeemable only at the plantation store, or else withheld wages to pay for the housing, food, tools and clothing they supplied. The Black Codes also listed fines and physical punishment for Negroes who refused to comply with their regulations.

In 1867 Congress decided to take over the "reconstruction" of the South and under Union military rule Southern state legislatures adopted new Constitutions giving the vote and other Civil Rights to Negroes. The 14th and 15th Amendments, guaranteeing these same rights, were also added to the National Constitution in 1868 and 1870. In another effort to protect and aid former slaves, Congress established the "Freedman's Bureau." Its activities were marked by a wide range of assistance that

provided, among other things, food, clothing and supplies, job placement, educational facilities, and homestead land. The Bureau's work represented, in that day, an unusual and unprecedented outlay of direct federal aid to individuals. It was widely applauded in the North for its humanitarian activities and widely criticized in the South as being an agent of Republican control and an instrument of questionable interference in local affairs. To this day, historians continue to argue over the mixed motives that prompted Congress to endorse the Bureau's organization and continuation. Whatever faults the Bureau organization may have had (and there were many) it was, nonetheless, an attempt to help a group of human beings who had been shifted abruptly from almost absolute dependence on someone else to almost complete dependence upon themselves. Four million freedmen looked for work and a chance to learn. Few of them could read or write and now many of them wanted the chance. Mr. Booker T. Washington, a slave born in Virginia who was a coal miner from four in the morning until nine in the evening after the Civil War ended, describes this desire for an education in his autobiography, Up From Slavery. He says: "This experience of a whole race beginning to go to school for the first time, presents one of the most interesting studies that has ever occurred in connection with the development of any race. Few people who were not right in the midst of the scenes can form any exact idea of the intense desire which the people of my race showed for an education. As I have stated, it was a whole race trying to go to school. Few were too young, and none too old, to make the attempt to learn. As fast as any kind of teachers could be secured, not only were day-schools filled, but night-schools as well. The great ambition of the older people was to try to

learn to read the Bible before they died. With this end in view, men and women who were fifty or seventy-five years old would often be found in the night-school. Sunday schools were formed soon after freedom, but the principal book studied in the Sunday-school was the spelling book. Day-school, night-school, Sunday-school, were always crowded, and often many had to be turned away for want of room." While a house-servant for a wealthy family during his teenage years, Mr. Washington heard about Hampton Institute, a school established for Negroes in Virginia where poor but worthy students could work out all or part of the cost of their board while being taught some trade or industry. In 1872 he set out for the school, walking and begging rides in wagons and once there he spent the next four years literally consuming all the knowledge the school had to offer. He then went back to West Virginia as a teacher and later taught at Hampton. While at Hampton, he was asked to take charge of what was to be a normal school for Negroes in Tuskegee, Alabama, and most of you already know how successful he was during his long years of service as the President of Tuskegee Institute. One of the professors whom Mr. Washington hired after the school was well established was Dr. George Washington Carver. Dr. Carver spent most of his life in agricultural research, and while at Tuskegee, derived over 300 products from peanuts, sweet potatoes and beans.

Also becoming intellectually active at this time were three other outstanding Negroes. Dr. Carter G. Woodson, a teacher and historian, began recording the achievements of his people in order to teach Negro history in schools and colleges. He founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and originated the observance of Negro

History Week. His sixteen published books furnish the background for many present day studies of the Negro American. "Mr. W. E. B. DuBois was also a scholar and an author, but with the exception of these two factors, his similarities to Mr. Washington and Dr's. Carver and Woodson ended, for he disapproved of what he called their "accomodationist" viewpoints. Mr. Washington believed, for example, that the leap from slavery had been made too quickly for most Negroes and that they therefore should learn only manual skills and live separately from, but equally with, the whites. In a classic essay called "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," DuBois stated that Washington was leading Negroes into giving up their political power, their insistance on civil rights and the higher education of Negro youth. Mr. William Monroe Trotter, who received both his Bachelors and Masters degrees from Harvard in 1895 and 1896, agreed with Mr. DuBois. Absolutely infuriated by Mr. Washington whose name dominated the newspaper headlines in those days, Trotter dedicated his life to the destruction of Washington's ideas. He followed Washington from city to city, needling him at public meetings about his accomodationist views and one meeting in Boston ended in a riot which the Newspapers reported as meaning that Mr. Washington apparently did not appeal to all Negroes as their leader. You'll be hearing more about Trotter and DuBois in the next lecture, so let's end here for our discussion period.

(Group Discussion Period.....)

(III) Mobilization of Black Strength

You'll remember that the last lecture mentioned that the 10 or 12 years of "Reconstruction" following the Civil War were a time of disillusionment for newly freed Negroes. Actually, this disillusionment was to continue from that time to the present, for the doctrine of "white supremacy" slowly returned to the South after federal troops and governmental aid had left it. Thousands of Negroes became convinced that they'd have to go elsewhere to find real freedom and self respect, and they joined the waves of white homesteaders in settling the wide open territories of the West. Their numbers and needs often stretched local resources to the breaking point and in many instances they were driven away from local settlements before they had a chance to unpack their meagre possessions. Nonetheless, more than 100,000 of them managed to move to Texas during the 1870's. Between 1860 and 1910 the population of Negroes in Arkansas tripled and in Kansas it rose from 627 to more than 54,000. Large numbers of them also went to Oklahoma territory where many of the men became cowboys or joined cavalry units as Indian fighters.

Those Negroes who remained in the South, however, found the Jim Crow laws more and more frustrating as each year passed. Their voting rights were denied them by various legislative devices such as poll taxes which they couldn't pay; literacy tests which they couldn't pass; and the so-called "grandfather clauses" of various state constitutions which stated that a person couldn't vote unless he could prove that his grandfather had voted. Negro schools were segregated and inferior,

labor unions denied them membership, and lynching and beatings were once again reported in the newspapers.

In July of 1905, at Niagara Falls, a Canadian city where Negroes were allowed to stay in white hotels, Mr. DuBois, Mr. Trotter and 27 other college educated Negroes met together for the purpose of drawing up a platform of Negro resistance and protest. These men had come of age during the Reconstruction years and felt that moderation and compromise as a way of gaining Negro equality and civil rights had failed. Their platform stated that: "We refuse to allow the impression to remain that the Negro American assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression and apologetic before insults" and it also listed wrongs inflicted upon Negroes in the years since Reconstruction. This "Niagara Movement" has been judged by many historians as a significant turning point in the Negroes' attitude toward the white majority and thus they have called it the forerunner of the modern day protest movement. From its beginning, the organization was hindered by bickering amongst its members and Mr. Trotter and Mr. DuBois especially, could never agree upon anything. Trotter finally withdrew and established his own group, The National Equal Rights League, which emphasized the need for independent black political action and racially separate organizations. Somewhat later, in 1909, the dwindling number of Niagara militants and a group of white liberals organized the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This famous organization had (and still has) as its purpose, the upholding and establishing of Negro rights by legal action and court battle. The first major victory for the NAACP lawyers came in 1915, when they succeeded in getting the U. S. Supreme

Court to declare the "grandfather clauses" of various southern state Constitutions as illegal and unconstitutional. When the Ku Klux Klan became active in the South again in the 1920's the NAACP harassed and exposed it also. Whenever a lynching occurred, a black flag with a white inscription, "A Man Was Lynched Yesterday," hung outside national headquarters in New York City. In 1926 the flag appeared thirty times, in 1935, twenty times, and then the number of lynchings began to dwindle.

Founded in 1911 by a sociologist, Dr. George Haynes, was another famous organization, the National Urban League. This group was set up to assist rural Negroes who had emigrated to large cities to adjust to the complexities of urban life. When World War I began in 1916 there was a mass migration of southern Negroes to northern cities to fill the male labor shortage caused by the war and Urban League social workers labored night and day in large city ghettos such as Harlem in New York City. At the end of the war, during the 1920's actually, there was an outburst of Negro intellectual creativity in New York which was so significant that it has since been called "The Harlem Renaissance." Newly educated Negroes converged upon Harlem and New York's unique cosmopolitan atmosphere provided them with the stimulus to make use of or to enlarge upon their talents. A group of writers, Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Countee Cullen and James Weldon Johnson, were considered leading poets and novelists of that era. Langston Hughes is known as one of America's most prolific writers even today. All these men represented a new type of emancipated Negro in their defiance of the old turn of the century attitudes. They were iconoclasts, meaning that they were skeptical and critical of old ideals and ways of life, and with the bitterness of

highly intelligent men in a hostile society, many of them eventually went into exile in foreign lands. In addition to writing, a great deal of painting and sculpting was being done, and Bessie Smith became famous for her renditions of "Blues" songs. There were Negro musicals such as "Africana" which starred Ethel Waters and Duke Ellington's Band played jazz for "standing room only" audiences every night. Ellington, like Langston Hughes (who died in 1967) gave the Harlem Renaissance a continuity which has carried it over into present day Negro creative activity.

As in the days of Reconstruction, during the national depression in the 1930's the federal government once again focused its attention upon the Negroes. President Franklin Roosevelt formed what came to be known as his "Black Cabinet," a group of Negro administrators who advised him about Negro affairs and who traveled about the country in an effort to insure non-discrimination in the application of new federal aid programs. Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and President of Bethune-Cookman College in Florida was but one of the outstanding Negroes to serve in this Cabinet.

In spite of these governmental programs, however, skilled Negro workers were still jobless as 1940 and World War II approached. Feeling that a great amount of this joblessness stemmed from racial discrimination, A. Philip Randolph declared his own war on President Roosevelt's administration. Mr. Randolph had fought for twelve years to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and he now prepared to lead 100,000 Negroes in a march on Washington in order to protest job discrimination against Negroes. When President Roosevelt was unable to get him to cancel the march, he compromised by passing "Executive Order 8802"

which stated that "There shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industry or government. . . ." As a result of this order, most industries had at least a token number of black employees by the time the war ended. "8802" didn't apply to the Armed Forces, however, and the million Negro men and women who served during World War II were segregated in almost all camps, military posts and fighting units. Most of them were in service battalions also, rather than in fighting units.

This discriminatory treatment and segregated participation in yet another American war fought for freedom; in this case, one being fought against (the Nazi ideal of) racism; reaffirmed Negro feelings of second class citizenship and thus furnished them with additional reason and desire to begin a truly active campaign for civil rights here in America. You'll be hearing more about this active campaign in the last lecture, so let's "break" now for our discussion period, O.K.?

(Group Discussion Period.....)

(IV) Struggle and Progress in the Last 25 Years

You'll remember that the last speaker mentioned that Negroes were beginning to feel that impetus for change had to come from themselves. In other words, that they had to "keep the pressure on" if they were ever going to achieve equality in America. After President Roosevelt's death, the NAACP kept the pressure on President Truman and in 1948, in his role as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, he ordered full integration of the Military Services. This integration came about gradually during the Korean War, and by now, is almost complete. In

1954 after a long and frustrating battle led by Mr. Thurgood Marshall, who was then with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the Supreme Court declared that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Soon after this came the "Brown Vs. Board of Education" mandate ordering school desegregation with "all deliberage speed," and action really began. White citizens councils formed in the South, the Ku Klux Klan revived, and beatings and bombings made the newspaper headlines once again. In Prince Edward County, Virginia, public schools shut down for five years to avoid integration and other public schools in Alabama and Mississippi stalled for an additional five years. At the same time, however, Negroes Elizabeth Eckford and Autherine Lucy braved angry mobs to enter Little Rock (Arkansas) Central High School and the University of Alabama and Mrs. Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white man on a Montgomery, Alabama bus. Her action led to the famous "Montgomery Bus Boycott" of 1955 and '56 during which the Rev. Martin Luther King led Negroes in a 381 day refusal to ride local buses. The boycott ended only when the Supreme Court ruled bus segregation illegal. King's leadership of this non-violent protest against inequality thrust him, a once obscure Montgomery minister, into national prominence and ushered in ten years of continuous non-violent Negro protest activities.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, in February of 1960, "Sit In" became a famous phrase after four Negro freshmen from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College sat and waited for coffee at the lunch counter of a dimestore until the store closed its doors. Within months the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was organized and there were more lunch counter "sit-ins"; "wade-ins" at segregated public

beaches; and "freedom rides" testing integration on interstate trains and buses. Many Negro protestors were sent to jail for these activities, and the whole world followed the proceedings as they were reported in the public media. In August of 1963 two hundred thousand Negroes and whites marched from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial and heard Rev. King proclaim: "I have a dream, that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will be judged, not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character." In 1964, breaking a filibuster, the Senate passed a new law forbidding discrimination in most public accommodations facilities and authorized the withdrawal of federal money from programs where discrimination was practiced. In 1965 a freedom march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, ended the decade of non-violent protest, for the partial successes of non-violent methods had finally triggered turmoil, militancy and riots in northern ghettos. Negroes living in these places realized that legal victories still hadn't changed personal prejudices. The right laws had all been passed, but residential segregation remained, as did much job discrimination, poverty, and de facto school segregation. True, some Negroes had entered formerly all white jobs, but the majority of them still felt powerless to achieve any change in their conditions. Current attempts to resolve this frustration have come from such ideologies and organizations as the "black nationalism" of Malcom X and the Congress on Racial Equality; the "black power" movement of Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown; and the "Black Panthers" led by Eldridge Cleaver. For the most part, the late Dr. King; Thurgood Marshall, first Negro to be appointed to the Supreme Court; Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of NAACP; and

Whitney Young, Executive Director of the Urban League have spoken for the Negro to the white man, but these new young militants are speaking to the Negro about himself. They emphasize blackness, soul food, African hair styles and black history and culture. White offers of help are often rejected and many young Negroes are classifying themselves as Afro-Americans--identifying with the oppressed peoples of the world and rebelling against the structure of white society.

The late Malcom X, whose name was Malcom Little when he was born here in Omaha, told his followers to "look what you can do for yourselves." ". . . stop begging favors from whites, and get up off your knees and fight your own battles." Roy Innes, National Director of CORE calls "Black Nationalism" the ". . . philosophy of self determination . . . of an oppressed people" and says "We must rehabilitate blacks as a people. We must control the Institutions in our areas . . . [and] deal with our problems as a whole--not individually as economic, political or social. Integration is a total failure. We must continue as a separate entity." LeRoi Jones, prominent Negro poet and playwright asks, "How can anybody live in this world without seeing what's going on? We began as slaves and have never existed to the (white) man as human beings with rights equal to his." "The old established Negro leadership reflects white attitudes urging patience after 350 years of patience. These leaders have the money, which whites are all too eager to give, to keep us down. And that represents power. Now they're going to have to be our leaders or nothing!" Negro comedian Dick Gregory says, "We are separated right now, and we want to control our areas. We will take this control if we have to." "The structure is being tested not by

blacks alone. White kids have hit the system and it won't stay like it is. White parents can't use the word "nigger" because their kids won't let them. These kids won't conform to society's old image. A kid can be number one in his class, but his long hair and clothing make his parents ashamed of him. These young kids are pushing and they won't stop. When America can be as aware of injustices at home as she is of the ones around the world, then she'll be a truly vital society. When we can make democracy work, we won't have to force it down other people's throats. If it really is such a good idea, and if they can see it working, they'll steal it!"

Thus we can see that in ways just becoming clear, Negro history has also had a profound effect upon white people. Nonviolent protest has inspired whites to use the same methods to attack laws that they feel are unjust. Techniques of unlawful protest, of civil disobedience, have been taken up by whites--especially the young--for their own causes. The moral commitment and willingness to sacrifice demonstrated by young Negroes has impressed an activist minority of the white community and caused students, clergymen, and intellectuals to follow their example. In this respect the Negroes' battle for himself has triggered another struggle that is also making a significant impression upon our present day world.

(Group Discussion Period.....)