

SOCIAL INTERACTION AS DEPICTED BY WHITE AND NEGRO AUTHORS:
A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SIX NOVELS

by

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I. THE PROBLEM, REVIEW OF LITERATURE, AND HYPOTHESES

Introduction

The sociology of literature can perhaps be said to have started in 1800 with the publication of Madame Stael's De la Litterature consideree dans ses rapports avec les insititutions sociales. In it the author offered a social and historical interpretation of the literature of several nations.¹ Since then and particularly within the past fifty years, literature has become a subject for analysis by sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, philosphers, and historians. Scientists have become aware of this vast source of knowledge which reveals man, his thoughts, his feelings, and his surroundings. Several empirical studies have been made relating sociology and literature. These studies involve a content analysis of literary material and a comparison between this and predominant social values, processes, or facts.

The Problem

The present study was concerned with an analysis of the literature by Negro and white authors. The purpose of the study was to make a comparison between Negro and white novelists to determine if there was any significant difference or similarity in the way they handled interaction between the races. A survey was made of novels by Negro authors and novels by white authors to compare the social interaction depicted

¹Milton C. Albrecht, "The Relationship of Literature and Society" The American Journal of Sociology, LIX, No. 5 (March, 1954), p. 425.

by the authors between whites and whites, whites and Negroes, and Negroes and Negroes after 1920.

Until the 1920's, propaganda, racial defense, and racial advertisement were characteristic of most Negro art. "By and large, the Negro as subject matter achieved artistic freedom and stature only as American literature itself moved into the period of realism."¹ Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser, and Stephen Crane were among the first writers to give realistic treatment to the Negro. Authors succeeding them continued this realistic presentation of the Negro.

The first two decades after World War I, ... within the overall context of American fiction's coming-of-age, saw not only more novels by and about Negroes, but also a consistently more realistic treatment of the Negro as a human being rather than as a symbol or type, of Negro problems as human and often universal rather than as the petty grievances of immature children in a mature society.²

Butcher suggests also that the years after World War I saw a change in the tone and quality of Southern literature as well as in the Negro impact on the national culture. This indicates that there was a change in the literature of the South, a change in the literature about the Negro, and a change in the society from which it came.

Sociological Theories on the Relationship Between Literature and Sociology

In 1938, John Mueller made a theoretical interpretation of the relationship between literature and society in his article, "The Folkway of Art: An Analysis of the Social Theories of Art." In it, he presented five theories on the relationship between art and society and one theory,

¹Margaret Just Butcher, The Negro in American Culture, (New York: The New American Library of World Literature, 1956), p. 130.

²Ibid., p. 132.

the formalistic conception of art (art for art's sake) which was independent of all social reference. (1) The theory of art as a social luxury maintains that "art is an expansion of the play impulse, ...[serving] no immediate purpose."¹ The aesthetic experience of man was set off against his need for survival, and work and play were considered as being mutually exclusive. (Although Mueller does not specify it, the unit of observation in this theory is the audience.) (2) The theory of art as a reflection of its age involves the mirror concept which makes art a derivative or secondary culture deductible from the original and primary elements. This concept allows for no spontaneous ideas on the part of the artist. (In the context of this theory, the unit of observation is the author.) (3) The theory of art as a reflection not of life but of taste allows for the discrepancies between a culture and an art object since the art is supposed to reflect not what we do, but what we would like to do. This theory holds that instead of being a mirror of life, art frequently contradicts the norms of the society, so much so, that it sometimes has to be censored. "Literature reflects the taste of the time rather than the time itself, and often the two are entirely different."² (The author is the unit of observation in this theory.)

(4) The theory of art as an autonomous experience suggests that for any given piece of art there is an optimum length of time during which the object is enjoyed. A state of satiety may develop, based on the psychological principles of fatigue and attention. "Therefore, in order

¹John H. Mueller, "The Folkway of Art: An Analysis of the Social Theories of Art" The American Journal of Sociology, XLIV, (September, 1938), p. 225.

²Ibid., p. 229.

to stimulate enjoyment, the strain of continuity of aesthetic culture will change if for no other than purely psychological reasons."¹ (In this theory, the audience is the unit of observation.) (5) The theory of art as an escape from the dilemmas of personal disorganization holds that an artist may create in his own literature, painting, or music a substitute of ideational patterns for the realities of one's own environment, and the audience may look to literature, drama, etc. for the satisfaction of desires not found in real life. The art object represents a corrective device for the society. "Since wishes vary from time to time, this theory does go far in explaining the enormous variety of standards that have prevailed in the history of art."² (In the context of this theory, either the author or the audience may be the unit of observation.)

Mueller simply presents the five social theories of art along with the criticisms made by the diverse schools of thought and makes no comment as to the correctness of the theories.

Three theories on the relationship between literature and society have been proposed by Milton C. Albrecht. One theory is that literature reflects society. Other terms applied to this principle are that literature is an "expression of society" or a "mirror of life." "The essential function of the reflection theory was to 'explain' in social and historical rather than individual terms the quality and greatness of literature, as well as its content, style, and forms."³

Sociologists who advocate this theory believe that literature reflects predominant norms and values of the society, contemporary stress patterns

¹Ibid., p. 232.

²Ibid., p. 233.

³Albrecht, loc. cit.

and emotional needs of the audience, the reality of culture (the ethos), or stages in the development of a culture. The Marxists believe that literature reflects the economic development or structure of the society and fosters the class struggle. The most recent hypothesis of the reflection theorists is that literary data corresponds to certain types of statistical data. These sociologists propose that literature reflects social facts, such as vocational and divorce trends, population composition, social classes, etc. This is the most mechanistic version of the reflection theory.

Proponents of the reflection theory have challenged established traditions.

It [the reflection theory] has directed attention to the social and cultural characteristics of literature....It has emphasized the conception of artists as agents of social forces... [and] It has provided social and historical modes of analysis as alternatives to exclusively biographical and aesthetic approaches and offered concepts of cultural relativism in place of absolutist aesthetic principles and social determinism in place of artistic individualism.¹

In the reflection theory, the author may assume the passive role of a chronicler or a photographer, or he may, for example as a Marxian author, reflect a segment of society with an orientation towards attaining certain social objectives. (Although Albrecht does not specify it in his article, the author is the unit of observation in the reflection theory.)

A second theory of the relationship between literature and society is that of literature shaping society. This theory has taken two forms, depending on whether the influence is thought to be beneficial or detrimental. The theory that some literature tends to disrupt or to corrupt society as opposed to merely reflecting it is evidenced by the concern over movies and television having a negative impact on audiences. The other form of the influence theory suggests that literary ideas may have preceded and guided political movements and reforms. Such claims have

¹Ibid., p. 431.

been made about Uncle Tom's Cabin by Harriet B. Stowe and The Jungle by Upton Sinclair. Albrecht suggests that neither the detrimental nor the beneficial aspects of the influence theory have been substantiated.

In the influence theory, the author assumes a more active role than he does in the reflection theory. The author may be trying to change the existing order. This theory invests the author with the power to shape society. (In the context of this theory, the unit of observation is not the author, but the audience for art.)

The third theory is that of social control. The basic assumption of sociologists who hold this theory is that literature confirms and strengthens cultural norms, attitudes, and beliefs. Popular literature may result in social control by supporting the status quo of American attitudes and ideals.

Maintaining the status quo in the family system and in other institutions at various social class levels may also help to impede or reduce social changes that are adaptive to new conditions, so that the literature which supports the older, traditional social forms may serve as a conservative rather than as a dynamic force.¹

Examples given by Albrecht which functioned as mechanisms of social control were the myths of the Trobriand Islanders, folk songs of China, the radio serial drama Big Sister, and implications in magazine fiction studied by Berelson and Salter.

The social control theory holds that literature functions socially to maintain and stabilize, if not to justify and sanctify the social order. In this theory, the author seems to combine the passiveness of the reflectionists and the activeness of the influencers. If the author presents certain aspects of the social system and gives his approval to them, then he is reflecting as well as influencing; for although he is not

¹Ibid., p. 432.

trying to change existing norms, values, or social processes, he is maintaining the prevailing attitudes and beliefs found in the society. (In the context of this theory as Albrecht presented it, the unit of observation is those who constitute the audience for the art.)

Albrecht's three theories involve a study of the relationship between literature and society while Mueller's theories involve a study of the relationship between art (paintings, music, and literature) and society.

One weakness in both Mueller and Albrecht's presentation is their failure to indicate the unit of observation for each of the theories. Essentially, there are two possible units of observation--the author and the audience. The book itself can be considered as a unit of observation only in the anthropological sense of being an artifact, a man-made object of the culture. The book has no importance unless we consider it in relation to the author, his purposes, what he is doing, etc. or in relation to the audience, what effect it has on the audience, etc. These two relationships--the effect of society on the author and the effect of the author on society--may be looked at together or independently.

Two of Mueller's theories used the author as the unit of observation--the reflection-of-life theory and the reflection-of-taste theory; two theories utilized the audience as the observation unit--the theory of art as a social luxury and the theory of art as an autonomous experience. In the theory of art as an escape from dilemmas of personal disorganization, either the artist or the audience may be used as a reference point for observation.

Of Albrecht's three theories on the relationship of literature and society, only one dealt with the author as the unit of observation--the reflection theory. The influence and social control theories, as Albrecht presented them, utilized the audience as the point of reference. Albrecht's

description of the Marxian author embraces the reflection theory and perhaps the influence theory since the author seeks to obtain certain social objectives. However, Albrecht makes no distinction between the combination of these two theories, one in which the author reflects part of the society and one in which the audience is influenced by the author's work.

If we combine Mueller and Albrecht's theories, we get five theories involving the effect which society has on the artist and five theories involving the effect which the artist has on society. The artist may be reflecting life, reflecting the tastes of the society, trying to exert influence on the society, trying to maintain social control of the society, or writing as a means of escape. The audience may be influenced by the art to try to change prevailing situations, may be re-enforced in its beliefs, attitudes, or practices, may participate in art only for the sake of pleasure or for a change from work experiences, may determine when a piece of work is still satisfying, or may participate in art as a means of escape from daily life.

Theories on the Relationship of Literature and Society

Theories on the Effect of Society
on the Artist (Point of Reference--
Artist)

1. reflection of life
2. reflection of tastes
3. influence
4. social control
5. means of escape

Theories on the Effect of the
Artist on Society (Point of
Reference--Audience)

1. influence
2. maintain soc. control
3. social luxury
4. autonomous experience
5. means of escape

Both Mueller and Albrecht's theories were attempts to establish a basis for analyzing all literature, prose and poetry, by sociological methods. The novelist or poet is a product of his environment. He is influenced by the social order in which he lives. We can expect him to

deal explicitly or implicitly with social values in his material by either reflecting the values or questioning and evaluating them. Leo Lowenthal has stated that it is the artist who portrays what is more real than reality itself, and that it is the task of the sociologist of literature to relate the experience of the writer's imaginary characters and situations to the historical climate from which they derive.

The primary concern of the present study is to compare Negro and white novelists to determine any significant difference or similarity in their handling of interaction between and within the racial groups of white and Negro. A secondary concern of the study is with testing Albrecht's reflection theory. The authors, Negro and white, are of central importance. An assumption is that they will reflect in their novels the attitudes and beliefs of their society about social interaction between the races. For example, do they handle interaction between Negroes and whites in the same way as they do interaction where the participants are of the same racial group? Is the proportion of characters used in inter-racial situations as initiators evenly distributed between white and Negro characters? What are the types of emotions depicted in inter-racial interactions?

Review of the Literature

Content Analyses of Literature--Several studies have been made involving the relationship of sociology and literature. Most of these studies have dealt with the reflection theory. Leo Lowenthal's book, Literature and the Image of Man, was a study of the changing image of man as it related to changes in society revealed in some of the great literature of the Western world.¹ Lowenthal dealt with literature from the end of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth, relating the

¹Leo Lowenthal, Literature and the Image of Man (Boston: Beacon Hill, 1957), Introduction.

experiences of the imaginary characters to the specific historical climate of which they were a part. A previous study of Lowenthal's "Biographies in Popular Magazines" dealt with the subjects of the biographical sketches in certain popular magazines--the reflection of the "heroes of society in mass magazines."¹ He found a decrease of biographies of people from the serious and important professions. In the period from 1901-1914, the heroes were politicians, business and professional men. By 1940, entertainers, numerically, made up the first group. Lowenthal called the early heroes the "idols of production." The heroes of the later period he called the "idols of consumption."

Milton C. Albrecht in his article "Does Literature Reflect Common Values?" hypothesized that short stories written for large audiences, even though representing distinct reading levels, expressed essentially the same basic values and ideals of the American family.² From a sample of 153 short stories, Albrecht found that cultural norms and values of the American family are strongly upheld in short stories of mass-circulation magazines.

He found, however, that certain values appear as main themes in stories at some reading levels, but do not appear with a high degree of frequency at other levels. The upper level was set apart from the other levels by its relatively small support of basic values as main themes. Only one of the ten basic values originally formulated received a general degree of approval in the upper reading level, while the lower level showed six and the middle level showed eight. The middle reading level seemed to conform most closely to the basic values originally formulated,

¹Leo Lowenthal, "Biographies in Popular Magazines" Reader in Public Opinion and Communication (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950), p. 239-298.

²Milton C. Albrecht, "Does Literature Reflect Common Values" Sociology: The Progress of a Decade, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1961), p. 233.

"which may in part confirm the general idea that the values most dominant in society are middle-class values."¹

Ruth A. Inglis made "An Objective Approach to the Relationship Between Fiction and Society" to compare social change with change represented in fiction. She compared the number of heroines of fiction gainfully employed to the number of women gainfully employed in society according to information provided by the census for a thirty-five year period. Her conclusion was that literature reflected the trend of increased employment of women which correlated with the social change.²

Another study, "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction" by Berelson and Salter, reflects the treatment of majority and minority groups. The study deals with discrimination against minority groups found in popular magazine fiction. From a sample of 185 stories, the authors found that on almost every index native Americans received "better treatment" than did the minority groups. "Census data only accentuated the differential treatment accorded "natives" and "minorities" in the stories. Although the "minorities (as here defined) [made] up 40 per cent of the population of the United States, they [made] up only 10 per cent of the population of the short stories."³

There was a tendency for the minor groups to draw less approved roles. Minority group characters were portrayed as stereotypes. Native Americans were on the upper level of the status index two-thirds of the

¹Milton C. Albrecht, "Does Literature Reflect Common Values" Sociology: The Progress of a Decade, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1961), p. 233.

²Ruth A. Inglis, "An Objective Approach to the Relationship Between Fiction and Society" American Sociological Review, No. 3 (1938), p. 526.

³Berelson and Salter, "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction" The Public Opinion Quarterly, No. 11 (1947-48), pp. 163-190.

time, and they seemed to deserve their status. The native Americans were described as having heart goals--idealistic, affectionate, and patriotic. The minority groups were described as having head goals--self-advancement, power, and dominance. Berelson and Salter's conclusion was that readers of popular magazine fiction are constantly exposed, implicitly, to the prejudices and stereotypes attached to minority problems in the United States.

The stereotypes of minority characters in magazine fiction and the prejudices against them would be both a reflection of the situation in real life and a means of social control, for it would confirm and strengthen the existing cultural attitudes and beliefs. "In brief, one can formulate the proposition that, if literature reflects, then it also confirms and strengthens cultural norms, attitudes, and beliefs."¹

Barnett and Gruen made a comparative analysis of twenty-five divorce novels with reference to the fictional and objective studies of divorces. In a previous study of fifty novels between the years 1853-1937, they had discovered a changing attitude towards divorce illustrated by a sequence of themes ranging from condemnation of divorce, regret at the fact of divorce, slow acceptance of divorce as a common practice, and finally reluctant approval of divorce in some cases. In the twenty-five divorce novels after 1937, they found themes such as a concern over the effects of divorce on children of the marriage, the psychological permanence of married love, a descriptive account of life and culture in Reno, the process of alienation leading to divorce, and several miscellaneous themes. In comparison to factual studies, they found an over-representation of middle-class participants in divorce; an over-representation of urban-area divorces; a concentration of fictional locales on the Eastern seaboard, which has a low divorce rate when compared to Western and mountain

¹Albrecht, *Op. Cit.*

states; and a complete lack of male characters as traveling salesmen, musicians, and actors--occupations which have higher divorce rates. The study clearly reflects the changing attitude towards divorce and some of the factors which are related to divorce.¹

In "A Content Analysis of Little Orphan Annie," Donald Auster found that the comic strip reflects the social structure as it appears to the cartoonist. He found a social, political, and economic ideology could be measured. There was an inadequate and unfavorable presentation of the working class as compared with the portrayal of the middle class. Middle-class figures occupied major roles, were known by name, and were able to express their attitudes and aspirations. In the political area, Nazism and Communism were attacked. However, ideological warfare was used as a technique more often in Communist panels than in Nazi panels. Justice and legal processes were demonstrated to be corrupt and extra-legal substitutes were sometimes employed. In the realm of business, luck was the most frequent determinant of success. There was also an emphasis on financial success as a major cultural goal. Auster concludes that as the common-place source of ideas and ideological viewpoints become recognized, mass media may take on greater significance as communicators of particular points of view.²

Milton M. Gordon made an analysis of the novel *Kitty Foyle* from the viewpoint of social classes. The novel deals largely with the upper class in America as seen by Kitty, a member of the lower class but aspiring to move up socially. The upper class was associated with a particular

¹Barnett and Gruen, "Recent American Divorce Novels 1938-1945: A Study in the Sociology of Literature" Social Forces, 26, (March 1948), p. 322.

²Donald Auster, "A Content Analysis of 'Little Orphan Annie'" Sociology: The Progress of a Decade, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1961), p. 241.

geographic locale--the suburban area for residential purposes and certain downtown streets for shopping purposes. Patterns of attire are associated with class position. The upper class dresses informally in casual tweeds and flannels. Speech, lack of ostentation, and religious affiliation give an implication of the status of the person also. Gordon's conclusion was that Kitty plays the role of the sociologist of classes, for she gives an acute awareness of upper-class patterns.¹

A study of a sample of seventy Soviet plays was made by Ina Telberg for the purpose of discovering the values which the Soviet government and the party in power have been trying to promote in Russia through the arts. A combination of Max Weber's ideal-type method of cultural analysis with the ideal-type method of physical anthropology was used in the construction of the ideal Bolshevik, the ideal Soviet woman, and the ideal Soviet villain. Two characteristics of the ideal Bolshevik were that he was always of proletarian origin and he placed group and party values above those of himself or his kin. The ideal Soviet woman put party and collective interests above those of herself and her family, and she spent little time on her appearance. The ideal villain was intelligent and cunning. He had a German name although he was never called a German.²

Telberg's study shows how Russian leaders used drama as a means of social control by promoting certain attitudes and beliefs which maintain and stabilize the norms and values of the system.

Walter Hirsch studied the image of the scientist in a random sample of 300 science-fiction stories. Hirsch divided the period between 1926-50

¹Milton M. Gordon, "Kitty Fowle and the Concept of Class as Culture" The American Journal of Sociology, LIII, (November, 1947), pp. 210-217.

²Ina Telberg, "Heroes and Villains of Soviet Drama" American Sociological Review, IX, (June 1944), pp. 308-311.

into six subperiods corresponding to historical events. Fifty stories were analyzed and coded for each period. Hirsch found that scientists as major characters have declined steadily from 1926-1950. Throughout the entire time period, scientists occupied the category of villains except for the war-time period when they were replaced by businessmen. During the war years, there was a decline in the use of technology and natural science as a means for the solution of problems. The resulting conclusion of the study was that the content of science fiction has undergone significant changes.¹

Other Content-Analysis Studies--Middleton and Moland made a study of jokes among white and Negro university students to determine the extent to which racial and sexual subcultural variations in humor are present. They classified the jokes according to five major types. These types were jokes which ridicule an out-group, jokes which ridicule deviant behavior, harmless jokes which play upon words, sexual jokes, and "cruelty" jokes. Some of their findings were that the percentage of jokes told classified as harmless was apparently the same for each group; there was no significant difference between Negro and whites or between males and females in the telling of sexual jokes; no significant difference between white males and white females in the telling of anti-Negro jokes; no significant difference between males and females for either group in telling jokes ridiculing deviant behavior; and no significant difference in the proportions of sexual and non-sexual jokes told to persons who were casual acquaintances or strangers rather than relatives or close friends.

They found significant differences in the extent of joking for

¹Walter Hirsch, "Image of the Scientist in Science Fiction: A Content Analysis" The American Journal of Sociology, LXIII, (March, 1958), pp. 506-12.

Negro males and females; a greater tendency for the Negro to ridicule a minority group; a significant difference between audience composition--a greater percentage of jokes told by Negroes when both sexes were present; and a complete lack of cruelty jokes told by Negroes.¹

This study of jokes told among Negro and white university students revealed racial and sexual subcultures. The type of humor varied from the Negro to the white. The extent of joking varied from sex to sex among Negroes. One type of jokes was completely lacking among the Negroes. The difference in humor between Negroes and whites was interpreted as being a reflection of a difference in the culture of these two groups.

In a study of sixty-seven Hollywood movies, Wolfenstein and Leites were concerned with the ways movie plots express psychological dispositions of the culture in which they are produced and consumed. They found a marked "appearance" of unconventionality in first meetings of boys and girls. They discovered that the conflict between sacred and profane love has been resolved in American movies by the emergence of a group of heroines who combine the charms of good and bad. They found a disappearance of the vamp or dangerous woman. The development of the good-bad girl is related to other cultural trends, such as the ideal of monogamy, the increasing sexual accessibility of good girls, and the education of children in sex.²

All of the previous studies cited have been concerned with a content analysis. They have dealt with several media--novels, magazine stories,

¹Middleton and Moland, "Humor in Negro and White Subcultures: A Study of Jokes Among University Students" American Sociological Review, XXIV, No. 1, (February, 1959), pp. 61-69.

²Wolfenstein and Leites, "An Analysis of Themes and Plots" The Annals, CCLII-CCLIV, (November, 1947), pp. 41-48.

movies, drama, jokes, and a comic strip. The central problems which were studied include the following:

- Lowenthal-----the changing image of man as revealed in literature in the Western world.
- Lowenthal-----a change in occupation heroes reflected in popular magazines.
- Albrecht-----American family values reflected in magazine stories.
- Inglis-----increased employment of women reflected in magazine stories.
- Berelson and Salter---discrimination against minority groups reflected in short stories.
- Auster-----political, social, and economic philosophies reflected in a comic strip.
- Barnett and Gruen---divorce trends reflected in novels.
- Gordon-----reflection of social class characteristics in a novel.
- Telberg-----ideal characters reflected in drama.
- Kirsch-----image of the scientist reflected in science fiction.
- Middleton and Moland---variations in humor between races and sexes reflected in jokes.
- Wolfenstein and Leites---reflection of psychological states in movies.

Of these studies, the two which relate most to the present study are Middleton and Moland's study of jokes told among white and Negro university students and Berelson and Salter's study of discrimination against minority Americans in magazine fiction.

Most of the studies dealt with one universe of data--one novel, one comic strip, one sample or class of magazine stories, one class of novels, etc. The study of variations in humor dealt, however, with two universes or samples of data. One sample was of jokes told by Negroes and one sample was of jokes told by white students. There was a comparison between the two samples to determine significant differences.

In the present study there were two universes of data. One was the sample of interactions in novels by Negro authors and the other was the sample of interactions in novels by white authors. There was a comparison between the two samples to determine if there was any significant differences or similarities in the interaction depicted by the two groups of authors. The study by Middleton and Moland was concerned with jokes

told by Negroes and whites, a comparison of humor between the races. This study was concerned with interaction between the races as compared to interaction within each racial group. One significant difference in the study on variations in humor and this study was that the study on humor used data recorded directly from students, whereas the present study used data collected about society from literature.

Berelson and Salter's study of discrimination in popular magazine fiction was relevant to the present study, for it dealt with majority and minority persons as they appeared or did not appear in the stories. The present study was concerned with majority and minority Americans also, with particular attention to how they appeared in interaction situations by Negro authors and in interaction situations by white authors.

Hypotheses

From the cited studies we find that different media of art reflect various aspects of culture. Lowenthal, Inglis, Barnett and Gruen, and Hirsch's articles seemed to substantiate that literature reflects change in society. Albrecht's study confirmed the idea that basic values of the American family are reflected in literature. Berelson and Salter's study, Middleton and Moland's, and Gordon's study also supported the reflection theory. Auster found that a comic strip reflects certain ideologies, and Wolfenstein and Leites found that movies reflect psychological dispositions of the population. Telberg's study seemed to support the theory of social control.

In Berelson and Salter's study, minority group members occupied subservient positions more often than did the majority members. A large percentage of the speaking characters were native Americans.

Middleton and Moland found significant differences in subcultural humor on some indexes. On others, there was no significant difference.

From the readings the following hypotheses were formulated within the context of Albrecht's reflection theory of the sociology of literature.

1. The proportion of interaction situations between whites and whites, whites and Negroes, and Negroes and Negroes will vary from the white authors to the Negro authors.
2. The race and sex composition of the interactions will vary from the white authors to the Negro authors.
3. The age and occupational composition of the interaction situations will differ from white authors to Negro authors.
4. The type of emotions in the interactions between whites and Negroes depicted by white authors will vary from that depicted by Negro authors as will the interaction depicted between members of the same racial group.
5. Negroes will occupy the subservient position in inter-racial interaction depicted by both Negro and white authors. They will be subordinate in roles and status more often than they will be superordinate, and they will initiate the interaction less times than will the whites.
6. The authors will depict interacts within their own race differently from bi-racial interacts.

II. PROCEDURE OF THE STUDY

Definition of Interaction

This study, as stated in chapter one, was concerned with interaction between and within the racial groups of white and Negro as depicted by white and Negro novelists.

Interaction has been defined as mutual or reciprocal action or influence.¹ For the purposes of this study, social interaction was thought of as a process--a series of mutually related behaviors on the part of two or more individuals in which each step arises meaningfully out of the preceding steps.²

A working definition of interaction was developed with seven criteria. First, only interaction in which conversation is observed will be used. (Interaction through the medium of gestures is excluded.) Second, two or more people must be present in the interaction situation. Third, if one person leaves the scene, or if a new person enters the scene of interaction, a new interact is started. Fourth, if there is a change in the location, a new interaction is begun, unless the participants were in a transitory state (either walking or riding while the interaction was taking place), in which case it is not considered a new interaction. Fifth, if there is a definite time lag indicated between

¹Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, (Springfield: G. and C. Merriam, 1953), p. 438.

²Arnold M. Rose (Ed.), Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962), p. 575.

one scene and another, then a new interaction is started. Sixth, if there is a radical change in the emotions, such as from a calm atmosphere to one of anger and explosiveness, a new interaction is begun. And finally, if there is a shift in the topic of conversation, then a new interaction is started. The last criteria was used more sparingly than the others. It was employed when the conversation extended for several pages and none of the other criteria were used.

After interaction had been thus defined, a schedule was made to determine what to look for in the interaction situation.

The First Schedule

In a study of interaction, both the participants as well as the conversation between the participants are important. In the present study the participants were the main consideration. The schedule was constructed with regard to the number of participants; their race, sex, and age; the status of characters; the initiator of conversation and the responders; the occupation of the characters; and the type of emotions displayed.

The participants were identified as to race and sex. This yielded ten possible two-person interact situations. Four age-grade categories were used--child, adolescent, adult, and aged. For two-person interaction situations, this gave a total of ten categories.

The status of the characters was classified as the immediate emotional acceptance or rejection of the other person. The categories for classification were Negro superordinate--white subordinate, white superordinate--Negro subordinate, equal or alternating status, or status non-attainable.

The initiator of the conversation (identified as the person who

speaks first) was classified by race and sex. The responders were recorded similarly.

The categories for the occupation of the characters were--professional persons: proprietors, managers, and officials (either farm or nonfarm); clerks and kindred workers; skilled workers and foremen; semiskilled workers; unskilled workers divided into three groups including farm laborers, laborers except farm, and servant classes; and non-classifiable. The number of participants falling into each group was recorded.

The types of interaction included were competition, conflict, cooperation, alternating, and non-attainable.

The Protest

This first schedule was tested on two books, one by a white author and one by a Negro author. By the use of a table of random numbers, a twenty-five per cent sample of the total interactions was taken from So Tell it on the Mountain by James Baldwin and Light in August by William Faulkner. A schedule was completed for each interaction in the sample. This testing of two books showed certain inadequacies of the schedule and led to some changes.

The Final Schedule

On the final schedule there were no changes in the classification of participants according to race, sex, and age. The categories for status classification of the characters was altered to apply to the initiator and the responders, or the speaking characters. Whereas the previous scheme had allowed for the classification of all speaking characters, regardless of race. A table was made which allowed for each speaking character to be placed according to superior status, subordinate, or equal status. Self-identification of the characters on this index involved the emotional

acceptance or rejection of oneself and the other person as indicated by the author. It applied only to the immediate relationship of the actor with himself and the other individual. Examples of specific statements which contributed as determining factors in placing the character as to how he regarded himself and the other person include the following excerpts.

We got to make him be a nigger first. He's got to admit he's a nigger.¹

He was going among white people, so he would take his knife and his gun; it would make him feel that he was the equal of them, give him a sense of completeness.²

The knowledge that he had killed a white girl they loved and regarded as their symbol of beauty made him feel the equal of them, like a man who had been somehow cheated, but had now evened the score.³

Walking about the streets, sitting on subway seats beside whites, eating with them in the same cafeterias (although he avoided their tables) gave me the eerie, out-of-focus sensation of a dream.⁴

She and Bernice were two grown people smoking at the dinner table.⁵

A new index was added for the classification of characters according to roles. This was done by recording the number of whites and/or Negroes who were superordinate, subordinate, or equal. The role classification involved the social relationship between individuals. It applied to the status positions that the author assigned to both characters within the framework of the book. Criteria for the determina-

¹William Faulkner, Intruder in the Dust (New York: Signet Books, 1962), p. 14.

²Richard Wright, Native Son (New York: Signet Classics, 1961), p. 44.

³Ibid., p. 155.

⁴Ralph Ellison, Invisible Man, (New York: Signet Books, 1960), p. 149.

⁵Carson McCullers, The Member of the Wedding (New York: Bantam Books, 1958), p. 95.

tion of the role position were (1) parental relationships--mother-son, mother being superordinate and son being subordinate; (2) age relationships--older man-child, older being superordinate and child being subordinate; (3) professional relationships--employer-employee, employer being superordinate and employee being subordinate; and (4) circumstantial relationships--sheriff and prisoner, sheriff being superordinate and prisoner being subordinate. Examples of situations in which the characters have equal role status would be a husband-wife relationship, friend-friend, maid-chauffeur, and stranger-stranger relationships.

The occupation index was condensed by combining the categories into four groups, that of white collar, blue collar, unskilled, and non-work. An additional category of non-attainable was added by hand when necessary. The number of participants in an interaction situation were recorded according to the occupation group they were in.

The index for types of interaction was changed to the socio-emotional atmosphere of the interaction situations as a whole. Three categories of socio-emotional area were used--positive, neutral, and negative. These categories were taken from Bales's scheme for analyzing interaction. Bales's twelve categories were used in a very general way to give some indication of whether the situation was one which showed solidarity, tension release, or agreement. A neutral emotional situation was one in which the characters either gave or asked for suggestions, orientations, or opinions. A negative emotional situation was one which showed disagreement, tension, or antagonism.

It must be pointed out that each unit of conversation was not analyzed as Bales's suggests his method was developed for, but the writer took the liberty to use Bales's categories for the purpose of determining the emotions of the interaction only as a whole unit. It was felt that the emotional

climate of an interaction situation could be determined more accurately by looking at the entire situation as the author had developed it, rather than classifying according to the type of statement or part of a sentence which makes Bales's interacts. Bales's small units do not allow a statement to be classified in more than one way, but a specific statement might at different times express different emotions and therefore would need to be classified differently, depending upon the context of the relationship, the circumstances in which it is said, who says it, and how it is said. These are important factors in determining the emotional climate of a situation. The only problem with the procedure used for emotional classification is that it is not completely objective and another person could possibly make different conclusions about a particular situation.

The Sample

Certain criteria were employed in the selection of the sample of books. Since the study was concerned with interaction within and between each racial group, it was necessary that each book should include a substantial amount of inter-racial interaction, preferably having a main character in each racial group. The books must have an American setting and be written by American writers. Finally, the book must fall within the period after 1920, as stated in the first chapter.

With these criteria in mind, the following six books were selected for the sample.¹ Several books were suggested after consultation with an English professor. Others were used as a result of having read

¹Two books were eliminated from the final sample because they did not have enough interaction between the races. They were Go Tell it on the Mountain by James Baldwin and The Street by Ann Petry. Baldwin's book was then used for the purpose of testing the final schedule.

Butcher's chapter on fiction or as suggested by friends.

Native Son by Richard Wright, 1940
The Member of the Wedding by Carson McCullers, 1946
Invisible Man by Ralph Ellison, 1952
Intruder in the Dust by William Faulkner, 1948
To Kill A Mockingbird by Harper Lee, 1960
A Different Drummer by William Kelley, 1962

Each book was read and the interactions marked and given a number.

A twenty-five per cent regular-interval sample was taken of the total interactions for each book. The first interaction to be used in the sample was picked at random, and every fourth interaction was picked thereafter. This procedure was used because in the pretest where random sampling was used there were too many interactions which fell in the sample in a sequence, such as 101, 102, and 103. It was felt also that a regular-interval sample would assure a more accurate picture of some books, depending on the way the author had developed his book. Since some characters do not occur throughout the book but appear only on a few consecutive pages, a random sample where sequences appear might over-represent or under-represent certain parts of the book. A third reason for using the regular-interval sample was a matter of convenience.

The size of the samples were for Wright--75, Kelley--48, Ellison--97, Faulkner--27, Lee--100, and McCullers--42. A schedule was made for each interaction in the sample. The data was then transferred from the schedule, coded, and put on IBM cards. The IBM cards were then sorted according to the information desired.

III. TESTING THE HYPOTHESES--Proportion of Interactions,
Race and Sex Composition, Age and Occupa-
tion Composition, and Type of Emotions

Hypothesis--The proportion of interaction situations between whites and whites, whites and Negroes, and Negroes and Negroes will vary from the white authors to the Negro authors.

Table 1 summarizes the data on the number of interactions between and within each racial group. (This chapter contains a discussion of the data under various hypotheses. The conclusions with respect to these hypotheses are presented in chapter six.)

Comparisons Between White and Negro Authors

Comparing the three Negro authors to the three white authors, we find some noticeable differences. The most striking difference is that the three white authors do not write about interactions between Negro-Negro characters, whereas the three Negro authors do write about interactions between white-white characters. For the three Negro authors, fifteen per cent of the total number of interactions involved white characters only. This percentage differs significantly from zero, which leads to the conclusion that the Negro authors write more about the other race as compared to the white authors.

The three Negro authors have twenty-six per cent of their interacts between Negro-Negro characters, whereas the three white authors have sixty-six per cent of their interacts between white-white characters. A chi square test with one degree of freedom confirmed that the Negro authors wrote less about the interacts within their own race than did the

TABLE 1
 THE NUMBER OF INTERACTIONS BETWEEN
 WHITES AND WHITES, WHITES AND NEGROES,
 AND NEGROES AND NEGROES

Author	Total Interacts in Sample	White-White Interaction		White-Negro Interaction		Negro-Negro Interaction	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Wright	75	6	.08	45	.60	24	.32
Kelley	48	24	.50	23	.48	1	.02
Ellison	97	3	.03	61	.63	33	.34
Total	220	33	.15	129	.59	58	.26
Faulkner	27	15	.56	12	.44	0	.00
Lee	100	84	.84	16	.16	0	.00
McCullers	42	12	.29	30	.71	0	.00
Total	169	111	.66	58	.34	0	.00

χ^2 for white-white, white-Negro, and Negro-Negro interaction for the Negro authors = 66.13; 4 degrees of freedom; significant at .001 level.

χ^2 for white-white and white-Negro interaction for the white authors = 41.69; 2 degrees of freedom; significant at .001 level.

χ^2 for white-white and white-Negro interaction for the white and Negro authors = 69.08; 1 degree of freedom; significant at .001 level.

white authors.

In interactions involving white-Negro participants, the Negro authors have fifty-nine per cent as compared to thirty-four per cent for the white authors. These percentages can be shown to differ significantly since each is based on a large number of total interacts. A chi square test for white-white and white-Negro interaction for the two groups of authors was highly significant. This confirmed the above hypothesis.

Differences Among the Negro Authors

There were differences among the Negro authors as to the proportion of interaction situations between and within the racial groups as evidenced by a highly significant chi-square value. The most strikingly different author was William Kelley. Kelley had 50 per cent and 48 per cent white-white and white-Negro interactions, respectively, whereas Wright and Ellison together had 5 per cent and 62 per cent interactions in the same categories. These differences were found to be significant. Kelley, a Negro writer, wrote about white-white or inter-racial situations and neglected Negro-Negro situations.

Richard Wright and Ralph Ellison gave similar proportions of their total interactions to white-white, white-Negro, and Negro-Negro situations. They tended to have few interactions between white-white participants (which compared to the absence of interactions between Negro-Negro participants by white authors.)¹

¹It is interesting to note, however, that Wright had more white speaking characters than Negro speaking characters in the sample, and Ellison had three-fourths as many. The numbers were 19 whites to 15 Negroes for Wright and 31 whites to 43 Negroes for Ellison.

Differences Among the White Authors

Of the white authors, Harper Lee seems to be the most unique. Lee has eighty-four out of 100 interactions involving white-white participants and the remainder involving inter-racial interaction. Lee had a higher frequency of white-white interactions than did the other white authors. It is to be noted that the possibility for interaction between Negro-Negro participants is limited because Lee's novel is written in the first person (the main character being a white girl); but the possibility is not eliminated, since there are at least eight interactions in the sample in which this girl was not present.

William Faulkner and Carson McCullers had a higher number of interactions than expected for white-Negro interaction. The total number of interaction situations for Faulkner was almost equally divided between white-white and white-Negro interaction. But for McCullers, much more attention was given to Negro-white interactions with seventy-one per cent, than to white-white interaction with only twenty-nine per cent.

It is interesting to note that although Lee and McCullers have a similar setting for their story--two children, a father, and a Negro "Mammy" who takes over the responsibilities of a dead mother--the proportion of interactions between white-white participants and the proportion of interactions between white-Negro participants are reversed from one author to the other.

Hypothesis--The race and sex composition of the interactions will vary from the white authors to the Negro authors.

Tables 2, 3, and 4 give the number of interactions according to racial and sexual composition.

TABLE 2

RACE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE INTERACTIONS*

Author	Total Interact in Samp.	WHITE-WHITE										WHITE-NEGRO						NEGRO-NEGRO					
		No. W-W		WM		No. W-N		WM		WF		WM		WF		WM		WF		No. N-N		Int.	
		Int.	Int.	WF	WM	WF	WM	WF	WM	WF	WM	WF	WM	WF	WM	WF	WM	WF	NF	NF	NF	NF	
Wright	75	6	1	5	45	8	0	0	28	7	0	24	14	10									
Kelley	48	24	7	17	23	0	0	2	18	0	1	1	1	0									
Ellison	97	3	0	3	61	3	0	3	49	5	0	33	11	22									
Total	220	33	8	25	129	11	0	5	95	12	1	58	26	32									
Faulkner	27	15	4	11	12	3	0	1	8	0	0	0	0	0									
Lee	100	84	76	5	16	3	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	0									
McCullers	42	12	11	1	30	2	20	0	1	0	5	0	0	0									
Total	169	111	91	17	58	8	27	1	9	1	5	0	0	0									

* Categories containing total values of less than five were omitted from the table. These included WF-WF, WF-WM-NF, WM-NF, WM-NF-NM, and NF-NF categories.

χ^2 for white and Negro authors on white-white interaction = 43.52; 1 degree of freedom; significant at .001 level.

χ^2 for white and Negro authors on WM-WF-NM, WM-WF-NF, WM-NM, WF-NM interaction = 54.14; 3 degrees of freedom; significant at .001 level.

Comparisons Between White and Negro Authors

In interaction between white-white participants, the white authors had ninety-one interactions out of 111 involving interaction between white male-white female participants to the eight out of 33 for Negro authors. The Negro authors had situations involving white males. A chi-square value of 43.52 was found to be significant at the .001 level.

In inter-racial situations, the Negro writers have a higher percentage of situations between white and Negro males than do the white authors who write about situations involving a white male, white female, and a Negro female. The Negro authors have 12 situations involving white female-Negro male characters to 1 white male-Negro female situation. A chi square test on four categories of inter-racial interaction found the white authors to differ significantly from the Negro authors in the race and sex composition of their interacts.

No comparison could be made between white and Negro authors on the racial and sexual composition of interaction between Negroes and Negroes since there were no interaction situations in the sample by white authors.

A chi-square value of 63.61 (significant at the .001 level) was obtained for the following table on sex composition of the interacts. Since it is the two white female authors' interacts which contribute to the high number of bi-sex interacts, the high significance indicates that either race or sex affects the proportion of bi-sex interacts.

TABLE 3
BI-SEX OR SINGLE-SEX COMPOSITION OF INTERACTS

Authors	Bi-Sex Interacts	Single-Sex Interacts
Negro	67	153
White	135	34
Total	202	187

TABLE 4
 THE NUMBER OF INTERACTIONS INVOLVING
 MALE PARTICIPANTS

Author	Total No. of Int.	No. of Inter. Involving Only Males	No. of Inter. Involving Males and Females	No. of Inter. Involving Only Females
Wright	75	43	32	0
Kelley	48	35	12	1
Ellison	97	74	23	0
Total	220	152	67	1
Faulkner	27	19	8	0
Lee	100	5	92	3
McCullers	42	2	35	5
Total	169	26	135	8

Negro authors had the major portion of their interacts involving only male characters while the white authors had most of their interacts involving male and female characters. Both white and Negro authors had few situations involving only female characters. See Table 4.

Differences Among the Negro Authors

It was difficult to make a comparison among the three Negro authors on the racial and sexual composition of white-white interaction because both Wright and Ellison had such a small number of interactions involving white-white characters. However, all three authors dealt more with situations involving white-male-white male participants than any other combination. Kelley had seventeen out of his 24 white-white interaction situations dealing with male characters only.

There was very little difference among the Negro authors in the racial and sexual composition of inter-racial interaction. Wright, Kelley, and Ellison gave the most attention to situations involving white male-Negro male characters. The category with the highest number of interacts was for situations between white female-Negro male participants. Both Wright and Ellison wrote of this type of interaction, with seven out of 45 interactions for Wright and five out of 61 for Ellison.

In interactions between Negro-Negro characters, Kelley is noted for only one interaction, which is between Negro male-Negro female participants. Both Wright and Ellison have substantial numbers of interactions in the categories of Negro male-Negro female and Negro-male-Negro male characters. All three Negro novelists are noted for the absence of interactions between Negro female-Negro female participants.

Differences Among the White Authors

For all the white authors, there were very few interactions involving only white female participants. Both Harper Lee and Carson McCullers have

have a higher number of interactions dealing with white male-white female participants than for any other category. Faulkner reverses this by dealing with white male participants. We note that the Negro authors, like Faulkner, wrote about situations involving white males.

Both Lee and McCullers had the most situations involving white male-white female-Negro female participants in inter-racial interaction, with seven out of 16 situations and twenty out of 30 situations, respectively. There was an absence of situations involving these kinds of participants in the sample of Faulkner's book. Faulkner had eight out of his 12 inter-racial interactions devoted to interaction between male characters. This tends to go along with the pattern of the Negro authors in inter-racial interaction.

Hypothesis--The age and occupational composition of the interaction situations will differ from white authors to Negro authors.

Table 5 gives a summary of the age composition of the white-white, white-Negro, and Negro-Negro situations.

Comparisons Between Negro and White Authors

In white-white interaction, the Negro authors had fifteen out of their total 33 interactions involving interaction between members of the same age group. In white-Negro interaction, they had only twelve out of 129 interacts while in Negro-Negro interaction, they had 21 out of fifty-eight situations involving participants of the same age grade.

The white authors had thirty-six out of 111 situations involving interaction between members of the same age grade in white-white interaction, but none in their inter-racial interacts.

Generally, in white-white interaction, the Negro authors wrote about interaction between adult participants but shifted to situations between

TABLE 5
AGE COMPOSITION OF INTERACTIONS*

WHITE-WHITE INTERACTION										
Author	No. W-W Int.	Child Adol. Adult	Child Adol. Adult	Child Adol. Adult	Child Adol. Adult	Adol. Adult Aged	Adol. Adult	Adol. Adult	Adult Aged	Adult
Wright	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5
Kelley	24	0	1	7	1	0	4	1	3	5
Ellison	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Total	33	0	1	7	1	0	5	1	3	13
Faulkner	15	0	0	0	0	3	11	0	0	1
Lee	84	0	0	45	31	0	2	0	0	4
McCullers	12	1	5	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
Total	111	1	5	45	31	3	19	0	0	5
WHITE-NEGRO INTERACTION										
Wright	45	0	0	0	0	0	38	7	0	0
Kelley	23	1	1	2	1	0	8	0	7	0
Ellison	61	0	1	0	0	3	53	3	0	1
Total	129	1	2	2	1	3	99	10	7	1
Faulkner	12	0	0	0	0	3	9	0	0	0
Lee	16	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	3	0
McCullers	30	22	0	0	0	1	6	0	0	0
Total	58	22	0	13	0	4	15	0	3	0

TABLE 5--continued

NEGRO-NEGRO INTERACTION										
Author	No. N-N Int.	Child Adol. Adult	Child Adol. Adult	Child Adol. Adult	Child Adol. Adult	Adol. Adult Aged	Adol. Adult Aged	Adol. Adult Aged	Adult Aged	Adult Aged
Wright	24	0	1	0	0	0	10	12	0	1
Kelley	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ellison	33	0	0	0	0	0	25	3	1	4
Total	58	0	1	0	0	0	35	15	1	6

* Categories containing totals of less than five interactions for the six authors were omitted from the table. These include zeroes in Child-Adol-Adult-Aged, Child-Adol-Aged, and Aged categories; and small numbers in Child-Adult-Aged, Child-Aged, and Adol-Aged categories.

(No statistical test was made for this table.)

adolescent and adults in white-Negro and Negro-Negro interaction. The white authors wrote about situations involving child-adolescent participants or only child participants in white-white interaction, but shifted to adolescent-adult participants and child-adult participants in inter-racial interaction.

Differences Among the Negro Authors

In white-white interaction, both Wright and Ellison wrote mostly about adult participants interacting with each other, whereas Kelley had situations between child-adult, adolescent-adult, and adult-adult participants.

In inter-racial interaction and Negro-Negro interaction, the pattern was very similar. The Negro authors wrote mostly about adolescent-adult participants although there were fifteen out of 58 interactions dealing with situations between adolescents in Negro-Negro interaction. Kelley had his interactions distributed into almost every category which was not true for any of the other authors, neither white nor Negro.

Differences Among the White Authors

Faulkner had most of his white-white interactions and white-Negro interactions between adolescent-adult participants. Lee had most of her white-white interactions between child-adult participants and child-child participants. In inter-racial interaction, she had most of her interactions between child-adult participants with no interactions between only child participants.

McCullers had most of her white-white interactions between adolescent-adult or child-adolescent participants. In inter-racial interaction, she had most of her interactions between child-adolescent-adult participants..

In general, the Negro authors had more interactions between members of the same age group in white-white and Negro-Negro interaction than in bi-racial interaction. The white authors had more interactions between

members of the same age group in white-white interaction than in inter-racial interaction.

Table 6 gives the occupational composition of the interactions.

Comparisons Between White and Negro Authors

If we exclude the categories of non-workers (which is occupied mostly by child participants) and not-known, then the category with the highest number of interactions for white-white interaction for both white and Negro authors is the white-collar workers, and the category with the lowest number of interactions is the unskilled workers.

In white-Negro interaction, the category of white-collar workers is the highest for the Negro writers; but the highest for the white authors is the number in the unskilled category. For both Negro and white authors, the category of blue-collar workers has the lowest number of interactions. Chi-square values of 59.76 and 5.16 for white-collar workers and unskilled workers in white-white and white-Negro interaction were significant at the .001 and .05 level, respectively.

In Negro-Negro interaction, the Negro authors have the highest number of interactions in the unskilled workers category and the lowest number of interactions in the blue-collar category.

Differences Among the Negro Authors

In white-white interaction both Wright and Ellison have their highest number of interactions in the white-collar category. Kelley has his highest number of interacts in the blue-collar category. In white-Negro interaction, Wright has his highest number of interactions in the unskilled category, while Ellison has his highest number in the white-collar category.

TABLE 6
OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF INTERACTIONS

WHITE-WHITE INTERACTION						
Author	No. W-W Int.	No. Inter. having White Col. workers	No. Inter. having Blue Col. workers	No. Inter. having Unskilled workers	No. Inter. having Non-workers	No. Inter. having Not-known workers
Wright	6	4	1	2	0	1
Kelley	24	7	15	0	21	6
Ellison	3	2	1	0	0	1
Total	33	13	17	2	21	8
Faulkner	15	13	6	6	14	3
Lee	84	40	4	3	81	8
McCullers	12	4	1	0	12	0
Total	111	57	11	9	107	11
WHITE-NEGRO INTERACTION						
Wright	45	29	3	43	19	4
Kelley	23	9	5	8	17	6
Ellison	61	38	13	8	38	19
Total	129	76	21	59	74	29
Faulkner	12	7	5	12	12	0
Lee	16	10	2	12	13	2
McCullers	30	3	0	26	30	2
Total	58	20	7	50	55	4

TABLE 6--continued

NEGRO-NEGRO INTERACTION						
Author	No. N-N Int.	No. Inter. having White Col. workers	No. Inter. having Blue Col. workers	No. Inter. having Unskilled workers	No. Inter. having Non-workers	No. Inter. having Not-known workers
Wright	24	0	3	16	13	2
Kelley	1	0	0	1	0	1
Ellison	33	16	6	11	12	16
Total	58	16	9	28	25	19

χ^2 for white-collar workers in white-white and white-Negro interaction for the white and Negro authors = 59.76; 1 degree of freedom; significant at .001 level.

χ^2 for unskilled workers in white-white and white-Negro interaction for the white and Negro authors = 5.16; 1 degree of freedom; significant at .05 level.

In Negro-Negro interaction, Wright has his highest number of interactions in the unskilled category, while Ellison has his highest number of interactions in the white-collar category.

Differences Among the White Authors

In white-white interaction, all of the white authors have their highest number of interactions in the white-collar category. In white-Negro interaction, they all have their highest number of interactions in the unskilled category, whereas the Negro authors wrote more about white-collar workers.

Hypothesis--The type of emotions in the interactions between whites and Negroes depicted by white authors will vary from that depicted by Negro authors as will the interaction depicted between members of the same racial group.

Tables 7 and 8 give a summary of the data on the emotional climate of the interaction situations between and within each racial group.

Comparisons Between Negro and White Authors

For the total number of interactions by Negro authors, twenty-two per cent were in the positive emotional area, fifty-six per cent in the neutral area, and twenty-two per cent in the negative area. For the Negro authors, there were at least as many interactions in the negative emotional area as in the positive area for the total interactions.

For the white writers, there was twenty-eight per cent of the total interactions in the positive-emotional area, fifty-seven in the neutral area, and fifteen in the negative area. A chi square test on white and Negro authors with two degrees of freedom was found to be non-significant. This indicates that the proportion of neutral, positive, and negative interacts were not significantly different from one group of authors to the other.

TABLE 7
 NUMBER OF INTERACTIONS IN
 POSITIVE, NEUTRAL, AND NEGATIVE AREAS
 OF EMOTIONS

Author	Total Interact in Samp.	No. Interacts Positive Emotions		No. Interacts Neutral Emotions		No. Interacts Negative Emotions	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Wright	75	15	.20	38	.51	22	.29
Kelley	48	8	.17	32	.66	8	.17
Ellison	97	26	.27	52	.53	19	.20
Total	220	49	.22	122	.56	49	.22
Faulkner	27	7	.26	15	.56	5	.18
Lee	100	29	.29	57	.57	14	.14
McCullers	42	11	.26	25	.60	6	.14
Total	169	47	.28	97	.57	25	.15

χ^2 for white and Negro authors = 4.08; 2 degrees of freedom; not significant.

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF INTERACTIONS OF
POSITIVE, NEUTRAL, AND NEGATIVE EMOTIONS
BY TYPE OF INTERACTION

Author	Total Int. in Samp.	White-White Interaction			White-Negro Interaction			Negro-Negro Interaction					
		Total W-W	Pos.	Neu.	Neg.	Total W-N	Pos.	Neu.	Neg.	Total N-N	Pos.	Neu.	Neg.
Wright	75	6	0	5	1	45	8	25	12	24	7	8	9
Kelley	48	24	3	16	5	23	5	16	2	1	0	0	1
Ellison	97	3	0	2	1	61	12	39	10	33	14	11	8
Total	220	33	3	23	7	129	25	80	24	58	21	19	18
Faulkner	27	15	4	9	2	12	3	6	3	0	0	0	0
Lee	100	84	25	46	13	16	4	11	1	0	0	0	0
McCullers	42	12	4	8	0	30	7	17	6	0	0	0	0
Total	169	111	33	63	15	58	14	34	10	0	0	0	0

χ^2 for white-white interaction by white and Negro authors = 6.03; 2 degrees of freedom; significant at .05 level.

χ^2 for white-Negro interaction by white and Negro authors = .55; 2 degrees of freedom; not significant.

Differences Among the Negro Authors

William Kelley had the lowest amount of his total interactions in the positive and negative emotional areas, seventeen per cent in each. He tended to write more about neutral interaction situations.

Wright had twenty-nine per cent of his interactions in the negative area with only twenty per cent in the positive emotional area. Ellison's situations were reversed to Wright's, with twenty-seven per cent in the positive category and twenty per cent in the negative area.

Differences Among the White Authors

Faulkner, Lee, and McCullers had a high percentage of their total interactions in the positive emotional area as compared to the number in the negative area. The percentages were 26 to 18 for Faulkner, 29 to 14 for Lee, and 26 to 14 for McCullers. Faulkner had the highest proportion of negative interactions for the white authors.

Comparisons Between Negro and White Authors (Table 8)

In interaction situations between white-white participants, the Negro novelists had 7:3 interactions of negative emotions to those of positive emotions. They had seven out of 33 interactions in the negative category, or about one-fifth.

The white authors in white-white interaction had 15:33 interactions of negative emotions to those of positive emotions. They had fifteen out of 111 interactions in the negative category, or about one-seventh. The white authors had a much higher proportion of positive interaction as compared to the Negro writers, three-tenths for the white authors and one-eleventh for the Negro authors. A chi-square value significant at the .05 level led to the conclusion that the type of interaction involving

only white characters differed significantly from the white to the Negro authors.

In inter-racial interaction, the Negro writers have about one-fifth of their interactions in the category of positive emotions and about one-fifth in the negative area.

The white authors tend to have a few more interactions in the positive category and a few less in the negative category in inter-racial interaction-- about one-fourth in the positive category and about one-sixth in the negative category as compared to the one-fifth for the Negro authors. These were not found to be significant differences, however.

In Negro-Negro interaction, the Negro authors had about one-third of their total interactions in each category of positive, neutral, and negative emotions. Proportionately, they had more interactions in the positive and negative categories in Negro-Negro interaction than in interaction between white-white characters or in interaction between white-Negro characters.

For all cases the neutral category contained the largest number of interaction situations.

Differences Among the Negro Authors

Both Wright and Ellison had very few interactions between white-white participants; but for the small number they did have, they were either in the neutral or negative emotional area. Kelley had two-thirds of his white-white interactions in the neutral category, with a few more in the negative category than in the positive one.

In Negro-Negro interaction, Kelley cannot be compared because of his having only one interact in this area. Ellison had more interactions in the positive emotional area than in the negative, 14:8, while Wright had his twenty-four about evenly distributed between positive, neutral, and negative categories.

In inter-racial interaction, Wright had twelve of his 44 interactions in the negative category and only eight in the positive. For Kelley and Ellison, although the numbers are small, the pattern is different.

Differences Among the White Authors

In white-white interaction, more interactions were in the positive emotional area than in the negative area. The ratios of positive situations to negative situations were 4:2, 25:13, and 4:0 for Faulkner, Lee, and McCullers, respectively.

In inter-racial interaction by the white authors, Lee had the fewest number of interactions in the negative emotional area. Both Faulkner and McCullers had almost equal proportions in the positive and negative categories.

IV. TESTING THE HYPOTHESIS--Role Position, Status of Speaking Characters, and Initiators of Interaction

Hypothesis--Negroes will occupy the subservient position in inter-racial interaction depicted by both Negro and white authors. They will be subordinate in roles and status more often than they will be superordinate, and they will initiate the interaction less often than will the whites.

Table 9 summarizes the data on the number of interactions involving equal role and unequal role positions between white-white, white-Negro, and Negro-Negro characters by both Negro and white authors. Role position involves the social relationship between the characters; and the criteria for classification were parental relationships, age, professional, and circumstantial relationships.

Comparisons Between Negro and White Authors on Equal Roles

There were some large differences between Negro and white authors on the frequency of white-white characters having equal role positions and white-Negro characters having equal role positions.

In white-white interaction by the Negro authors, about one-half of the interactions, eighteen out of forty¹, involved situations where the characters had equal role status. In Negro-Negro interaction, almost two-thirds of the situations involved characters with equal role status. In Negro-white

¹The number of interactions involving white-white, white-Negro, and Negro-Negro participants for role positions is not necessarily the same as the number of interactions between white-white, white-Negro, and Negro-Negro characters. Whenever collectives were involved in the interaction, the role positions were determined only for the speaking characters.

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF INTERACTIONS INVOLVING EQUAL
AND NON-EQUAL ROLE POSITIONS*

Author	WHITE-WHITE INTERACTION				NEGRO-NEGRO INTERACTION				WHITE-NEGRO INTERACTION							
	No. W-W Int.	Equal	Unequal		No. N-N Int.	Equal	Unequal		No. W-N Int.	Equal	Unequal		Sup W #	Sup N Sub W	Sup W #	Sup N Sub W
			Sup W	Sub W			Sup N	Sub N			Sup W	Sub W				
Wright	5	4	1	15	9	24	15	9	46	8	0	14	21	0		
Kelley	29	10	19	1	0	1	1	0	18	8	0	2	2	3		
Ellison	6	4	2	22	13	35	22	13	56	12	0	3	39	2		
Total	40	18	22	38	22	60	38	22	120	28	0	19	61	5		
Faulkner	15	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	9	0	1		
Lee	84	31	53	0	0	0	0	0	16	0	4	0	3	8		
McCullers	12	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	30	2	3	0	0	24		
Total	111	39	72	0	0	0	0	0	58	2	7	9	3	33		

* Categories containing totals of less than five interactions were omitted from the table. These include 2 Sup W & N - Sub W & N, 4 Sup W & N - Sub N, and 3 Sup N - Sub W & N Interactions.

χ^2 for equal and nonequal roles in white-white interaction by the white and Negro authors = .834; 1 degree of freedom; not significant.

χ^2 for nonequal roles in white-Negro interaction by white and Negro authors = 70.187; 3 degrees of freedom; significant at .001 level.

interaction, about one-fourth of the situations involved interaction between characters of equal role status.

In white-white interaction by the white authors, about one-third of the interaction involved characters with equal role positions. For equal and unequal roles in white-white interaction, the white and Negro authors were not found to be significantly different. In inter-racial interaction, only two out of 58 interactions involved characters of equal role position. The white authors had a very small proportion of the inter-racial interaction of equal role status, one out of twenty-nine as compared to the one-fourth of equal roles by Negro authors.

Differences Among the Negro Authors

In the classification of interaction by role position, Kelley stands out from the other two Negro authors. He has a smaller proportion of white-white interaction involving characters of equal role status than do Wright and Ellison, and a higher proportion of inter-racial interaction involving characters of equal role status than do Wright and Ellison. No comparison can be made between Kelley and Wright and Ellison on Negro-Negro interaction because of Kelley's small number of interactions in this category.

Both Wright and Ellison tended to have their largest proportion of interactions with equal role position in the Negro-Negro interactions, with white-white interaction as second, and white-Negro interaction as third.

Differences Among the White Authors

Faulkner stands out among the white authors for having no situations in which the participants were of equal role status. Lee had no interaction between white-Negro characters with equal role positions and McCullers had a very small number. For white-white interaction, McCullers had more interactions in which the participants were of equal status, whereas Lee had more

of unequal role positions.

Comparisons Between White and Negro Authors
on Unequal Role Positions

Out of their total 120 inter-racial interactions, the Negro authors had 61 interacts involving a superordinate white and a subordinate Negro and nineteen involving a superordinate white-subordinate white-subordinate Negro relationship. The white authors had 33 of their 58 interactions involving situations between a superordinate Negro and a subordinate white. A chi-square test on non-equal roles for white and Negro authors was found to be significant at the .001 level.

In white-white interaction, the white authors had more unequal positions than did the Negro authors proportionately, although both had more unequal than equal situations. In Negro-Negro interaction, the Negro authors had more situations with individuals having equal role positions than unequal role positions.

The white authors had very few interactions between a superordinate white-subordinate Negro, three compared to the 61 for Negro authors. The white authors had 33 interactions in which a Negro was superordinate to a white compared to the five for Negro authors. All of the 33 superordinate Negro-subordinate white relationships were due to an age relationship, most of them from Lee and McCullers' books, which had many Negro "Mammy"-white child situations.

Differences Among the Negro Authors

Kelley stands out among the Negro authors for having the major portion of his non-equal interactions between superordinate white-subordinate white characters. He had very few in other categories.

Both Wright and Ellison had very few of their non-equal interactions between superordinate white-subordinate white characters as opposed to Kelley's pattern. Wright and Ellison had the major part of their non-equal interactions for role position in the category of superordinate white-subordinate Negro, about one-third and four-tenths of their total interactions, respectively. Ellison then dealt with superordinate Negro-subordinate Negro relationships and Wright with superordinate white-subordinate white-subordinate Negro relationships, all due to a professional relationship.

Differences Among the White Authors

McCullers had the most different pattern among the white authors for non-equal role status positions. She had one-half of her total interactions, twenty-four, in the category of superordinate Negro-subordinate white, whereas Lee who had the same type of background for her story (two children, father, dead mother, Negro "mammy") had only eight out of her 100 interactions in this category.

Both Faulkner and Lee had interactions in the superordinate white-subordinate white category. The particular relationships involved included parental, age, professional, and circumstantial ones. Lee's next area of concentration was for superordinate Negro-subordinate white relationships, with eight out of 16 interactions. Faulkner had one-third in the superordinate white-subordinate white-subordinate Negro category with age, professional, and circumstantial causes.

The Negro authors tended to write about superordinate white-subordinate Negro situations, except for Kelley, and the white authors tended to write about superordinate white-subordinate white, ignoring the superordinate white-subordinate Negro area.

Table 10 gives the data on the status of the speaking characters in

TABLE 10
 SOCIAL STRUCTURAL DEFINITIONS OF SELF
 (THE SPEAKING CHARACTERS)*

WHITE-WHITE INTERACTION													
Author	No. 2 Speak. Person Inter.	Sup-Sup		Sup-Sub		Sup-Eq		Sub-Eq		Eq-Eq		Eq-Sub	
		W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Wright	13	1		8		0		4		0		0	
Kelley	28	0		0		0		0		28		0	
Ellison	5	0		0		0		0		5		0	
Total	46	1		8		0		4		33		0	
Faulkner	14	0		0		0		0		14		0	
Lee	74	0		0		2		0		72		0	
McCullers	15	0		0		0		0		15		0	
Total	103	0		0		2		0		101		0	

WHITE-NEGRO INTERACTION													
Author	No. 2 Speak. Person Inter.	Sup-Sup		Sup-Sub		Sup-Eq		Sub-Eq		Eq-Eq		Eq-Sub	
		W	N	W	N	W	N	W	N	W	N	W	N
Wright	18	0		0		7		0		11		0	
Kelley	11	0		1		1		0		7		2	
Ellison	40	0		19		2		0		16		3	
Total	69	0		20		10		0		34		5	
Faulkner	4	0		0		4		0		0		0	
Lee	11	0		5		0		0		1		5	
McCullers	25	0		3		0		0		0		22	
Total	40	0		8		4		0		1		27	

TABLE 10--continued

NEGRO-NEGRO INTERACTION													
Author	No. 2 Speak. Person Inter.	Sup-Sup		Sup-Sub		Sup-Eq		Sub-Eq		Eq-Eq		Eq-Sub	
		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Wright	23	0		0		5		0		18		0	
Kelley	6	0		0		0		0		6		0	
Ellison	32	0		0		0		0		32		0	
Total	61	0		0		5		0		56		0	

* Categories containing zero totals for white-white, white-Negro, and Negro-Negro interactions were omitted from the table. These include Sub-Sub, Sub W-Sup N, and Eq W-Sup N relationships.

(No statistical test was made for this table because of the many categories of small or zero values which could not be combined.)

situations when there were only two speaking people.¹ The status classification allowed each person to be placed according to superordinate, subordinate, or equal status. This involved the emotional acceptance or rejection of oneself and the other person as indicated by the author and applied only to the immediate relationship of the actor with himself and the other individual.

Comparisons Between White and Negro Authors

In white-white interaction, the Negro authors had 33 of their 46 two-speaking-person interactions between characters who considered themselves as equals.

In white-Negro interaction, the Negro authors had 34 situations out of 69 in which the white considered himself an equal with the Negro and the Negro considered himself an equal. There were twenty situations in which the white considered himself superordinate and the Negro considered himself as subordinate.

In Negro-Negro interaction by Negro novelists, the majority consisted of situations in which each person considered himself equal with the other.

In white-white interaction, the white authors had almost all of their interactions between whites who considered themselves as equals.

In white-Negro interaction, the white authors had 27 of their forty interactions in the category of a white considering himself equal and the Negro considering himself subordinate.

The Negro and white authors tended to write of situations of equal status in white-white interaction. The Negroes also wrote about this status relationship

¹Data for situations involving three speaking persons was separated from the two-person-speaking interactions but was eliminated because of the small number of cases. Situations in which collectives appeared without identified speakers were also removed.

in Negro-Negro interaction. In inter-racial interaction, however, the white authors tended to write about situations in which the whites felt equal but the Negroes considered themselves as subordinate; and the Negroes tended to write about status relationships in which the white and Negroes considered themselves as equals, or situations in which the white considered himself superordinate and the Negro agreed with him by considering himself subordinate.

Differences Among the Negro Authors

In white-white interaction, both Kelley and Ellison had all of their interactions in the category of equal-equal status. Wright had no interactions in this category. Eight of his 13 interactions were in the category of a white considering himself superordinate and the other person considering himself as subordinate.

In Negro-Negro interaction, both Kelley and Ellison had all of their interactions of the equal-equal status relationship. Wright had most of his situations in this category.

In white-Negro interaction, all of the three Negro authors had concentrations in which the status relationship of the white was equal and the Negro equal. Ellison also had many of his interactions in the category of a white considering himself superordinate and the Negro considering himself subordinate. Wright had many of his interactions in the category of a white considering himself superordinate and a Negro considering himself equal.

Differences Among the White Authors

In white-white interaction, the pattern was the same for all three white authors, concentration in the area of both white persons considering themselves as equals.

In white-Negro interaction, McCullers had her largest number of interactions in the status relationship of a white considering himself equal and

the Negro considering himself subordinate. Both Lee and McCullers had situations in which a white considered himself superordinate and the Negro considered himself subordinate. Faulkner had all of his four situations in the status area of a white considering himself superordinate and a Negro considering himself equal. (This fits in with the theme of the book.)

Table 11 presents a summary of the initiators in white-Negro interaction. The initiator was originally defined as the person who began the conversation. Table 11 contains only inter-racial interaction, since in interaction between white-white characters, the initiator must obviously be a white person, which also applies to Negro-Negro interaction.

Comparisons Between White and Negro Authors

The Negro authors had a white person initiating the action 71 per cent of the time in inter-racial interactions.

The white authors had a white person initiating the interaction 67 per cent of the time. The white authors had Negroes initiating slightly more often than did the Negro authors. The difference was not found to be significant, however, indicating that both Negro and white authors have a white person initiating interaction a similar proportion of the time.

Differences Among the Negro Authors

Both Wright and Ellison had a white initiator more often than they did Negro initiators in inter-racial interaction. Kelley had Negro initiators almost as many times as he did white initiators. The Negro authors were not found to be significantly different from one another.

Differences Among the White Authors

Both Lee and McCullers had white initiators more often than they did Negro initiators in inter-racial interaction. Faulkner had Negro initiators

TABLE 11
 INITIATORS BY RACE
 IN
 WHITE-NEGRO INTERACTION

Author	No. W-N Interacts	White Initiat.	Negro Initiat.
Wright	45	37	8
Kelley	23	13	10
Ellison	61	41	20
Total	129	91	38
Faulkner	12	7	5
Lee	16	11	5
McCullers	30	21	9
Total	58	39	19

χ^2 for the Negro authors = 5.480; 2 degrees of freedom; not significant.

χ^2 for the white authors = .5480; 2 degrees of freedom; not significant.

χ^2 for the white and Negro authors = .079; 1 degree of freedom; not significant.

almost as often as he did white initiators. The white authors were not found to be significantly different from one another.

Table 12 gives the number of times a white male, white female, Negro male, and Negro female was the initiator in interaction both within their own race and between the races. The number of interactions refers to the number of interactions in which a white male, etc., were present.

Comparisons Between Negro and White Authors

The Negro novelists had a white male initiator in inter-racial interaction in nearly two-thirds (63 per cent) of the total interactions he was in. Of the 28 inter-racial interactions in which a white female was present, she initiated the interaction in nineteen of them. Of the 127 inter-racial interactions in which a Negro male was present, he initiated the interaction only 33 times, about one-fourth as compared to the one-half for the white male and white female initiators. Of the eleven inter-racial interactions in which a Negro female was present, she initiated the interaction five times.

For white-white interaction, the Negro authors had a male initiating the interaction most of the time; but for Negro-Negro interaction, the Negro female initiated the interaction eighteen times of the 26 situations in which she was present.

The white novelists had a white male initiating the interaction in inter-racial interactions twenty times out of the fifty situations in which he was present. They had a Negro male initiating the interaction eight out of the 23 times, about one-third as compared to the one-fourth by Negro novelists, and a Negro female initiating the interaction in about one-fourth of the situations in which she was present.

The white authors had a white female initiating the interaction in

TABLE 12
INITIATORS BY RACE AND SEX

		WHITE-WHITE						WHITE-NEGRO						NEGRO-NEGRO									
		WM			WF			White Male			White Female			Negro Male			Negro Female			MM	MF		
No.	No.	W-N	No.	W-N	No.	W-N	No.	W-N	No.	W-N	No.	W-N	No.	W-N	No.	W-N	No.	W-N	No.	No.	No.		
Int.	Int.	He's	Int.	He's	Int.	He's	Int.	He's	Int.	He's	Int.	He's	Int.	He's	Int.	He's	Int.	He's	Int.	M-F	He	She	
Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.	Init.
1	1	0	38	25	17	12	45	7	2	1	14	5	9										
7	6	1	20	13	3	0	22	7	5	3	1	1	0										
0	0	0	56	34	8	7	60	19	4	1	11	2	9										
8	7	1	114	72	28	19	127	33	11	5	26	8	18										
4	3	1	12	6	3	1	12	5	1	0	0	0	0										
76	49	27	15	9	13	2	6	2	12	3	0	0	0										
11	4	7	23	5	29	16	5	1	27	8	0	0	0										
91	56	35	50	20	45	18	23	8	40	11	0	0	0										

(No statistical test was made for this table because of the over-lapping categories of white-Negro interaction initiators.)

white-white situations more than did the Negro authors. They had a Negro male initiating the interaction in inter-racial interaction more times proportionately than did the Negro authors.

Differences Among the Negro Authors

The pattern is the same for all of the Negro authors in the number of times a white male, white female, Negro male, and Negro female initiates the interaction. For all of the authors, the Negro male and Negro female initiate the interaction of which he is a part fewer times proportionately than do the white male and white female.

Differences Among the White Authors

The pattern is much the same for all of the white authors in the number of times a white male, white female, Negro male, and Negro female initiates the interaction. McCullers does tend to give the white female a few more times as initiator in inter-racial interaction than do the other white authors.

V. TESTING THE HYPOTHESIS--The Character of the Author's
Own-Race and Bi-Racial Interactions

Hypothesis--The authors will depict interacts within their own race differently from bi-racial interacts.

A summary scheme ordering the authors as to the character of their interactions was made for both inter-racial interaction and interaction within their own race. This made it possible to compare how the author wrote about interaction within his own race group with how he wrote about bi-racial interaction.

Continua were made for each hypothesis relevant to bi-racial or own-race interaction. The authors were then ranked according to the percentage of their total bi-racial or own-race interactions. The continua were divided into ten places, from zero to 100 per cent. On all continua, the first place represented the most conservative treatment and the tenth place represented the least conservative or most liberal treatment. The most desirable position in all cases to indicate a liberal writer was the tenth place. The authors were placed on the continuum and points were given as follows--one point for first place, two points for second place, . . . ten points for tenth place. The author with the highest number of points was considered as having the most liberal treatment and the author with the lowest number of points was considered as having the most conservative treatment of the interactions.

(See tables 13 and 14)¹

The total points for each author was:²

	own race int.	rank	bi-racial int.	rank
Wright	43	3	48	3
Kelley			56	6
Ellison	44	4	41	1
Faulkner	33	1	42	2
Lee	41	2	50	4
McCullers	50	5	55	5

If we look only at the total number of points, then in interaction within their own race group, McCullers seemed to be the most liberal writer with Ellison being the next most liberal. Wright was the middle-of-the-road author, and Faulkner and Lee were the most conservative.

In bi-racial interaction, Kelley was the most liberal writer with McCullers following him (occupying the same position she did in interaction within her own race). Wright maintained his position, but Ellison made a dramatic shift to become the most conservative writer in bi-racial interaction. Faulkner followed Ellison as being conservative, but Lee became more liberal than she was in interaction within her own race. The authors were actually split into three groups with Kelley and McCullers being liberal, Ellison and Faulkner being conservative, and Lee and Wright occupying an in-between position.

A better understanding of the authors can be attained if we look at

¹Tables 13 and 14, the summary schemes ordering the authors as to the character of their interacts, are not to be interpreted as a formalized scale to measure conservativeness and liberality, but are merely schemes devised to give some general indication of how each author handles bi-racial interacts as compared to interacts within his own race. For lack of better terms, conservative and liberal were used to illustrate any shift which might be made by the authors when dealing with the two types of interaction and so that the authors could be compared with one another.

²William Kelley was omitted in the ranking of the authors as to the character of interaction within their own race because he had only one interact in this category.

TABLE 13

SUMMARY SCHEME ORDERING AUTHORS AS TO CHARACTER OF INTERACTS WITHIN THEIR OWN RACE

Item	Order of the Authors									
	*.00-.10 **.91-1.00	.11-.20 .31-.90	.21-.30 .71-.80	.31-.40 .61-.70	.41-.50 .51-.60	.51-.60 .41-.50	.61-.70 .31-.40	.71-.80 .21-.30	.81-.90 .11-.20	.91-1.00 .00-.10
Hypothesis 1. No. of Interacts least towards own race ↔ towards own race		Lee			Fau.		ELL. Wri.	McC.		
Hypothesis 2. Race and Sex Composition least int. of cross- sex comp. ↔ sex comp.			Fau.	ELL.	Wri.				Lee	McC.
Hypothesis 3. Age Composition least int. between members of single age group ↔ single age group	McC. Fau.		ELL.		Lee	Wri.				
Hypothesis 4. Emotional Clim. least positive interacts ↔ interacts least negative interacts ↔ interacts		Wri. Fau. Lee	McC.	ELL.			Wri.		Lee	Fau. McC.

TABLE 14--continued

Item	Order of the Authors											
	* .00-.10	.11-.20	.21-.30	.31-.40	.41-.50	.51-.60	.61-.70	.71-.80	.81-.90	.91-1.00		
Hypothesis 5. Role Positions least int. _____ with equal _____ roles _____	Fau. Lee McC.	Wri.	ELL.		Kel.							
most _____			Wri. ELL. Fau.									
Sub. Negro _____ role pos. _____												
least _____												
Sub. white _____ role pos. _____												
least int. _____												
with equa. _____ between _____ characters _____				ELL.								
least int. _____												
Sub. Negro _____ self-ident. _____												
white init. _____ most often _____												

* Percentages for hypotheses with the most favorable (liberal) position on the continuum in 10th place, when the lowest percentage is in first place.

** Percentages for hypotheses with the most favorable (liberal) position on the continuum in 10th place, when the highest percentage is in first place.

each author's position on each continuum. In order to relate what the author has written to his life, a brief biographical comment is given.

Richard Wright

Richard Wright was born in Mississippi on a plantation in 1908. He lived at various times with an uncle, grandmother, and an aunt after his mother became ill. Wright drifted North to Chicago and later migrated to France where he died in 1960.

Native Son, published in 1940, has been compared to Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment and Dreiser's An American Tragedy.

In Native Son, Wright was very liberal in the number of interactions oriented towards his own race and the number oriented towards bi-racial interaction. For the race and sex composition of interactions, Wright was more conservative in having cross-sex bi-racial interactions than in having cross-sex interactions within his own race. For the age composition hypothesis, Wright was more liberal within his own race than in bi-racial interaction, in which cases he had very few interactions between members of the same age group. Wright had more positive interactions in his own-race interaction than in bi-racial interaction. He was the most conservative author on the positive-emotion scale in bi-racial interaction. On the negative-emotion scale, he was more liberal in bi-racial interaction than in interaction within his own race. For the hypothesis relating to the number of interactions in which persons have equal role positions, Wright was liberal in interaction within his own race but very conservative in bi-racial interactions. For the number of interactions with equality between speaking characters, Wright is liberal in both cases.

In interactions dealing with subordinate Negro positions, and in situations in which a white person was the initiator, Wright was very conservative. In situations in which the Negro identified himself as being

subordinate, Wright was very liberal.

Wright was liberal on some items and conservative on others in both inter-racial interaction and interaction within his own race. Although his middle-of-the-road position is consistent, his conservativeness is not consistent in inter-racial interaction and in own-race interaction on the same items.

Wright's novel was set in the slums of Chicago. He protested the attitude towards Negroes and the treatment of Negroes for that period. His negative emotional interactions show some of his hostility towards this inequality, and his romance with murder (the theme of the book) shows the consequences of it. Wright, as an author, incorporates into his view a single segment of the society. His chronicling of events involves an orientation toward changing society.

William Kelley

William Kelley was the most unique of the six authors. He was quite conservative in the use of cross-sex composition, in the use of a single-age group, in the frequency of positive interactions, and in the frequency of interactions in which the white is in a subordinate role position.

He was liberal in the infrequency of negative type interactions, in the infrequency of interactions in which Negroes occupy subordinate role positions, in the frequency of interactions in which the persons consider each other to be equals, and in the infrequency of interactions in which a Negro considers himself to be subordinate.

Whereas Wright invests his characters with violence and thereby seeks a locus for change, Kelley portrays social situations drastically different from apparent reality. Kelley's orientation seems to be similar to that which has been observed in recent television shows. There has been an upswing in the appearance of dramatic roles played by Negro actors in which

their color is irrelevant. They are simply persons in a social situation who have a "right" to be there. No stereotyping along race lines is used.

To what can we attribute Kelley's equalitarian treatment of Negroes and whites in inter-racial interaction and his involvement with white-white interactions more than Negro-Negro interactions? Kelley was the only author who was born in the North. He has lived all of his life in the North. Perhaps Kelley is reflecting society as he sees it in the North. If so, it is certainly unlike that found in the South. Kelley's novel was only two years newer than Harper Lee's, but we do not find this modern, liberal treatment of Negroes in Lee's book.

One may hypothesize that either Negroes are treated equally in the North and Kelley is merely reflecting what is present in society, or he is picking out something he considers desirable and writing about it hoping to influence his readers by changing their preconceptions about how things should be, or he is doing both of these. If he is trying to influence his readers by picking out something which he considers good and developing it, then he is writing similarly to Wright. Since Kelley's novel is set in the South, we can safely assume that he is not reflecting Southern life.

Ralph Ellison

Ralph Ellison was born in Oklahoma City. After studying at Tuskegee Institute, he moved North to New York City to study sculpture. Among other occupations he has been a jazz musician, a free-lance photographer, and a critic. His book, Invisible Man, which won the National Book Award, is partly autobiographical.

Ralph Ellison was more oriented towards bi-racial interaction than he was towards interaction within his own race. Ellison was quite conservative in the frequency of cross-sex composition of interactions in bi-racial as

well as in interactions within his own race. He was also conservative in the use of interactions between members of the same age group in his own-race and bi-racial situations.

He was conservative in bi-racial interactions in the frequency of interactions in which the persons have equal role positions, in the frequency of interactions in which the Negro occupies a subordinate role, and in the infrequency of interactions in which a white person occupies a subordinate role position.

Ellison was quite liberal in the infrequency of negative type interactions in both his own-race and bi-racial interactions. He was liberal in the number of interactions in which there was equality between the speaking characters in interaction within his own race.

Ellison was liberal in his treatment of interaction within his own race and more conservative than any of the authors in his treatment of bi-racial interaction.

Ellison's book is set in the South and later in Harlem, as the main character moved to the North. Ellison moved to the North after studying at Tuskegee Institute. The book reflected much of the treatment of the Negro by whites and Negroes in the South and later the life in Harlem.

In the inter-racial interactions in the South we find no situations in which the characters are of equal role position; but in the interactions set in the North, we find twelve in which the characters are of equal roles. There is also a difference in the quality of the interactions as to how the individuals identify themselves. There are more interactions involving participants who regard themselves as equals as the scene shifts to the North than there was in the South. Most of these interactions involve the main character and members of the Brotherhood (an organization which has similarities to the Communist organizations). The Brotherhood utilizes the

leadership qualities of the main character to increase membership in Harlem. Even so, Ellison reflected a change in the quality of the interactions as the main character moves from the South to the North. Thus, he writes that a change in the situation (in this case a different social environment) correlates with a different set of norms and values. This is representative of an environmental determinism.

William Faulkner

William Faulkner was born in 1897 in Mississippi. He was noted as one of the foremost authors on the past, present, and future of the South.

In Intruder in the Dust, Faulkner was the most conservative author in interaction within his own race and second-most conservative in inter-racial interaction. He was conservative in the use of cross-sex interacts, in the use of interaction within a single age group, in the number of positive interacts, and in the infrequency of interactions in which the persons have equal role positions, both in inter-racial and own-race interaction.

He was liberal in the infrequency of negative interacts both within his own race and in inter-racial interaction. He was liberal in the number of interacts having equality between the speaking characters in the interaction within his own race. In bi-racial interaction, he was liberal in the infrequency of interacts in which a Negro considered himself to be subordinate.

Faulkner presents the traditional Southern viewpoint in the attitudes of the characters but it is not so evident in his treatment of the Negro as an initiator, a person who considers himself to be of equal status with the white man, and the small number of interactions involving a Negro of unequal role position--things which are contrary to Southern tradition.

Faulkner's theme is a revolutionary one--that of a Negro who did not behave like a Negro and who considered himself to be equal to white people.

Although Faulkner pointed out in the book the displeasure of the whites towards the Negro's attitude, it is clear that Faulkner is in sympathy with the Negro. This is not a reflection of what is found in society, but represents Faulkner's attempt to influence the reader.

Harper Lee

Harper Lee was born in Alabama in 1926. In her book, To Kill a Mockingbird, one of the themes of the book is the problems faced by a white Southerner determined to obtain justice for a Negro in a Southern community in the '30's.

Lee was conservative in having the majority of her interacts oriented towards her own race. She was conservative in bi-racial interaction, in the occurrence of interaction between members of a single age group, in the frequency of interacts in which the participants had equal role positions, in the frequency of situations in which the participants considered each other as equals, and in the frequency of situations in which a Negro character considered himself to be equal.

Lee was liberal in the number of interactions between members of both sexes, and in the infrequency of negative interacts in both bi-racial and own-race interaction. She was liberal in the frequency of interactions between members who considered themselves as equals in white-white interaction. She was liberal in the infrequency of interactions in which a Negro occupied a subordinate role position and in the frequency of situations in which a white occupied a subordinate role position. This was due again to the "Mammy"-child situations in her book. Although being quite conservative in the interaction within her own race, Lee was semi-liberal in bi-racial interaction on the face of these data. However, she utilized a stereotyped social situation for bi-racial interactions. Thus she has the Negro superordinate clearly

cast as an age superior.

Lee's treatment of the Negro-white interaction in her book is representative of the traditional Southern attitude. Lee seems to be reflecting the Southern viewpoint of what the status of Negroes should be, what their role positions are, and who the initiator of interaction should be. Even though the white considers himself to be an equal of the Negro, the Negro still maintains "his place" as an Uncle Tom or "Mammy."

If we can say that Lee's book is sympathetic to the Negro issue, then the judgment must be based on the theme of the book and not on the treatment of the Negroes in her book.

Carson McCullers

Carson McCullers was born in Georgia in 1917. Two years after graduating from high school, she moved to New York City. Her book, The Member of the Wedding, is set in the South.

McCullers was least oriented towards interaction within her own race and most oriented towards interaction between the races of all the authors. She had cross-sex compositions in both inter-racial and own-race interaction. For both bi-racial and own-race interaction, she had mixed age groups rather than interaction within a single age group. She had more positive interacts in own-race interaction than in bi-racial interaction. For negative interacts, she had none within her own race and few in bi-racial situations. She had many situations in which the participants had equal role positions in white-white interaction but none in inter-racial interaction. All of the interactions in her own race were between members who considered themselves as equals; but in inter-racial interaction, there were no situations of equality between speaking characters.

McCullers had no interactions in which a Negro occupied a subordinate

role position but she had many interactions in which a white person occupied a subordinate role position. In these two aspects as well as in the cross-sex composition of her interacts, McCullers seems to be very liberal. However, if we look at the 100 per cent of the interacts in which the Negro considered himself to be subordinate, and the 70 per cent of the interacts in which a white person initiates the interaction, it seems that she is quite conservative. Furthermore, the cross-sex composition of the interacts is always between members of different age groups--the child, adolescent, and the "Mammy." When the author writes about a relationship involving the mixing of two age grades in which the Negro is in an Uncle Tom, Uncle Remus, or "Mammy" role, in a real sense one could say that the Negro, although being superordinate by age-grade, is equal or perhaps in some cases subordinate to the child.

The use of white children in bi-racial interacts with Negroes is a technique which Faulkner and Lee used also. Compared to the other authors, McCullers seems liberal in her outlook. However, she does reflect the Southern life and traditional attitude towards the Negro by placing a Negro in a stereotyped situation.

VI. RESULTS--THE HYPOTHESES AND THE REFLECTION THEORY

The first hypothesis was verified. There was a difference in the proportion of interactions between white-white, white-Negro, and Negro-Negro participants depicted by white authors as compared to Negro authors.

Negro authors on the average tended to write more about inter-racial interaction, followed by interaction within their own race, and then about interaction between white-white characters. William Kelley was an exception. His interactions were distributed almost evenly between white-white interactions and inter-racial interactions.

This is not a reflection of society. Today there is probably more interactions between white-white persons and Negro-Negro persons than there is inter-racial interaction. Kelley utilizes almost bizarre presentations which focus on white-white interaction and inter-racial interaction. With the segregated society of the South and the North today, it is probably not realistic to portray 60 per cent (Wright), 63 per cent (Ellison), or even 49 per cent (Kelley) of the interaction as being inter-racial. It may be hypothesized that Negro authors are writing about what they desire to see in society by selectively over-representing what is to be found in that society.

White authors tended to write more about interaction within their own race, with interaction between the races second, and neglecting interaction between the Negro-Negro characters. McCullers divided her interactions between inter-racial interaction and interaction within her own race group, but more attention was given to inter-racial interaction.

The white authors, writing about Southern interactions, again did

not reflect what is in society. Since they do not write about Negro-Negro interaction, they seem to be saying there are no Negroes in society. However, they do have Negroes in inter-racial situations, hence they indicate that they know something about Negroes; but by ignoring Negro-Negro situations they indicate that they choose not to write about these situations, that they cannot write about these situations adequately, or that they know nothing about these situations. McCuller's large number of inter-racial situations is an over-representation even though she has a "Mammy"-child setting, since Lee has a similar setting but very few inter-racial interactions. McCullers is under-representing the white-white interaction and Lee is over-representing it.

The racial and sexual composition hypothesis and the age hypothesis were verified. In white-white situations, the three Negro authors tended to write about situations involving only male participants. In white-white interaction, Lee and McCullers tended to write about cross sex situations and Faulkner wrote about only male participants. In white-Negro interaction, the three Negro authors tended to write about situations involving only male characters. In white-Negro interaction, Lee and McCullers tended to write about situations involving a white male and female and a Negro female, and Faulkner wrote about situations involving only male characters. In Negro-Negro interaction, Ellison and Wright wrote about cross-sex situations.

All of the authors had very few interactions between members of the same age group in bi-racial interaction. The Negro authors had about ten per cent, compared to zero for the white authors. Generally, the three white authors wrote more often about situations involving participants of both sexes in bi-racial situations than did the Negro authors. This was true for both Lee and McCullers and can be explained because of their "Mammy"-child situations since neither author had situations involving members of the same

age group. Hypothetically, we cannot mix races and sexes within the same age grade because of our sex mores. But we can mix races and sexes within different age grades; and it is when the Negro is in an Uncle Tom or Uncle Remus role that it is the most acceptable. As James Baldwin has suggested, these are roles in which the Negro is actually sexless. This appears to be an equation of a white youngster with a Negro adult. Inferentially, the Negro is "childlike" and equal to the youngster. This infrequency of having members of both races and sexes in the same age group interacting is a reflection of the conservative normative social attitudes existing today.

The hypothesis on occupation composition was verified. The Negro authors had more interactions in which white-collar workers were present in white-white interaction and white-Negro interaction than they did in Negro-Negro interaction. In Negro-Negro interaction, they had interactions in which unskilled persons were present.

The white authors had more interactions with white-collar workers present in white-white interaction and more interactions in which unskilled workers were present in white-Negro interaction.

For both Negro and white authors, there were more situations with white-collar workers present in white-white interaction. Most unusual was the absence of white-white situations in which unskilled workers were present for Kelley, Ellison, McCullers, and Lee. Also the absence of white-collar workers in Negro-Negro interaction by Wright is unusual. Not much can be said on the reflection theory, however, except that there is an over-representation of white-collar workers when whites are present in the interaction.

Hypothesis 4 was partially verified on the emotional situations in interaction. Negro authors had an many negative emotional interactions as

as they did positive ones. White authors had more positive emotional interactions than they did negative ones. They had more positive-type interactions than did the Negro authors. Negro writers had more negative-type interactions between white-white characters than they did positive, almost as many negative situations as positive and neutral in Negro-Negro interaction, and about as many negative as positive emotional interactions in white-Negro interaction. White authors had twice as many positive interactions as negative in white-white interaction and slightly more positive than negative interactions in white-Negro situations.

In general, the authors had more positive emotion interactions within their own race than they did in bi-racial situations and more negative situations in bi-racial interaction than in interaction within their own race. This reflects an attitude that bi-racial interaction is not as congenial as interaction within one's own race. This exemplifies the popular expression that individuals prefer "being with our own kind."

The status and initiator parts of hypothesis five were verified. The roles part was verified for the Negro authors but not for the whites.

The Negro authors had more situations in Negro-Negro interaction with persons having equal role positions than in white-white interaction or inter-racial interaction. They had more situations in white-white interaction with persons having equal role positions than did the white authors in white-white interaction. They had many more situations in white-white interaction with persons having equal role positions than did the white authors in white-white interaction. They had many more situations in inter-racial interaction with persons having equal role positions than did the white authors.

Generally, all of the authors had more situations in which the participants had equal role positions in their own-race interaction than in

bi-racial interaction. They also had more situations in which the participants considered themselves as equals within their own race than in bi-racial interaction. This is probably a reflection of what would be found in society. Probably there would be more situations in either white-white or Negro-Negro interaction in which the participants would have equal role positions than in inter-racial situations. Also there would be more acceptance of the other person as an equal in situations in which members of only one race were present than in situations in which both races were present.

Negro authors had more situations in inter-racial interaction with persons having non-equal roles in the superordinate white-subordinate Negro category than did the white authors.

The white authors had more situations in inter-racial interaction of non-equal role positions between superordinate white-subordinate white characters than did the Negro authors. The white authors had more situations in inter-racial interaction between superordinate Negro-subordinate white characters than did the Negro authors. The Negro authors had more situations between superordinate white-subordinate white-subordinate Negro characters than did the white authors.

Regarding self-identification of the characters, the Negro authors had less interactions between white-white characters of equal status than did the white authors. The white authors had a higher proportion of interactions between white-white characters of equal status than did the Negro authors of interactions between Negro-Negro characters with equal status.

It is interesting to see how the Negro and white authors perceive the situations in which the persons do not consider themselves as equals. The Negro authors perceive situations in which the white considers himself as superordinate and the Negro considers himself as subordinate, while the white authors perceive situations in which the white considers himself as

equal and the Negro considers himself as subordinate. In the first case, a congruency obtains; but in the second instance, despite the white's attitude of equality, the Negro persists in subordinating himself. It appears in the latter case that whites have learned to behave democratically but that Negroes will not or cannot allow a democratic relationship to exist. Perhaps this incongruent arrangement manifests ambivalence. In both cases the Negro is considering himself as subordinate. This is probably not a reflection of what is found in society because at the time these books were written many white people considered themselves as superordinate to Negroes rather than equal, especially in the South. Also many Negroes today consider themselves to be equal to whites rather than subordinate. This is a fairly recent development which might not be evident in the four books published in the 1940's, but should be evident in both Lee's and Kelley's books. In Kelley's book we do find many interactions in which the characters are identifying themselves as equals and few interactions in which the Negro identifies himself as subordinate. We do not find this in Lee's book, but perhaps this can be explained because her book is set in the 1930's.

Regarding the initiators, the white authors and the Negro authors had white initiators in inter-racial interaction at least two-thirds of the time. The Negro authors had a Negro male initiator in inter-racial interaction fewer times proportionately than did the white authors. The Negro authors had a Negro female initiating the interaction in Negro-Negro situations more often than the white authors had the white female initiating the white-white interactions.

The white authors had the white male initiating the action more times in white-white interaction than the white female. The Negro authors had the Negro female initiating the interaction in Negro-Negro situations more

often than the male.

In white-white interaction, there is possibly an over-representation of the number of interactions in which a male initiates the interaction by both Negro and white authors. This, however, reflects the hierarchical structure in which we place the sexes in our society. The Negro authors had a female initiating the interaction proportionately more often than the male. This tendency probably reflects the matriarchal nature of Negro social arrangements; this characteristic has been documented in much research. In white-Negro interaction, the white male initiates the interaction the majority of the time.

Initiation of action tends to be a function of sex in a single race situation and a function of race in the bi-racial situation. These constitute reflections of norms and conventions that characterize American society.

Conclusions

The conclusion is that there are significant differences in the way Negroes and whites write on the proportion of white-white, white-Negro, and Negro-Negro interactions, the race and sex composition, the age and occupation composition, the way role positions are depicted, and in the way the characters identify themselves in inter-racial interaction. There were insignificant differences in the frequency of certain types of emotions in the interactions and in the frequency of Negro male and Negro female initiators. The frequency of white males and white female initiators tended to be similar for both white and Negro authors.

These differences cannot be explained wholly by the reflection theory. The reflection theory can probably explain the basis for certain treatments, such as the tendency for Negro authors to be more conservative in bi-racial interaction than the white authors; and the tendency for the white and Negro

authors to be more conservative in inter-racial interaction than in interaction within their own race. It also might explain how both Negro and white novelists tend to place the Negro in a subservient position. It possibly accounts for the different incidences of initiators along race or sex factors.

The reflection theory does not explain the variances in the number of interactions in the white-white, white-Negro, and Negro-Negro situations. It does not explain the tendency for Negro authors to have situations in which the participants are of a single age group more often than do the white authors, nor the tendency for Negroes to have less positive emotional situations than the white authors. The reflection theory does not account for the different relationships involved when Negroes and white do not consider themselves to be equal; the lack, relatively speaking, of one type of situation by the Negro authors; and the lack of the other type by white authors. Nor does it account for the uniqueness of authors such as William Kelley.

In conclusion, there are differences in the way the white and Negro authors write about interaction, and the reflection theory does not adequately account for all of the differences.

Discussion

"Art not only reproduces Life but also shapes it. The writer is not only influenced by society, he influences it."¹ Sociologists would probably add to this that the writer or his work may exert a certain amount of social control. Literature is an important means of exerting influence or social control over society. An example of its importance is found in totalitarian countries where mass media assume an importance in the study of social

¹Wellek and Warren, Theory of Literature, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942), p. 97.

values, norms, and processes.

In the realm of the sociology of literature, this is perhaps the first study in which the literature was used only as a means of learning something about the authors (other than propaganda studies.) Other studies have involved an analysis of the literature to determine what themes, values, or beliefs were present.

One of the inadequacies of the study was in the construction of the schedule. Although the schedule had four indexes for age and occupation classification, only the number of participants were recorded for each category. The information received would have been more valuable if the participants were again classified by race and sex in each age and occupational group.

Another area for improvement is in dealing with collectives. In this study a collective was classified as nine participants and only the speaking characters were dealt with as to race, sex, age, status, occupation, and roles. Whenever there were statements made from a group and the speaker was not identified, the response was considered as being made by the collective and the collective, identified by the number nine, was classified whenever possible.

The study could have been improved also by using a larger number of books. Other studies which might be significant would be a study of the changes in Negro literature since the Supreme Court Decision in 1954, the inclusion of books by Negro female authors in a study, a study involving a comparison of the conversation itself in interaction, and a comparison of all of the inter-racial books published by white and Negro authors for a particular year to exclude the time variable.

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APPENDIX

15. SIZE OF THE SAMPLE FROM EACH BOOK

Author	Book	Pages	Interacts	Sample
Wright, Richard.	<u>Native Son</u>	393	300	75
Kelley, William.	<u>A Different Drummer</u>	223	196	48
Ellison, Ralph.	<u>Invisible Man</u>	503	386	97
Total		1,119	882	220
Faulkner, William.	<u>Intruder in the Dust</u>	158	109	27
Lee, Harper	<u>To Kill A Mockingbird</u>	284	400	100
McCullers, Carson.	<u>The Member of the Wedding</u>	153	168	42
Total		595	677	169

16. NUMBER OF DIFFERENT SPEAKING
CHARACTERS IN SAMPLE

Author	Total No. of Speak. Charac.	Whites			Negroes		
		Male	Female	Total White	Male	Female	Total Negro
Wright	34	16	3	19	11	4	15
Kelley	29	18	3	21	6	2	8
Ellison	74	26	5	31	33	10	43
Total	137	60	11	71	50	16	66
Faulkner	11	7	2	9	2	0	2
Lee	32	18	9	27	3	2	5
McCullers	8	4	1	5	1	2	3
Total	51	29	12	41	6	4	10

17. SCHEDULE (front)

Book _____

Author _____

Interact _____

Page _____

<u>Participants</u>	<u>No.</u> _____	<u>Age</u> _____
WM-WM		Child-Child
WM-WF		Child-Adoles
WM-NM		Child-Adult
WM-NF		Child-Aged
WF-WF		Adoles-Adoles
WF-NM		Adoles-Adult
WF-NF		Adoles-Aged
NM-NM		Adult-Adult
NM-NF		Adult-Aged
NF-NF		Aged-Aged

Status of Characters

	Self	Other	Self	Other	Self	Other
Superor						
Subor						
Equal						
Non-att.						

17. SCHEDULE (back)

Occupation of Characters _____RolesWhite Collar _____
(including farm
proprietors)

Blue Collar _____

Unskilled _____

Non-Work _____

Bales I A CategoriesSituation as a whole

- 1 _____
- 2 _____
- 3 _____
- 4 _____
- 5 _____
- 6 _____
- 7 _____
- 8 _____
- 9 _____
- 10 _____
- 11 _____
- 12 _____

_____ A Socio-emot.
Positive_____ B Socio-emot.
Neutral_____ C Socio-emot.
Negative

Initiator _____

Responders _____

Words used by author for description _____

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SOCIAL INTERACTION AS DEPICTED BY WHITE AND NEGRO AUTHORS:
A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SIX NOVELS

by

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The present study was concerned with an analysis of the literature by Negro and white authors. One of the purposes of the study was to make a comparison between Negro and white novelists to determine if there was any significant difference or similarity in the way they handled interaction between whites and whites, whites and Negroes, and Negroes and Negroes. A second purpose was to test the adequacy of the reflection theory of the sociology of literature.

A twenty-five per cent sample of the total interactions was taken from six books, three by white authors and three by Negro authors. The participants in the interaction were the focus of attention. They were classified as to race, age, sex, occupation, role position, and the way they identified themselves in relation to the other persons in the interaction. The interaction situation was classified as to the emotional quality.

Some of the results were: There was a difference in the number of interactions between white-white, white-Negro, and Negro-Negro characters as depicted by white authors as compared to Negro authors. White authors wrote about white-white interaction, and then inter-racial interaction. Negro authors wrote about inter-racial interaction, Negro-Negro interaction, and white-white interaction. In white-white and inter-racial, the Negro authors wrote mostly about situations involving only male participants with cross-sex situations in interaction within their own race. Two of the white authors tended to write about cross-sex situations both within their own-race and inter-racial interaction, although the inter-racial situations involved members of different age grades.

Although all of the authors had few interactions between members of the same age group, the Negro authors had more than the white authors had

in bi-racial situations. For all of the authors there were more situations with white-collar workers in white-white interaction than in any other type of interaction and an absence of unskilled workers for four of the authors. The white authors had more positive-emotional type situations than did the Negro authors.

All of the authors had more situations in which the participants had equal role positions in their own-race interaction than in bi-racial interaction. The Negro authors had more bi-racial situations with equal role positions than did the white authors. The Negro authors had more situations in which the white person identified himself as being superior and the Negro considered himself as subordinate, while the white authors had situations in which the white considered himself as equal and the Negro considered himself as subordinate. Both the Negro and white authors had a white male initiating the interaction more times than any other person.

All of the differences in the way the Negro and white authors wrote about interaction could not be explained adequately by the reflection theory.