

RACE PREJUDICE AMONG NEGRO MALE DELINQUENTS

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PREFACE

Many observers have made note of the fact that man is largely ruled by his emotions and unfortunately this observation contains a great deal of truth. Since one of the outstanding characteristics of an emotional state is the impairment of the rational thought processes, it follows that when one is confronted with an emotional situation he will not react in complete accordance with known facts regarding the situation but rather in response to the internal forces acting within the individual which are set in operation by the presence of the emotional stimulus.

The author was reared in the heart of the deep South and as a result, unconsciously adopted the prevailing prejudices of Southern whites against Negroes. The idea of wondering why or if Negroes were an "inferior" group never occurred to the author until he reached high school. At that time, serious doubt began to manifest itself as to the factual basis for the caste-like position which Negroes are forced to occupy. Later while in college the author was enrolled in a number of courses dealing with criminology and became increasingly cognizant of the high incidence of Negro crime and delinquency. A partial outcome of this education process was the formulation of two personal questions which all white persons should ask themselves and those questions are:

1. How would I feel if I were a Negro?
2. If I were a Negro, would I be particularly bitter against whites?

The present problem evolved out of the answers to the above questions coupled with information concerning Negro crime and delinquency which in turn caused the writer to formulate the hypothesis that perhaps the feelings of white resentment among Negroes was a contributing factor in the high incidence of Negro crime and delinquency.

This study is concerned with prejudice, one facet of the complex pattern of human emotions. There are many accounts purporting to describe how the Negro feels toward whites, but these are primarily either anecdotal in nature or they are the comments of some individual who is considered to be a spokesman for the Negro race. Such a situation would cause even the most casual observer to doubt the reliability of information obtained by these two methods. The unreliability of anecdotal accounts is almost a truism in any scientific field and there is considerable skepticism regarding the ability of Negro spokesmen to be able to correctly reflect the attitudes of the mass of Negroes. The present study is designed to measure objectively the prejudices of a group of Oklahoma male delinquents against whites.

It is the sincere wish of the author that the present study may in some manner contribute a few facts relative to prejudice which perhaps will give the American people a better understanding of one of the foremost racial problems

with which they are confronted.

At this point, the author wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Harry K. Brobst, chairman of the committee, for his constant aid, encouragement, and understanding, as well as to Dr. S. L. Reed, Dr. J. W. Richardson, and Dr. Morris Wallace, the other members of the committee, for their part in the development of the problem.

It would have been impossible to complete this study without the co-operation of a number of individuals; therefore gratitude is expressed to Superintendent Wayne C. Chandler and Miss Wanda F. Sharp of the Oklahoma State Industrial School for Negro Boys and to the various school authorities who helped in administering the tests and procuring other information relative to the study.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Thinking Americans are becoming increasingly cognizant of the high cost of delinquency to society both in terms of the failure to develop productive, useful members of society and of the actual monetary cost involved in apprehending delinquents and attempting to rehabilitate them. Negro delinquency has long been a subject of special inquiry because of its comparatively high incidence, and in attempting to understand the causes, a diversification of explanations have been expounded. Simultaneously with this rising concern over juvenile delinquency, there has been an increasing awareness of the detrimental effects of racial prejudice.

Statement of the Problem

Many studies have been undertaken to determine the effect of prejudice on the white segment of our population. A great many of these studies have investigated the attitudes of whites toward Negroes. The area of Negro attitudes toward whites has been almost disregarded except for opinions and anecdotal accounts.

This study is concerned with the effect of bias existing among Negroes toward whites. Specifically, this study is concerned with the following question: Do those Negro individuals who show preference for Negroes show a higher incidence for delinquency?

An underlying hypothesis of the present study is the concept of frustration-aggression as outlined by Hilgard.¹ The American Negro is confronted with a frustrating situation in that the fulfillment of many desires is blocked by the caste-like status the Negro is forced to occupy. The aggression reaction to frustration can be (1) directed toward the actual source of the frustration or (2) it may be displaced upon some people or objects seemingly unrelated to the frustration.

Evidence from the field of social psychology suggests that aggressiveness increases in a system where there is scarcity, insecurity, and rigid social structure. Feelings of frustration and consequent patterns of aggression might readily send an individual into conflict with society.

Symonds summarizes a study by Wright as follows:

Wright has discovered that frustration has certain social as well as individual outcomes. When a group of children are submitted to a common frustration the cohesiveness of the group is increased. There is a greater tendency to work together in overcoming the barrier, there is greater friendliness between members of the group, and conflict behavior within the group is decreased. On the other hand, hostility to an outsider is increased and group destructiveness is enhanced. These phenomena have been observed to hold between nations as well as in small groups where they have been experimentally studied.²

If this conclusion possesses any validity it appears reasonable to presume that the delinquent group -- which is

¹ Ernest R. Hilgard, Introduction to Psychology, (New York, 1953), pp. 182-190.

² P. M. Symonds, Dynamic Psychology, (New York, 1949), p. 65.

probably more frustrated, hostile, and aggressive than the non-delinquent group, will show greater preference and friendliness toward individuals whom they believe are likely to be subject to the same type of frustrations. This assumption would imply the possibility of greater preference by the delinquent group than would be the case with the control group.

Limitations of the Study

There are undoubtedly many factors which contribute to the high incidence of Negro delinquency and this study is restricted to Negro prejudice, just one facet of the complex problem. The study is further confined to Oklahoma Negro male delinquents from Muskogee, Tulsa, and Oklahoma City, the principal urban areas of Oklahoma. In addition, the restricted number of subjects involved in the present investigation constitutes a further limitation on the interpretation of results. Nevertheless, the data does in part, offer relative information necessary to an understanding of the problem of Negro prejudice and delinquency.

Clarification of Terms

There are those who will dispute the correctness of the title of this study by saying there is no such thing as race prejudice. These individuals would prefer some different terminology such as race preference, color preference, or perhaps ethnic preference. It is not the purpose of this research to resolve semantic difficulties and it is perfectly agreeable to the author for anyone, who so desires, to substitute any words for race prejudice, that to them, seem more

appropriate. According to Weatherford and Johnson,³ it is doubtful if the racial attitude of a subject group can always be described as prejudice. These authors would say that racial attitudes reach the point of prejudice,..."when anger overcomes caution, and when bitterness against wrongs overcomes the strength of authority. Prejudice carries with it a suggestion of authority and control...."

Such a rigid definition of prejudice implying the conditions stated by Weatherford and Johnson is not the usually accepted definition. To most individuals the term prejudice does not carry the implications listed above. Warren's Dictionary of Psychology defines prejudice as:

An attitude, either for or against a certain unproved hypothesis, which prevents one from evaluating new evidence correctly. (Prejudice carries an emotional implication; the syn. bias, strictly, lacks this element.⁴)

The term, prejudice, is used in this research in the manner described in Warren's Dictionary of Psychology. Race prejudice, while difficult to define, does exist in every segment of American culture. This set of circumstances is not something new in the world and has probably existed much longer than the recorded history of mankind. In the earliest records of history, may be found numerous accounts of various groups of people being thought of as "different" and as a

³ W. D. Weatherford and C. S. Johnson, Race Relations, Adjustment of Whites and Negroes in the U. S. (New York, 1934), p. 18.

⁴ Howard C. Warren, Dictionary of Psychology, (Cambridge, 1934), p. 208.

result, quite frequently abused and persecuted. The attempt of Hitler to indoctrinate the German people to the idea of a superior "aryan race" and the elimination of suppose inferior groups is a modern day example of an attempt to build up racial prejudice against a particular group.

The existence of a race as an entity has long since been shown not to exist by scientific measures.⁵⁻⁶ A realization of these known facts does not allow society to disregard the fact that nearly all members of society think of certain groups of human beings as being different in kind from themselves. Not only do we think of such groups as different in kind, but all too often we conceive of this "difference" as being of such a nature as to make one group think of itself as superior and of other groups as inferior. For example, it does not matter how much education a Negro may have had or how high his ethical standards may be, he can never, in the eyes of many whites, be as "good as any white man."

Contrary to what the United States Constitution says concerning the requirements of an individual to be president there are, at present, others than those listed in the Constitution. To be elected to this post, one must be white, male, and Protestant. If an individual does not fulfill all of these requirements in addition to those expressly stated in the Constitution, he will not be elected.

⁵ Ernest Hooten, Up From the Ape, (New York, 1946), pp. 658-661.

⁶ M. F. Ashley Montagu, An Introduction to Psysical Anthropology, (Springfield, Illinois, 1945), p. 189-192.

Just as there are various definitions of prejudice, there are also conflicting ideas of what constitutes delinquency. To be completely technical, any child who commits even a single violation of the law is a delinquent. The various states define delinquency in different ways. As used in this research, a delinquent is a minor child who has a record of delinquency. Likewise, an individual who does not have a record of delinquency is not considered to be delinquent.

As has been previously stated in the preface, the research on the topic under consideration in this study is very meager. The literature that is available is primarily concerned with either Negro Crime and Delinquency or with the factor of Negro prejudice, and for this reason the review of the literature is arranged in three parts. The first part is a general background of the historical development of the Negro from the time he was first introduced to the United States and up to the first World War. Part two consists of a review of the literature concerning Negro Crime and Delinquency while the third part reviews the literature on the general subject of Negro prejudice.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of the literature is first presented in this chapter as it pertains to an understanding of the cultural position of the American Negro and how the Negro has come to occupy that position. Next it is imperative to study what other investigators have discovered in dealing with the problem of the present study. There appears to be no studies directly concerned with the relationship of Negro crime or delinquency with Negro prejudice against whites. Therefore, the second part of this chapter reviews the literature concerning Negro crime and delinquency while the third part deals with the studies concerning Negro prejudice against whites. Section four contains an evaluation of those techniques which other investigators have employed that seem appropriate to the present study. In addition, section four summarizes the results of other studies which seem to have a pertinent bearing on the present investigation.

Historical Background

The present day prejudices of United States whites toward Negroes probably had their foundations laid down in the early days of America when it was a colony of England. The first cargo of Negro slaves, which consisted of nineteen individuals, was brought to what is now the United States in

1619 by a Dutch trader and in 1859 the last cargo of Negro slaves was delivered at Mobile, Alabama.¹

Negroes were introduced into the English colonies in America in order to meet the demand for cheap labor. Conditions were very favorable for their adaptability and thus there was a very rapid growth in the numbers employed, so that the United States census of 1790 included 757,208 Negroes. This number grew rapidly and by 1870, the first census after emancipation, 4,880,009 Negroes were living in the United States, or 12.66 per cent of the total population of the United States were Negroes.²

The position of the free Negro in the North was a precarious one, though a few did achieve economic security and some distinction. However, by 1800, their novelty ceased and a large number of Northern states enacted so-called "Black Codes." For example, in Ohio, laws were passed depriving Negroes of all rights except the right to hold property, to be free, and to contract legal marriage. Negroes were barred from serving on juries, voting, giving testimony in cases where white persons were concerned, and their children were not permitted to attend the public schools.³

Technically, freedom and citizenship were conferred upon

¹ Zora Neale Hurston, "The Negro in the United States," The Encyclopedia Americana, 1948, p. 47.

² Ibid. p. 48.

³ Ibid. p. 49.

the Negro by the following:

1. President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, 1862.
2. The surrender of Lee at Appomattox on April 9, 1865.
3. The addition of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution on December 18, 1865.

These three acts, however, were mere beginnings in the struggle of the Negro to attain recognition and freedom in the sense in which they are enjoyed by the white segment of our population.

At the termination of the Civil War the government had formulated no plan for the Negroes. There was no formula ready for adjusting the Negro to his new conditions and both Southern whites and Negroes were in a state of confusion. The entire South labored under a fear of hunger and violence. The assassination of President Lincoln caused his plans for the rehabilitation of the South to be abandoned and a severely punitive attitude was adopted toward the South. It is therefore not surprising that there could be no security for the Negro in this atmosphere of poverty, bitterness, and disorganization.

The decade following the Civil War of 1866-1876 is known as the Reconstruction Era. During this time the Southern public school system for Negroes was established. However, this was a period of brutal domination of the South. The carpetbaggers and scalawags seized the courts and the governments of the various southern states by enfranchising the Negro and disfranchising large segments of the white popula-

tion. Unfortunately, many of these courts conducted the cases either for personal gain or to humiliate the southern white population rather than to insure justice to ex-slaves. The outcome of these events was first, the inability of the Negro to adjust to his newly bestowed citizenship and second, the tremendous deterioration of workable relations between whites and Negroes. Hurston sums up the situation in this manner: "What should have become of the Negro after a period of preparation, was thrust upon him while he was still in a state of unreadiness, leaving him not only maladjusted to his surroundings, but retarded in progress for generations."⁴

The period of 1876 to 1905 was a tragic one for the Negroes in the United States. During this era the Southern whites regained control of their governments and courts. It was also during this period that the Jim Crow laws were passed and the practice of lynching became commonplace. There appears to be no exact figures available as to the number of Negroes lynched during this period, but Du Bois⁵, after rather painstaking investigation, has concluded that during these thirty years, three thousand Negroes were lynched. He concludes that to obtain some idea of the progress the Negro has made, one need only contrast the number of lynchings during this period with the year of 1947 when only one lynch-

⁴ Ibid. p. 52.

⁵ W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Negro Since 1900: A Progress Report," The New York Times Magazine, p. 24.

ing was reported for the entire year.

Up until World War I the idea was quite widespread that Negroes were an inferior race and so far below the cultural level of the United States that they could never expect to live in this country as equal citizens. As a result the mass of the people felt that the Negro problem in the United States was one which defied solution.

Probably one of the outstanding bits of information to come out of the first World War was that concerning the intelligence of both white and Negro inductees into the Army with the Northern Negroes earning approximately similar scores as Alabama whites on the Army Alpha Intelligence Test when allowances were made for economic backgrounds.⁶ As a result of this indisputable evidence, many whites were forced to recognize the fact that Negroes, when given ample educational opportunities, were capable of displaying as great an intelligence as were white individuals.

Negro Crime and Delinquency

There is a great deal of literature available concerning the incidence of crime. However, most criminal statistics have serious limitations and it is necessary that the individual familiarize himself with these limitations in order to avoid over-interpretation of results. As a matter of fact, a great many criminologists are extremely skeptical of

⁶ H. E. Garrett, "Comparison of Negro and White Recruits on the Army Tests Given in 1917-1918," American Journal of Psychology, LVIII, (February, 1948), pp. 480-495.

the value of the quantitative approach to the study of crime, asserting that one can never hope to arrive at a true picture of the incidence of crime. Sutherland and Gehlke summarize the viewpoint of many criminologists with the statement:

Crime cannot be measured directly. Its amount must be inferred from the frequency of some occurrence connected with it.⁷

This statement would lead the critical observer to the conclusion that statistical studies of crime are founded on the assumption that the rate of apparent criminality is either identical with or closely related to the rate of real criminality. Needless to say, a number of variables are involved that distort the ratio of real-apparent criminality. For example, Spierer⁸ discovered that the number of arrests made by a law enforcing agency is in direct proportion to the size and efficiency of the law enforcing agency.

Perhaps the crime rates as they are computed for Negroes are even more misleading as there are a number of factors which affect the rate of apparent criminality of the Negro to a greater degree than the rate of whites. Some of these variables are:

1. Negroes are arrested more indiscriminately than whites.

⁷ E. H. Sutherland and C. E. Gehlke, Crime and Punishment, Recent Social Trends in the U. S., II (New York, 1933), pp. 1123.

⁸ J. Spierer, "Negro Crime," Comparative Psychology Monographs, 1940, CCXVI, No. 2., p. 3.

2. The courts are not as lenient with Negroes as with whites.
3. Lower income groups have higher rates on conviction per arrest than do the higher income groups and therefore the Negro rate of conviction is considerably higher than that of white groups.⁹
4. White juvenile offenders that were apprehended are much more apt to be turned over to their parents whereas the Negro youth apprehended under similar circumstances will quite often be placed in custody.

In 1924 a study of Negro delinquency in Pittsburgh reported that:

In proportion to the total number of arrests, a higher percentage of Negroes than whites are penalized. Judges penalized...58.9 per cent of all the Negroes who came before them and only... 46.7 per cent of all the whites...¹⁰

Sutherland reports that in regard to race:

Statistics show that in proportion to adult population Negroes are arrested, convicted, and committed to prisons a little less than three times as frequently as are native white persons. Arrests during 1937, as recorded by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, were 1,395.0 for Negroes and 514.2 for native white persons, per 100,000 adult population or a ratio of 2.7 to 1.¹¹

The American Youth Commission with headquarters at Washington, D. C., sponsored a group study which dealt with the problems of Negro youth. The commission reported:

⁹ Spierer, *Ibid.* p. 19.

¹⁰ E. M. Lowman, Negro Delinquency in Pittsburgh, (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1924), p. 16.

¹¹ E. H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology, (Chicago, 1936), p. 120.

1. The proportion of arrests, commitments, and convictions is much higher for Negroes than for whites. On January 1, 1933, the proportion of prisoners present in county and city jails was 128.5 to 100,000 Negro population and 38 to 100,000 native white population.
2. Of the 53,768 native-born whites and Negroes committed to federal institutions, between July 1, 1931 and June 30, 1937, 7,989 or 15 per cent were Negroes. The commitment rate (for 100,000 population) of Negroes to federal institutions in 1936 was about two times that of whites.¹²

A study was made by Simpson¹³ which showed quite clearly the extent to which public opinion is focused on Negro criminality. His study revealed that crime is by far the most important single category of Negro news in Philadelphia white newspapers. From 51.1 per cent to 73.6 per cent of all Negro news in a six-year period in four papers dealt with crime.

While these statistics do not give factual information concerning the relative incidence of delinquency among Negroes as compared with whites, it would probably be safe to assume that any objective study of the incidence would show similar distortions.

Many early investigators directed their efforts into the area of the relation of crime and delinquency with intelligence. This special emphasis was probably due first to

¹² Ira De A. Reid, "In a Minor Key," American Council on Education, (Washington, D. C., 1940) p. 92.

¹³ G. E. Simpson, The Negro in the Philadelphia Press, (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1936) p. 116.

Goring¹⁴ who in 1913 reported a correlation of 1.66 between criminality and mental deficiency in testing some three thousand consecutive admissions to English prisons during a period of about eight years. The most ardent adherent of the theory that mental deficiency is the basic cause of crime was Henry H. Goddard who stated in 1919:

Every investigation of the mentality of criminals, misdemeanants, delinquents, and other anti-social groups has proven beyond the possibility of contradiction that nearly all persons in those classes, and in some cases all, are of low mentality....It is no longer to be denied that the greatest single cause of delinquency and crime is low-grade mentality, much of it within the limits of feeble-mindedness.¹⁵

Goddard further stated that "Every feeble-minded person is a potential criminal."

Between 1928 and 1929 an attempt was made to determine what conclusions were justified with respect to criminals and intelligence. The outcome of this attempt, which was conducted with approximately 175,000 criminals and delinquents revealed:

...when allowance is made for the selection involved in arrest, conviction, and imprisonment, the distribution of intelligence scores of delinquents is very similar to the distribution of intelligence scores of the general population.¹⁶

¹⁴ Charles Goring, The English Convict, (London, 1913), p. 173.

¹⁵ H. H. Goddard, Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence, (Princeton University Press, 1920), pp. 74-75.

¹⁶ E. H. Sutherland, "Mental Deficiency and Crime," Social Attitudes, (New York, 1931), p. 357.

Needless to say there have been numerous studies made of the intelligence of delinquents. Forty-one of these investigations were surveyed by Pintner in 1931 showing the percentages of feeblemindedness ranged from seven to ninety-three and a median percentage of thirty. As a result of his survey Pintner says:

We may sum up by saying that the distribution of delinquents is heavily weighted at the lower end... Although there may be great difference of opinion as to what percentage is feebleminded, there seems to be general agreement as to the fact that the average delinquent is mentally below the average non-delinquent on the usual abstract intelligence test.¹⁷

There have been many studies of the comparative intelligence of whites and Negroes and the outcome of such investigations have consistently shown that whites perform better than do Negroes. It should be borne in mind by the reader that these studies reflect the ability of whites to secure higher test scores, not that they are necessarily more intelligent. Test results may be affected by a number of factors and such studies have been criticized by many people for the following reasons:

1. Intelligence test results are appreciably affected by place of birth of the person taking the test.
2. The results are affected by the amount of formal education that the individual has had.
3. The type of school that the individual has attended will have its affect on the intelligence test score.

¹⁷ Rudolph Pintner, Intelligence Testing, (New York, 1931), pp. 81-86.

4. Quite often the norms are obtained from samples which did not give sufficient weight to the individuals from the poorer socio-economic backgrounds.

The present day position with regard to the role of intelligence as a factor in delinquency and crime does not appear to be generally agreed upon by the various authorities. One point does seem to be in agreement and that is that delinquents as a group have lower intelligence scores than do non-delinquents but that the emphasis which has been placed on this factor would appear to be out of proportion to the role it plays in contributing to delinquency and crime.

Another area that has been investigated as a possible cause of delinquency is that of personality. Daniel¹⁸ conducted a rather extensive study of the personality traits displayed by delinquents at the Virginia Manual Labor School for Colored Boys located a few miles out of Richmond. He administered a battery of seven standard tests ranging from intelligence to aesthetic information tests to three groups of Negro boys. These three groups were delinquents, behavior problem boys, and a third group which was both non-delinquent and non-problem. The total number of subjects used in this experiment was 300 boys ranging in age from nine to sixteen years of age. As a result of the tests that he administered, Daniel concluded that the delinquents, when compared with

¹⁸ R. P. Daniel, A Psychological Study of Delinquent and Non-Delinquent Negro Boys, (Columbia University, New York, 1932), p. 54.

non-delinquents, display tendencies toward unsociable traits, abnormal anger, morbid depression, high superiority feelings, low trustworthiness, hyper-criticism, high suggestibility, and inconsistency in scores.

The Bernreuter Personality Inventory was administered to a group of Negroes and whites by Patrick and Sims¹⁹ and their responses compared on the various items. These authors concluded that there was a strong tendency for Negro males to be more self-sufficient than whites and also more dominant. It may be that the above results suggest the possibility that feelings of dominance and self-sufficiency which Negroes possess have little opportunity of being expressed in an overt manner. Furthermore, the feelings may be repressed by the individuals to such a degree that when these expressions become evident, the individuals commit acts which bring them into conflict with society.

In 1927 a number of organizations co-operated to formulate the Joint Committee on Negro Child Study in New York City.²⁰ This committee began its study on July 15, 1926 and completed it February 15, 1927. A total of 11, 512 cases were brought before the New York City Children's Court in 1925, of which 890, or 8 per cent, were Negro offenders and

¹⁹James R. Patrick and Verner M. Sims, "Personality Differences Between Negro and White College Students, North and South," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXIX, 1934, p. 197.

²⁰Joint Committee on Negro Child Study in New York City, Delinquent and Neglected Negro Children, (New York, 1927).

61 per cent were classified as delinquent. Of the 890 subjects investigated, 802 were Protestant, 86 Catholic, and the religious preferences of two subjects were not ascertained. The techniques employed by the committee for obtaining information were a questionnaire which was sent to the various institutions and by visits of members of the committee to these institutions that were involved in the study as well as by verbal contact with subjects. This study revealed insecurity of home life was very prevalent with frequent changes of guardianship existing, both emerging from economic conditions, and that this situation was the principle cause of delinquency. The committee reported the next most common factor was the adjustment of the colored adolescent to his vocational future, being restricted because of race. The reactions of the subjects seemed to be one of rejection and humility with the attitude of no hope of progressing beyond the present environment, even in adulthood. The subjects were so acutely aware of society shutting them out that rebellion and anxiety overwhelmed them.

It would appear to the author of the present study that since all of these conditions were detected in delinquents, it appears probable that delinquency served as an outlet for the frustrations imposed upon them by society.

Two of the problems encountered in overcrowded areas of large cities are juvenile delinquency and recreational needs. In a study of this situation, Wooster²¹ attempted to correlate the incidence of juvenile delinquency and the lack of

recreational facilities in seven cities of the United States which had disproportionately large numbers of juvenile delinquency cases. The judges, court workers, and Woofter agreed that delinquency was a reaction to environment which offered poor economic conditions race prejudice toward the Negroes. They further agreed that the incidence of delinquency was directly related to the lack of recreational facilities.

One of the most outstanding contributions on the role of the Negro in the United States is a book entitled An American Dilemma edited by Gunnar Myrdal.²² In this book he calls attention to a situation which might in part explain the high incidence of crime and delinquency among Negroes. He reveals that Southerners have always expected Negro servants to pilfer small amounts of food, and sometimes clothing and money. This custom has had two effects which tend to raise the Negro's criminal record:

First, it has developed in the Negro a disrespect for the property of others, which sometimes leads him to pilfer things from people to whom he does not stand in the relationship of indulged servant. ...the second way in which this Southern custom gets the Negro in trouble is when he moves North. In the North any type of taking of property without express permission is regarded as stealing and it may sometimes lead to arrest...²³

Myrdal further states a significant number of crimes of Ne-

²¹ T. J. Woofter, Jr., Negro Problems in Cities, (Garden City, New York, 1928).

²² Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, (New York, 1944).

²³ Ibid. p. 975.

groes against whites are motivated by revenge for discriminatory or insulting treatment.

Guild,²⁴ a social worker, conducted a study in Richmond, Virginia with the use of eleven female and ten male subjects who ranged in age from the middle twenty's to one of eighty-four years old. The case history method was employed in the study as the means of obtaining data. While the validity of Guild's study is doubtful because of the small number of subjects involved, it is interesting to note the conclusions regarding the reasons for the high juvenile delinquency rate among Negroes which are stated as:

...Prejudice of the whites which reaches out in to all phases of the Negroes life---i.e., economic, educational, and general insecurity.

In 1946 the District Attorney of San Francisco made note of the fact that the Negro race formed less than five per cent of the San Francisco population, yet these Negroes were involved in thirteen per cent of the crimes committed in San Francisco. The District Attorney, Edmund C. Brown, enlisted the aid of R. J. Reynolds to investigate the reasons for the high Negro criminal rate. The methods used in the investigation of this problem were not revealed by the literature but the investigator concluded that the basic cause of crime was due to a combination of economic causes.²⁵

²⁴ June P. Guild, Think on These Things, (Santa Barbara, California, 1947), p.8.

²⁵ Eleanor Lake, "Memo for D. A.", Survey, LXXXIV, (April, 1948) 107-108.

A survey was made in 1950 of Negro delinquency from the annual report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia and according to this report one-half of all children who appeared before the Children's Division were Negroes. Of the boys presented to the court, some forty-nine per cent were Negroes and fifty-five per cent of the girls were Negroes with the majority of both males and females being in the 14-15 age group. Approximately 44 per cent of the Negro boys and girls appearing in court had previously appeared at least once before. As to the nature of offenses, the article states:

The leading reason for referral of Negro boys to court was taking property of another...for the Negro girl, sex offense is listed as the leading cause for court referral.²⁶

The high rate of delinquency, this article concludes, is due to inadequate conditions usually found in the home and civic life of juvenile delinquents, with the youths' situation further provoked by the inferior status of the Negro. It would seem the acts of delinquency are modes of expression to obtain what the Negro feels should be his by reason that he is as much an individual, as much a human entity as is his white counterpart of society.

A most interesting commentary concerning delinquency and crime among the Negroes found by the author of the present study was that of Kardiner and Ovesey in their recent

²⁶ Mary H. Diggs, "Some Problems and Needs of Negro Children and Youth as Revealed by Comparative Delinquency and Crime Statistics," Journal of Negro Education, XIX, 1950, 290-297.

book, The Mark of Oppression, who report:

The problem in connection with crime in the Negro is not to account for the fact that the rates are so high, considering the fact that the provocations, in the form of continuous frustration, are so much stronger and more frequent than in the white.²⁷

Negro Prejudice

As mentioned in the introduction, a great deal of the literature concerning the prejudice of Negroes toward whites is devoid of any attempt by the various authors to inform the reader of the evidence, if any, upon which the writers are basing their statements. In the literature which is reviewed on the following pages, an attempt is made to give the evidence in each instance and in those cases where no basis is given for the statements of an author, it is because the available literature did not reveal any objective evidence.

In 1930, Robert Moton²⁸ attempted to report the views of Negroes as a result of his personal feelings and experiences as a Negro. He stated that many Negroes have not yet gone beyond the fear of slavery days, and feel that the revealing of intimate facts concerning themselves to white people may at sometime place them in a disadvantageous position with respect to those white people. He further relates that Negroes possess an unconcealed admiration for the better class white people who are often referred to as "quality white folks." He explains this by saying these individuals represent, to

²⁷ A. Kardiner and L. Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression, (New York, 1951).

²⁸ Robert R. Moton, What the Negro Thinks, (Garden City, New York), pp. 4-19.

the Negro, the ultimate attainment of wealth, culture, achievement and refinement. In the realm of the courts

Moton says:

Negroes very generally feel that they have better chances for justice before a judge than before a jury. This is especially true in the matter of appeals, where the merits of the case are placed directly before the bench...²⁹

Paul E. Baker, in his book, reveals the attitudes of one Southern Negro girl who won a Northern university scholarship.

This girl expressed her sentiments by the following:

For me, the problem of academic adjustment was very simple, almost non-existent. But the adjustment to a group of people who were deeply interested in me ...was more difficult...Here my field of contact with white people has been greatly broadened and I have been able to know people...I could have never known at home. The most interesting are those who were not prejudiced either way, who had never wasted a thought on the subject.³⁰

A rather ingenious study was undertaken by Ford who attempted to analyze the contemporary American Negro novel and thus obtain some insight into the feelings of Negroes. According to this study of the Negro novel, there are three distinct types of prejudice:³¹ the first is described as prejudice manifested by one group of Negroes toward another, secondly is the prejudice manifested by Negroes toward whites, while the third manifestation is that of white

²⁹ Moton, Ibid. p. 148.

³⁰ Paul E. Baker, Negro-White Adjustment, (New York, 1934), p. 200.

³¹ Nick A. Ford, The Contemporary American Negro Novel, (Boston, 1936), p. 17.

toward Negroes. Ford conceives of the Negro novel as being:

...more a creature of environment than that produced by any other group. It fairly screams with condemnation, complaint, abuse, price, and prejudice. It seems to be a vehicle used to crystallize and present to the world the Negroes opinion of the social order under which he is forced to live.³²

Prejudice toward whites in its extreme form is typified, according to Ford, by the following excerpt from Claude McKay's If We Must Die:

Oh, Kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;
Though outnumbered let us still be brave
And for their thousand blows deal one death blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but--fighting back!³³

Ford concluded that the prejudices that one Negro group manifests toward another is much milder than that manifested by certain types of Negroes toward white people in general. Those who are possessed with this virus, as Ford speaks to describe it, do not look for particular cases of mistreatment or prejudice, but the mere sight of a white skin evokes in them an intolerable hate.

Horowitz³⁴ made an investigation of the development of attitudes among whites toward Negroes. Specifically, he wanted to determine at what age level prejudice makes itself evident in Northern and Southern white children. In order

³² Ibid. p. 17-18.

³³ Ibid. p. 21.

³⁴ E. L. Horowitz, "Development of Attitude Toward the Negro," Archives of Psychology, No. 194, 1936, 486-514.

to facilitate his investigation, he used three tests involving the presentation of pictorial material to children which he labeled Ranks, Show Me, and the Social Situation Test.

The task for the subject in the Ranks test was to pick out the face he liked best from a group of mixed Negro and white faces and then to pick out the one he liked next best and so on until all of the faces were ranked.

The mixed Negro and white faces presented to the subject consisted of eight Negro faces and four white faces. During the process of manufacturing the printing cut, an experimental variation was introduced so that four of the Negro faces were photographically printed "light" while the remaining four were printed normally with the result that the faces had a dark appearance. The faces of the four white boys selected were over-exposed in the printing process with the result that four of the colored faces were whiter than the white faces and four were darker.

For the Show Me test, the subjects selected companions from the same group of twelve mixed white and Negro faces used in the Ranks test for a variety of imagined situations. For example, the subjects were asked to "Show Me all those that you want to sit next to you on a street car."

The third test used was the Social Situation Test. In this test the subject was shown a number of posed situations and was asked to say which group he preferred to join. For example, a dining room scene was shown with food on the table and only white boys were present at the table while another

presentation of the same dining room showed white and Negro boys with a majority of white boys; a third presentation of the same scene depicted a mixed group with a majority of Negro boys. Of the three scenes presented, the subject was asked to select the one of the three that he preferred to join.

The subjects used by Horowitz were primarily from New York and Charleston, South Carolina.

The results of the Horowitz study were that Northern *white* children were found to differ very, very slightly from Southern children in the development of prejudice toward Negroes. Furthermore, that this bias appeared in a definite measurable form at around six years of age. Contrary to general opinion, the Northern whites showed bias toward the Negro at a slightly earlier age than did the Southern white children. An analysis of the data also showed that attitudes toward Negroes were determined not by contact with Negroes, but rather by contact with the prevalent attitudes toward Negroes.

The results of altering the darkness of four of the Negro faces presented did not affect the selections of the subjects and Horowitz concludes: "The expressed attitude seems independent of the mere degree of blackness of Negro faces."³⁵

In 1939, Powdermaker conducted a study at a Southern United States city using the interview technique to obtain data and employing the method of re-check to insure validity, i.e., one informant's version of a past experience was veri-

³⁵ Ibid. p. 514.

fied by other participants in the specific situation. The conclusions are the exact opposite of what most investigators have reported. For instance, she states:

What the Negro thinks and feels about white people is less likely to be a matter of social status and more a matter of age...The correlation between age and attitude is of course, modified by the effects of social status and individual experience. It is nevertheless true that the strongest and most consistent differences in typical attitudes correspond roughly to age differences.³⁶

The Powdermaker study revealed that the upper class of Negroes was most hostile toward whites and the lower class least hostile which is in direct opposition to most studies as they almost universally report the lower class as most hostile and the upper class least hostile.

Two investigators concerned themselves with the prejudices of Negroes toward whites as they are revealed by the training and methods that Negro children are subjected to through the mediums of the home and the school. Allison and Dollard³⁷ used 123 children and their parents plus 74 Negro adolescents as the subjects for their investigation. All resided in a large Southern city and in a small community. The investigators found that the philosophy and adjustment of the children was that of the parents and that parents taught behavior in terms of leniency according to social class, i.e., the lower class was much more rebellious and overtly aggress-

³⁶ Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom, (New York, 1939), p. 325.

³⁷ A. Davis and John Dollard, "Children of Bondage," American Council on Education, (Washington, D. C., 1940).

ive while the upper class possessed the same attitudes but employed more subtle methods of expression. According to this study:

...the Negro child learns from white people that he cannot be a member of their economical, social, or educational groups. He also learns that he must not be aggressive toward them, but must dramatize his subordinate position by various explicit forms of deference...he usually learns that white people are extremely powerful and dangerous and that he must therefore not display aggression toward them...he is taught, however, within the bonds of his caste system he may adopt substitute modes of aggression toward the whites.³⁸

In 1941 Mc Neil and Clayton³⁹ made a study of a Chicago community in which they contrasted the members of this community with Southern Negroes and found that in the South, the Negro status is fixed and rigid with no foreseeable change. The Northern Negroes, on the other hand, overlook this to a much greater extent as well as do the whites with regard to the status of the Negro. The authors state:

The Negro is ever attempting to widen the sphere within which he may be allowed to compete. Each new achievement of a Negro--whether it be the winning of a world's title in sports, or a new appointive position in city government--is hailed by the Negro press as a step forward...⁴⁰

The American Council on Education conducted research at Greensboro, North Carolina on the attitudes of 159 Negro individuals of both sexes who had a median age of between 16

³⁸ Ibid. p. 251.

³⁹ E. O. Mc Neil, and H. R. Clayton, "Research on the Urban Negro" American Journal of Sociology, XLVII, (July, 1941), 176-183.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 181.

and 17. The interview technique was employed as the method of investigation and the subjects were asked their attitudes on various aspects of human living. This study revealed:

The fact of discrimination forces itself upon the attention of Negro children in Greensboro almost as soon as they are capable to distinguish between the races...⁴¹

According to this article, all Negroes expressed fear and suspicion of the whites but they subdued any overt expression because it would be suicidal and they learned that being good to whites meant better treatment to themselves and that if aggression was expressed, it was in a covert manner.

Charles S. Johnson presented his views on race prejudice as they are evidenced by Negro segregation in the following comments:

Negroes as well as whites grow up with conceptions of their role in a given social setting and tend to act accordingly; but Negroes within each of the areas vary widely in their attitudes and behavior...social class is a major factor contributing to differentiation of responses to segregation and discrimination.⁴²

...Another factor conditioning the responses of Negroes to segregation and discrimination is that of the specific situation.⁴³

That is, a situation involving the white and Negro may elicit responses all alike from the Negro regardless of his particular social class. With respect to the South, the author states:

⁴¹ American Council on Education, "Thus Be Their Destiny", (Washington, D. C., 1941), p. 56.

⁴² Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, (New York, 1943), p. 231.

The most common type of response to the personal implication of the race system is that of avoidance. Although this is most conspicuous in the efforts of upper-class groups to preserve self-esteem, it is a fairly common phenomenon among all classes and varies in degree with the situation and with the motivation involved.⁴⁴

Johnson lists through parts of his book the comments of many Negroes with respect to the manner in which this avoidance mechanism operates:

"I stay as far away from 'em as I can."

"The farther they is away from me, the better I like it."

"They treat me all right, but I hear they treat some colored people bad. I get my mail at my own box so I don't have to say a word to them."

"I just can't stand to ride those street cars. I'm so glad Dad has a car now and we don't have to be bothered with them."

This mechanism of avoidance is adopted for personal safety to escape the ever-present feelings of inferiority and fear, which Negroes possess. While the avoidance mechanism is employed by all members of the Negro race, it is considerably more paramount in the South since their aggressions must be expressed almost entirely in a covert manner while the Northern Negro is permitted to indulge in overt expression of his hostility.

In what might be called an anthropological or sociological essay, Powdermaker reveals rather keenly the expression

⁴³ Ibid. p. 237.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 311.

of Negro attitudes and the modes of release by the following:

The Negro's resentment caused by the deprivations imposed upon him by our society may be channeled in different ways, the particular form depending largely upon cultural factors. The hypothesis is that overt-aggression represents only a small part of the Negro's hostility. Behind the loyalty of the faithful slave and behind the meekness of the differential humble freed Negro may lie concealed aggression and hostility.⁴⁵

An individual's race status, according to Davis⁴⁶ may be expected to have a marked effect upon his personality if his race is subordinated in community relationships, if his group is ashamed of its culture and seeking that of the dominant group, and also if his group has no integrated society of its own. The individual learns that his status and opportunity for full human participation are dependent upon, in many ways, racial prestige and stigmas. Subsequently, the Negro possesses the deepest sense of frustration, humility, and cynicism, simply because he is a Negro---a minority group member. It therefore follows that these feelings of the Negro do not promote good personality development but rather the exact opposite with his reactions being vented on the white society in the form of juvenile delinquency, hatred, and crime.

The University of North Carolina Press sponsors a number of projects dealing with the various problems with which the

⁴⁵Powdermaker, "The Channeling of Negro Aggression by the Cultural Process," American Journal of Sociology, XLVIII, (May, 1943), 750.

⁴⁶Allison Davis, "Racial Status and Personality Development," Scientific Monthly, LVII, (October, 1945), 354-362.

South is confronted and one of these dealt with the wants of the Negro. Logan edited this particular project and reported:

Negroes want to be accepted by our American society as citizens who in reality belong, who have the respect of their fellow man and equality of opportunity for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Negroes want what good men want in every democratic society. If they wanted, less they would not deserve the status of citizens.⁴⁷

In conclusion, Logan stated that prejudice cannot continue if the democratic society in which we live is to survive and attain its fullest possible development, as prejudice has a deep demoralizing effect upon the character of man.

In 1944 Fontaine⁴⁸ made a review of the writings of Negro scholars in an attempt to discover how these writings reflect feelings and attitudes of Negroes. He concluded Negro scholars reflect resentment to their caste-like status, but that this bias is an unconscious process rather than a deliberate one. In addition, he concluded that the Negro scholar is just as capable but is on the defensive because of race and therefore tends to defend the racial group rather than search for unbiased truth.

One of the leading sociologists among the Negro race in

⁴⁷ Rayford W. Logan, and Others, What the Negro Wants, (University of North Carolina Press, 1944), p. 71.

⁴⁸ W. T. Fontaine, "Social Determinations in the Writings of Negro Scholars," American Journal of Sociology, IL, (January, 1944), 302-315.

⁴⁹ Mozell C. Hill, "Basic Racial Attitudes Toward Whites in the Oklahoma All-Negro Community," American Journal of Sociology, IL, (May, 1944), 519-523.

the United States is Mozell C. Hill⁴⁹ and quite naturally a number of his writings have been concerned with problems of the Negro. In 1944 he made a study of several Negro communities in Oklahoma that were set up as a social experiment some years earlier. All of the original inhabitants of Langston, Boley, Taft, Clearview, Rentiesville, and Tatums were individuals who voluntarily isolated themselves from the dominant culture and all live in such a community by will. By interviewing a number of residents of each community who represented a cross-section of their respective communities, he found a sharp differentiation of social attitudes, particularly between the upper and lower class but which were also dependent upon age and intelligence. With regard to the upper class, he states:

The attitude of the upper class is less emotional and highly intellectualized. They feel that the separation of the races is a necessary expedient. Most of the elite, however, possess a greater degree of intelligence and have greater economic affluence; consequently, they have a tendency to intellectualize their conception of race relations.⁵⁰

In terms of age he found the older the informant the more firmly fixed and resolute were his attitudes toward whites while the more intelligent the informant, the more likely he was to display his hostility toward whites through intellectualization. He concludes that all residents of these communities possess deep racial dislike for whites although hostility varies among them on the basis of the above mentioned variables.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 522.

In the past, psychological tests of various types have been administered to Negroes by white examiners without regard to the detrimental effects which might possibly result from these examinations not being administered by a member of their race. In an attempt to shed some light upon this particular problem, Thompson,⁵¹ made a study using the Thematic Apperception Test which is a projective technique test comprised of pictures in which are depicted scenes about which stories are to be written by the person taking the test. He also used a revised form of the same test and both were administered to a group of Negroes by a white and Negro examiner. In its regular form, the test depicts only Caucasian individuals while the revised form consisted of Negroid individuals involved in exactly the same situations. A white examiner administered both the regular and revised forms to a group of Negroes. Later, a Negro examiner administered both of the forms to another group of Negroes. The results of this study revealed that Negroes perform much better in response to Negroid pictures and also better when the test is administered by a member of their own race, for about 29 per cent more story was written per scene when the scenes displayed Negro characters and were administered by a Negro examiner. The stories were not only longer but they were much more joyous, happy stories than were the stories involving white characters and white examiners.

⁵¹ Charles Thompson, The Thematic Apperception Test Modified for Use With Negro Subjects, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Psychology, Tulane University, 1949).

Rose⁵² pointed out that bias toward whites is not limited to the lower class group nor to the less intelligent individuals by citing the case of a leading Negro social scientist, who in private conversation, admitted that he believed that all Negroes hated whites. Rose further states:

While usually more than courteous to the friendly white man, the Negro feels that he must constantly gauge the point beyond which the white man can no longer be trusted. Sometimes, on the basis of a few harsh past experiences, the Negro will judge this point to be lower than it actually is, and will thereby manifest prejudice in whites. In other words, there is an element of the feeling that "all whites are alike--you can't really⁵³ trust them" in most Negroes relations with whites.

A study conducted by Goff⁵⁴ revealed the problems Negro children are confronted with that are peculiar to them because they are Negro. Personal interviews provided the data from 75 girls and 75 boys ranging from 10 to 12 years of age. All of the subjects resided in New York City or St. Louis. Goff determined that by the time the child reached his tenth year and many times by the seventh, he has learned to identify himself as different, and to limit his amount of freedom and desires. The most frequent report elicited from the boys was that of resentment while the girls most often reported inferiority. The Negro child, Goff concludes, is

⁵² Arnold M. Rose, The Negro's Morale, University of Minneapolis Press, 1949.

⁵³ Ibid. p. 116.

⁵⁴ Regina Goff, "Problems and Emotional Difficulties of Negro Children Due to Race," Journal of Negro Education, XIX, 1950, 152-158.

confronted with interferences and limitations because of color caste which make impossible the attainment of full human acceptance and status and that such interferences result in severe emotional difficulties and frustrations.

The area of Negro prejudice toward whites seems to have been overlooked by most writers but Johnson makes the following statement:

The average Negro child has grown up with the idea that the white man is not his friend; he unconsciously reacts to many whites with a lack of sincerity because he is afraid his Negro friends will criticize him if he mingles with white people.⁵⁵

He further stressed that just as whites are afraid to mingle too much with Negroes, so are the Negroes afraid to mingle with whites. Furthermore, the Negro children appeared to acquire this feeling at an earlier age than did white children and also it was much more pronounced among Negro children.

A rather interesting study was made in 1950 on the growth of racial identification and preference in Negro children. In this study a coloring test was administered to 160 subjects who ranged from 5 to 7 years of age. The subjects were presented an outline of a number of objects such as a leaf, an apple, a mouse, an orange, and a girl which they were to color with the usual colored crayons. The only other instructions were that the girl and boy outlines were to be colored the color that the subject was. In general, Clark

⁵⁵A. C. Johnston, Jr., "Youth and the Race Problem," Survey, (June, 1950), LXXVI, 299.

and Clark⁵⁶ reported the children displayed a tendency to color themselves with a noticeably lighter color than their own and in addition they applied much less pressure to the human outlines than to the other outlines presented. The investigators concluded that by as early as the age of 5 years the Negro child was aware of the fact that to be "colored" meant being placed in an inferior status in American society. This awareness produced resentment, aggression, and various other forms of emotional frustrations which in turn led to further social problems for the Negro as well as for whites.

Cothran⁵⁷ secured the conceptions of 341 Negroes to whites using the open-ended interview technique. The 30 most frequent responses were used in the construction of the schedule, which was a modification of the Likert technique of attitude measurement. This schedule was then filled out by a stratified random sample of 174 Negroes and the data were analyzed according to social class. He found that Negro conceptions of white people are wide-spread in Negro society and that there was a degree of uniformity. In addition Negro conceptions were usually intensely unfavorable, if they existed. The lower class possessed the most unfavorable attitude toward whites while the middle class possessed the most favorable conceptions.

⁵⁶ Kenneth Clark and Mamie Clark, "Emotional Factors in Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children," Journal of Negro Education, XIX, 1950, 431-450.

⁵⁷ T. C. Cothran, "Negro Conceptions of White People," American Journal of Sociology, LVI, (March, 1951), 458-467.

Operating under a Carnegie Research Grant, Rose, in 1951, interviewed over 200 Negro industrial workers in various parts of the United States. His analysis revealed two trends pertinent to the Negro conception of himself in relation to his occupation. The first of these was that the Negro with three months of seniority was pleased and had no complaints while those of two or more years of seniority showed a distinct cleavage with one group satisfied and the other anxious to move on up. Regarding the Negro's attitude, Rose stated:

Of the hundreds of Negro workers I have come to know, it is reasonably accurate to say of them that from only the slightest probing of their private worlds, there gushes forth...a stream of suppressed aspirations and hopes as familiar and various as those which guide the lives of all people...⁵⁰

Rose concluded that experienced Negroes tended to minimize the role in evaluating himself if the racial policy of the company was liberal toward Negroes.

Using the questionnaire and interview techniques, an investigation was made to determine the occupational choices of graduating Negro girls and boys from a number of Louisiana high-schools. Involved in this study were 342 girls and 670 boys representing 30 high-schools. Almost without exception the boys did not want the same job their father had and out of 30,000 possible vocational choices, they only made 41 different selections. Teaching was the first choice among the girls and was the 5th choice of the boys. The students,

⁵⁸ Alvin W. Rose, "How Negro Workers Feel About Their Jobs," Personnel Journal, XXIX, (January, 1951), 293.

in explaining their choices, stated their selections were dependent upon the amount of competition with whites that would be involved in the occupational preferences. Harrison, the investigator, concludes:

Negro youth are influenced by their understanding of employment opportunities for Negroes and thus select those occupations in which they will face a minimum amount of competition from white workers.⁵⁹

Summary of the Literature

In the review of the literature presented it is obvious that the area of prejudice among Negroes toward whites has been neglected in the past. While a number of writers presented their views on this subject, few of them appear to have made any rigidly controlled experimental observations. However, their writings characteristically support the point of view that prejudice among Negroes toward whites does exist and it is a powerful influence affecting Negro-white relationships.

The Horowitz investigation⁶⁰ is particularly pertinent because the rankings technique employed by Horowitz was adopted in a modified form for use in the study at hand. The presentation of pictures to the subject, which were to be ranked, appeared to provide the best possibilities for obtaining the information necessary to the investigation. The reasons for this were:

1. The test had previously detected prejudice among

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 295.

⁶⁰ Horowitz, op. cit., p. 486-514.

young white children against Negroes. Since the method was successful with whites it appeared reasonable to presume it would measure similar feelings among Negroes.

2. The test is very easy to administer and simple for the subject to comprehend. These two characteristics seemed to make the test particularly appropriate. First, the test was to be administered by a number of examiners and a greater degree of uniform administration could thus be obtained. Second, the subjects to be tested were in general below average intelligence and it appeared advisable to employ an instrument with simple instructions.

The results of the Thompson study⁶¹ indicated quite clearly the necessity of employing Negro examiners for the administration of tests to Negro subjects. In keeping with Thompson's results, Negro examiners were procured in the present study to administer the rankings test and thus eliminate the possible detrimental effects of white examiners.

Patrick and Sims⁶², in their investigation, reported Negro males as being more self-sufficient and also more dominant than whites. Their findings would appear to support the frustration-aggression hypothesis since the opportunities for the expression of feelings of dominance and self-sufficiency among Negroes are severely restricted by white.

⁶¹ Thompson, op. cit., p. 24.

⁶² Patrick and Sims, op. cit., p. 197.

CHAPTER III

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The implementation of the study necessitated the construction of a device which would serve as an objective measuring instrument for the investigation of prejudice. Therefore the first part of this chapter concerning materials describes in detail the process of constructing the ranking test. This test consisted of a group of Negro and white faces which the subjects were to rank. Following the ranking test is a description of the intelligence test employed in the investigation as well as the description of the personal data sheet.

The second section of this chapter discusses the manner in which the delinquent and non-delinquent subjects were selected. Section three reveals who administered the ranking test, where the test was administered, and a copy of the instructions to the students. The topic of the concluding section is scoring of the ranking test.

Materials

1. Ranking Test:

Twenty-four bust photographs of adolescent boys were secured. Twelve of these photographs were of Negro boys and twelve were of white boys. The Negro photographs were obtained in Florida to insure that none of the subjects to be tested would recognize the boys portrayed in the photographs, and thus have their judgements affected. The subjects who posed

for the white photographs were all students at the Stillwater Junior High School, Stillwater, Oklahoma. Both the Negro and white photographs were taken by professional photographers of the particular races.

All twenty-four of the photographs were made full face and from the chest up. The final prints, (see Figure 1), were $1\frac{7}{8}$ " x $1\frac{7}{8}$ ". The Negro photographs were slightly under-exposed and the white photographs were slightly over-exposed in order to have approximately the same amount of light radiating from the groups of photographs. This procedure is in keeping with that followed in the Horowitz study,¹ in which he found that selections were not affected by the lightness or darkness of a photograph.

The entire group of twenty-four photographs were then shown to five Negro male graduate students at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, who were to act as judges in the selection of photographs to be used in the experiment. These student judges were asked to pick out the six Negroes and the six whites they considered (1) to have the most "pleasant" faces and (2) to be representative examples of their respective races. Those pictures not selected were then set aside and the student-judge was asked to rank the Negro photographs and then white. The rankings of the five judges were compiled; and the six Negro and the six white photographs with the lowest ranking totals were selected for the experiment proper.

¹ Horowitz, op. cit., pp. 486-514.

A rather curious situation developed with regard to one of the pictures of a Negro boy. It will be noted from Figure 2 that one of the Negro boys is wearing a shirt with the flag of the Confederate States on the front. On the day that the judges were asked to make their selections the author read in newspaper that a "spokesman" for the Negro race had remarked that every time a Negro saw this flag, the Negro was reminded of a "Simon Legree existence and slave days." Strangely enough each of the five judges selected the boy wearing this shirt among their first three selections.

The twelve selected pictures were then glued to an unpainted 1/4" plywood squares that were the same size as the photographs. The plywood squares were numbered in serial fashion from one through twelve so that each of the pictures had a different number on the back and thus be identified. The mounted photographs were then placed inside a blue plywood frame that was 1" thick, 9" wide, and 11" in height. The mounted photographs were not fastened to the plywood frame, but merely laid in the frame, so that the subject might pick them up in the experiment proper. Figure 2 shows a photograph of the selected photographs and the manner in which they were placed in the frame for presentation to the subjects. It will be noticed in Figure 2 that the photographs have considerable space between them; this space was provided so the subjects would experience no difficulty in removing the pictures from the frame.

The selected photographs were placed in the frame in a



FIGURE 1. Pictures Shown to Judges for Selection.

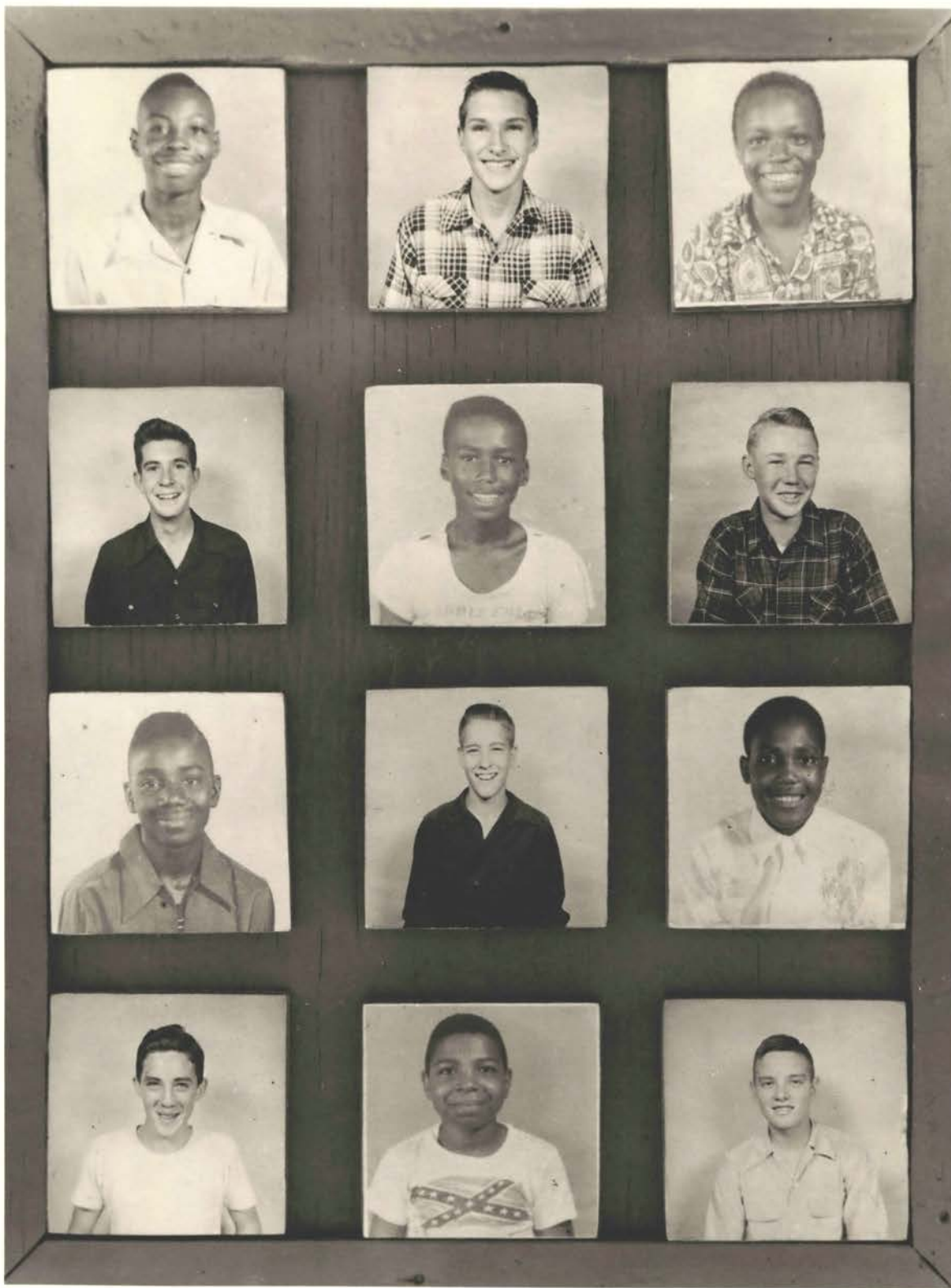


FIGURE 2. Pictures Presented in the Ranking Test.

planned haphazard order, such that no row or column in the frame contained only photographs of the same race.

2. Intelligence Test.

The test used to measure intelligence in this study was Form I of the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Test.² This instrument is designed to measure intelligence from the age of ten through all ages of adults and is administered on an individual basis.

3. Personal Data Sheet.

In order to facilitate the collecting of personal information and the recording of the ranking test results, a Personal Data Sheet was devised to be used with each subject. A copy of this data sheet may be found in the Appendix.

Selection of the Subjects

A great deal of the validity of any investigation such as the present study is primarily based upon the care and discretion employed in selecting the subjects. For this reason, the subjects used in the control group were selected on an individual matching basis which will be discussed in the following pages.

The subjects used in this experiment were Oklahoma Negro boys who were divided into two groups on the basis of delinquency. For the purposes of this study, an individual was considered to be delinquent if he had a known record of delinquency, and conversely, if he had no known record of de-

² David Wechsler, The Measurement of Adult Intelligence, (Baltimore, 1944).

linquency, he was considered to be a non-delinquent. It is recognized that this dichotomous classification is somewhat of an arbitrary one, in that many individuals classified as non-delinquents are undoubtedly more delinquent than a great many individuals who have records of delinquency. For example, there are many individuals who have committed offenses but thus far they have escaped being apprehended. However, the delinquent versus non-delinquent classification on the above mentioned basis seems to be the one most commonly employed by investigators attempting to deal with problems involving delinquents.

GROUP I:

This group was the Experimental Group I and was comprised of individuals from the Oklahoma State Industrial School for Negro Boys located at Boley, Oklahoma which is the correctional institution for Negro male delinquents in the state of Oklahoma. The entire group of students in residence at the State Industrial School, who were from Tulsa, Muskogee, and Oklahoma City, the three principal urban areas of Oklahoma, were selected to be used as subjects in Group I. At the time of this investigation, there were 10 students from Muskogee, 16 from Tulsa, and 32 from Oklahoma City who were attending the State Industrial School. Combining these three sub-totals results in a total of 58 subjects comprising Group I.

GROUP II:

This group served as the controls for Experimental Group I and was comprised of Negro males with no record of delin-

quency. Each subject in Experimental Group I had his own particular matched subject in the Control Group II. The subjects of Control Group II were matched on the basis of the following factors:

A. Age

Each subject of the Control Group II was required to be within one year of the age of his counterpart in Group I. Ages of both Group I and Group II were determined as age to the nearest birthday. The information concerning the ages of the subjects was not obtained directly from the subjects but from the records of the State Industrial School in the case of the delinquents and from school records in the case of the non-delinquents.

B. Intelligence

Form I of the Wechsler Bellevue Intelligence Test was used to determine the Intelligence Quotient of all subjects. For the purpose of selecting the control subjects only the performance part of the Wechsler-Bellevue test was used. It was believed that the subjects at Boley had probably even less than the normal Negro opportunity for the development of verbal skills and it would therefore be unfair to match the groups on the basis of the full scale Intelligence Quotient which, of course, is a combination of the performance and verbal parts of the Wechsler-Bellevue. Since the performance skills are less effected by the formal training than are the skills involved in the verbal scale, it was the opinion of the author that the groups would be more nearly matched on

intelligence if only the performance scale was employed. The probable error of the Wechsler-Bellevue test, as computed by David Wechsler³ is ten Intelligence Quotients points; for this reason, it was decided to use this probable error in matching the groups and therefore each subject selected for Group II was required to be within one probable error or ten Intelligence Quotient points on the performance scale in relation to his counterpart in Group I.

C. Family Income

The total family income was another factor used in matching the subjects. By total family income is meant the combined yearly incomes of all wage earners of a family. Due to the difficulties involved in obtaining such information and having no method available to check the reliability of the information, a dichotomous classification was adopted. This classification was one of above or below the median income for Oklahoma Negro families. The estimation of the total family income was procured from the State Industrial School records in the case of the delinquents and from school authorities for the non-delinquents.

D. Area of Residence

Each subject of Group II was required to be a resident of the same town as the subject of Group I with whom he was being matched. No attempt was made to match the subjects on the basis of the section of town or what is commonly known

³ Wechsler, op. cit., pp. 1-254.

as "being from the right side of the tracks"; mere residence in the same town was considered sufficient to meet the requirements used in this research.

E. Family Stability

A great deal of difficulty was encountered in determining what constituted family stability and again, for purposes of expediency, a two-fold classification was adopted. The broken versus the non-broken home was finally decided upon. For the purposes of this study, a broken home is defined as one with either parent not residing in the home and a home was considered to be non-broken when both parents resided in household. It is recognized that such a classification has its shortcomings and therefore many inequities may result. For example, a child residing with his grandparents might be under a much more stable and mentally healthful influence than when residing with his own parents. Nevertheless, this individual is classified as living in a broken home as are those living with foster parents or with either step-mothers or step-fathers.

Administration of the Ranking Test

The administration of the ranking test was conducted entirely by adult Negroes; at the State Industrial School, the test was administered by the social worker and for the non-delinquents, the test was administered by some Negro faculty or staff member of the public school where the subjects, who were comprising the non-delinquent group were in attendance.

It was believed that since this study was directed toward

the factor of prejudice, it was imperative that the test not be administered by a white examiner, but by a Negro so as to insure greater rapport and to rule out the possible detrimental effect of a white examiner. The procedure is in accordance with the findings of Thompson's study⁴ on the relative influence of white and Negro examiners upon the selections of the subjects.

All the tests were conducted by the examiner in a private room with only the examiner and subject present with the following verbal instructions to the subject:

Here (Examiner places picture frame on a table in front of the subject and opens it) are twelve blocks of wood. Each block has a picture of a boy on it. Look at the pictures and then hand me the picture you like best...That's fine, now pick out the boy you like next best and hand me his picture...

This process was repeated until the subject had ranked all of the individuals in the picture frame. The examiner set each picture aside as it was selected and the subject was not permitted to view them later on in the experiment, i.e., once the subject made a choice he could no longer refer to that particular picture. At the completion of the test, the examiner recorded the rankings of the subject.

Treatment of the Data

If the subject showed complete preference for the Negro pictures, then his rankings for those pictures would be 1,2,3,4,5,6 and the rankings for the white pictures would be 7,

⁴ Thompson, op. cit., p. 24.

8,9,10,11,12. If the subject showed a reverse preference, then of course, the rankings would be reversed. Therefore, if complete preference for Negroes existed, the sum total of the rankings for Negro pictures would be 21. If the reverse preference existed, then the ranked total of the Negro pictures would be 57. Hence, a total rank score of 39 would show no preference for either whites or Negroes and any deviation from this would show preference on the part of the subject.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The statistical treatment of the data gathered in this study presents a rather unique problem. Group I, the delinquents, do not represent a sample but rather comprise the entire Negro male delinquent population at the time of this investigation from three Oklahoma cities who were confined at the State Industrial School.

The non-delinquents, however, do constitute a sample because a number of individuals could probably have been found to match each member of Group I in terms of matching criteria.

When the scores on the ranking test were considered, then such scores were deemed a sample. For example, a subject who attained a total rank of 36 for the Negro photographs would be unlikely to achieve that same score on subsequent re-administrations. Therefore, the ranking selections of a subject can correctly be conceived of as a sample of a subject's judgments.

Relationship Between Rank Test and Matching Variables

The result of the Ranking Test was correlated with Verbal Intelligence Quotient, Performance Intelligence Quotient, age, tenure, and family stability for the entire group of delinquents. The correlations are presented in Table I. It was decided to compute these correlations in order to determine what relationship might exist between degree of preference

for Negroes and the above mentioned variables.

TABLE I
CORRELATION BETWEEN RANKING TEST AND MATCHING
FACTORS FOR ALL DELINQUENTS
(N=55)

	Total Rank of Negro Pictures
Verbal I. Q.	.05
Performance I. Q.	.22
Age	.17
Tenure	.14
Family Stability	.01

The correlation between Verbal I. Q. and degree of preference for Negroes was .05 as calculated by the Pearson Product Moment Correlation. Therefore no relationship can be postulated, since a correlation of .05 is not statistically significant.

A Product Moment Correlation of .22 was obtained between the Ranking Test and Performance Intelligence Quotient. This correlation is not sufficiently high to warrant assuming any significant relationship between the two factors.

The Product Moment Correlation of the Ranking Test and age to the nearest year yielded a correlation of .17. No statistical significance may be inferred from a correlation of this magnitude; consequently there appears to be no relationship between age and prejudice as evidenced by the Ranking Test.

A Product Moment Correlation of .14 was obtained between

the Ranking Test and tenure. Tenure is defined as the total number of months that a delinquent had been confined at the State Industrial School. Again the correlation is not of sufficient magnitude to warrant assigning any relationship.

The data concerning the family stability of the delinquents was a dichotomous classification. For this reason, the Biserial Coefficient of Correlation was employed to test the relationship between family stability and the Ranking Test. A correlation of .01 was obtained which is indicative of very low relationship.

No attempt was made to determine the relationship of income and preference for Negroes since practically all of the delinquents were in the same income category.

Interrelationship of Variables

The intercorrelations of Performance Intelligence Quotient, Verbal Intelligence Quotient, Age, Tenure, and Family Stability were computed for the entire group of delinquents. Table II presents these intercorrelations.

TABLE II

INTERCORRELATION OF VARIABLES FOR ALL DELINQUENTS
(N=55)

	Performance I.Q.	Age	Tenure	Family Stability
Verbal I. Q.	.52	.04	.16	.25
Performance I. Q.		.25	.29	.06
Age			.51	.04
Tenure				.01

An examination of Table II reveals that all of the inter-correlations are positive but only two reach the 1 per cent level of significance. A correlation of .52 was obtained between Performance I. Q. and Verbal I. Q. which was significant at the 1 per cent level. The second intercorrelation significant at the 1 per cent level was .51 obtained between tenure at the State Industrial School and Age.

Comparison of Tulsa Delinquents and Non-Delinquents

It was possible to match all 16 of the Tulsa delinquents and therefore none of the subjects were eliminated as a result of matching difficulties. The raw data relative to Tulsa delinquents and non-delinquents is shown in Tables III and IV.

An examination of the Tulsa groups revealed that the delinquents had an average total rank score of 32.6 for the Negro photographs with a score of 21 showing complete preference. This would indicate the Tulsa delinquents prefer the Negro pictures by 6.4 points since chance would result in a score of 39. The non-delinquents had a total rank average of 43.6 for the Negro pictures. The difference between these means is significant at the 1 % level of confidence. Table IX contains a comparison of the Tulsa delinquents and non-delinquents on the Ranking Test.

Comparison of Oklahoma City Delinquents and Non-Delinquents

Two delinquents from Oklahoma City were discarded in the study as a result of difficulty encountered in matching intelligence scores. This reduced the total number of subjects

TABLE III
RAW DATA OF TULSA DELINQUENTS

Subjects	I.Q.		Tenure at Boley (Months)	Age	Income*	Family Stability	Ranking Results	
	Verbal Scale	Performance Scale					N	W
T-1-D	73	80	5	16	1	B	26	52
T-2-D	91	98	11	14	1	B	38	40
T-3-D	56	52	9	16	1	B	27	51
T-4-D	63	76	32	15	1	B	44	34
T-5-D	69	102	11	14	1	B	43	35
T-6-D	78	97	1	13	1	B	21	57
T-7-D	84	94	4	14	1	B	21	57
T-8-D	75	74	8	17	1	U	45	33
T-9-D	62	96	10	13	1	B	42	36
T-10-D	80	78	77	17	1	B	21	57
T-11-D	94	87	4	13	1	B	21	57
T-12-D	63	53	27	16	1	B	55	23
T-13-D	68	73	2	16	1	B	21	57
T-14-D	73	85	8	16	1	B	39	39
T-15-D	100	97	4	16	2	U	27	41
T-16-D	76	80	39	17	1	B	31	47

*Income

- 1 Denotes Below Median Negro Income
- 2 Denotes Above Median Negro Income

TABLE IV
RAW DATA OF TULSA NON-DELINQUENTS

Subjects	I.Q.		Age	Income*	Family Stability	Ranking Results	
	Verbal Scale	Performance Scale				Negro	White
	T-1-N	90				77	16
T-2-N	98	101	15	1	B	46	32
T-3-N	67	58	17	1	B	54	24
T-4-N	82	76	15	1	B	33	45
T-5-N	74	98	15	1	B	54	24
T-6-N	103	105	13	1	B	44	34
T-7-N	80	93	15	1	B	43	35
T-8-N	77	82	16	1	U	35	43
T-9-N	73	87	14	1	B	47	31
T-10-N	91	85	17	1	B	44	34
T-11-N	84	91	14	1	B	38	40
T-12-N	66	51	17	1	B	40	38
T-13-N	70	63	17	1	B	46	32
T-14-N	80	87	17	1	B	39	29
T-15-N	99	105	16	2	U	52	26
T-16-N	66	77	18	1	B	37	41

*Income

- 1 Denotes Below Median Negro Income
- 2 Denotes Above Median Negro Income

to 30 for each of the two groups. The raw data of the Oklahoma City groups may be seen in Tables V and VI.

The Oklahoma City delinquents had a mean total rank score of 31.9 for the Negro pictures which, when compared with 39.0, the chance score, shows a preference for Negroes of 7.1. The mean total rank score for the non-delinquents was 43.9 which shows a rejection of the Negro pictures by the non-delinquents and a preference for the white pictures. The difference between the means of the Oklahoma City delinquents and non-delinquents is 12.0 with an F value of 44.86 which is significant at the 1 % level of confidence.

Comparison of Muskogee Delinquents and Non-Delinquents

A total of 10 subjects from Muskogee were attending the State Industrial School at the time of this investigation. The raw data of the Muskogee delinquents is presented in Table VII while Table VIII contains the raw data of the Muskogee non-delinquents. Subject M-6-D of the delinquent group could not be matched with a non-delinquent because of low performance I. Q. and consequently his scores were disregarded.

The average score of the ranks assigned to the Negro photographs by the Muskogee delinquents was 31.6 and 39.5 for the non-delinquents. The significance of the difference between the means of the two groups calculated by the variance ratio gives an F of 5.28. An F value of this magnitude is not significant at the 5 % level of confidence but it would be significant at the 5 % level if the F value had been 5.32 rather than 5.28. Since subject M-6-D, who was eliminated

TABLE V
RAW DATA OF OKLAHOMA CITY DELINQUENTS

Subjects	I.Q.		Tenure at Boley (Months)	Age	Income*	Family Stability	Ranking Results	
	Verbal Scale	Performance Scale					Negro	White
OC-1-D	60	81	8	11	1	B	47	31
OC-2-D	79	94	4	12	1	B	42	36
OC-3-D	60	104	3	12	1	U	28	50
OC-4-D	77	97	3	12	1	B	24	54
OC-5-D	65	81	4	13	1	U	40	38
OC-6-D	53	86	35	13	1	B	40	38
OC-7-D	82	76	7	13	1	B	21	57
OC-8-D	48	49	2	14	1	B	30	48
OC-9-D	69	70	37	14	1	B	21	57
OC-10-D	102	119	6	14	1	U	42	36
OC-11-D	58	83	13	14	1	B	21	57
OC-12-D	58	71	2	15	1	U	21	57
OC-13-D	61	86	1	15	1	B	51	27
OC-14-D	84	74	24	15	2	U	28	50
OC-15-D	56	100	54	15	1	B	35	43
OC-16-D	64	74	63	16	1	B	21	57

*Income

- 1 Denotes Below Median Negro Income
- 2 Denotes Above Median Negro Income

TABLE V (cont.)

RAW DATA OF OKLAHOMA CITY DELINQUENTS

Subjects	I.Q.		Tenure at Boley (Months)	Age	Income*	Family Stability	Ranking Results	
	Verbal Scale	Performance Scale					Negro	White
00-17-D	78	77	34	16	1	U	21	57
00-18-D	82	102	36	16	1	B	41	37
00-19-D	74	87	20	16	1	B	31	47
00-20-D	71	85	21	16	1	B	26	52
00-21-D	79	106	3	16	1	B	37	41
00-22-D	59	85	15	17	1	U	32	46
00-23-D	72	77	53	17	1	B	45	33
00-24-D	77	65	72	17	1	B	21	57
00-25-D	63	82	55	17	1	B	27	51
00-26-D	84	96	28	17	1	B	37	41
00-27-D	59	96	17	17	1	B	35	43
00-28-D	57	51	61	17	1	U	21	57
00-29-D	109	109	39	18	1	U	32	46
00-30-D	82	74	37	18	2	U	38	40
00-31-D	81	88	32	18	1	U	35	43
00-32-D	59	45	14	17	1	B	21	57

*Income

1 Denotes Below Median Negro Income

2 Denotes Above Median Negro Income

TABLE VI
RAW DATA OF OKLAHOMA CITY NON-DELINQUENTS

Subjects	I.Q.		Age	Income*	Family Stability	Ranking Results	
	Verbal Scale	Performance Scale				Negro	White
OC-1-N	79	85	12	1	B	38	40
OC-2-N	97	100	12	1	B	50	27
OC-3-N	96	99	13	1	U	42	36
OC-4-N	94	96	13	1	B	32	46
OC-5-N	94	89	13	1	U	49	29
OC-6-N	93	84	13	1	B	53	25
OC-7-N	82	71	13	1	B	38	40
OC-8-N							
OC-9-N	68	74	14	1	B	44	34
OC-10-N	113	116	15	1	U	37	41
OC-11-N	93	85	14	1	B	45	33
OC-12-N	80	73	14	1	B	44	34
OC-13-N	91	86	15	1	B	52	26
OC-14-N	98	82	15	2	U	42	36
OC-15-N	72	99	16	1	B	46	32
OC-16-N	90	76	16	1	B	41	37

*Income

1 Denotes Below Median Negro Income

2 Denotes Above Median Negro Income

TABLE VI (cont.)

RAW DATA OF OKLAHOMA CITY NON-DELINQUENTS

Subjects	I.Q.		Age	Income*	Family Stability	Ranking Results	
	Verbal Scale	Performance Scale				Negro	White
OC-17-N	85	70	17	1	U	36	42
OC-18-N	104	92	16	1	B	51	27
OC-19-N	79	85	17	1	B	48	30
OC-20-N	80	85	15	1	B	45	33
OC-21-N	105	112	16	1	B	44	34
OC-22-N	89	85	17	1	U	41	37
OC-23-N	94	77	17	1	B	36	42
OC-24-N	75	73	17	1	B	46	32
OC-25-N	82	90	17	1	B	44	34
OC-26-N	80	89	18	1	B	49	29
OC-27-N	73	100	16	1	B	51	27
OC-28-N	72	60	16	1	B	49	29
OC-29-N	104	99	18	1	U	54	24
OC-30-N	91	82	17	2	U	37	41
OC-31-N	73	89	18	1	U	35	43
OC-32-N							

*Income

- 1 Denotes Below Median Negro Income
 2 Denotes Above Median Negro Income

TABLE VII
RAW DATA OF MUSKOGEE DELINQUENTS

Subjects	I.Q.		Tenure at Boley (Months)	Age	Income*	Family Stability	Ranking Results	
	Verbal Scale	Performance Scale					Negro	White
M-1-D	60	81	14	14	1	B	36	42
M-2-D	83	104	16	15	1	U	33	45
M-3-D	87	86	3	10	1	U	35	43
M-4-D	89	107	17	12	1	B	47	31
M-5-D	99	109	16	13	1	U	38	40
M-6-D	50	43	15	14	1	U	21	57
M-7-D	82	84	16	17	1	B	21	57
M-8-D	79	95	29	17	1	B	21	57
M-9-D	95	108	8	17	2	B	33	45
M-10-D	81	80	16	17	1	B	21	57

*Income

- 1 Denotes Below Median Negro Income
- 2 Denotes Above Median Negro Income

TABLE VIII
RAW DATA OF MUSKOGEE NON-DELINQUENTS

Subjects	I.Q.		Age	Income *	Family Stability	Ranking Results	
	Verbal Scale	Performance Scale				Negro	White
M-1-N	74	76	14	1	B	32	46
M-2-N	108	104	15	1	U	34	44
M-3-N	83	78	11	1	U	27	51
M-4-N	110	116	13	1	B	49	29
M-5-N	107	100	14	1	U	54	24
M-6-N							
M-7-N	79	87	16	1	B	35	43
M-8-N	75	85	16	1	B	43	35
M-9-N	91	101	16	2	B	47	31
M-10-N	86	82	18	1	B	35	43

*Income

- 1 Denotes Below Median Negro Income
- 2 Denotes Above Median Negro Income

because of matching difficulties, showed complete preference for the Negro pictures and none of the non-delinquents showed such preference, it might be assumed that could he have been matched, the difference between the two groups would have attained the 5 % level of confidence.

With regard to the Muskogee groups, the delinquents preferred the Negro photographs by 7.4 points with 39 being chance selection, while the non-delinquents preferred the white photographs to the Negro photographs by 0.5. These scores indicate that Muskogee delinquents show a preference for Negroes while the non-delinquents display a rejection of Negro photographs and a slight preference for white photographs.

Comparison of All Delinquents and Non-Delinquents

In order to compare all delinquents with all non-delinquents, the data from Muskogee, Tulsa, and Oklahoma City was combined. This combination resulted in a total of 55 delinquents and 55 non-delinquents, as may be seen in Table IX. The mean total rank score of the delinquents is 32.1 and 43.1 for the non-delinquents. The difference between these means is 11.0 which gives an F value of 52.73 that is significant at the 1 % level of confidence. Therefore, it may be stated that the delinquents prefer the Negro photographs by 6.9 total rank points. These results indicate that delinquents show a significant preference for Negro photographs which non-delinquents do not evidence.

TABLE IX

COMPARISON OF DELINQUENTS AND NON-DELINQUENTS ON THE
RANKING TEST ACCORDING TO CITIES

City	Mean Rank of Negro Pictures*		Difference Between Means	Significance of Difference Between Means	
	DELINQUENT	NON-DELINQUENT		F	t
Muskogee	N=9 31.6	N=9 39.5	7.9	5.28	2.29
Tulsa	N=16 32.6	N=16 43.6	11.0	9.74**	3.12**
Oklahoma City	N=30 31.9	N=30 43.9	12.0	44.86**	6.70**
Cities Combined	N=55 32.1	N=55 43.1	11.0	52.73**	

* A mean rank of 21 indicates complete preference for Negroes.
 A mean rank of 57 indicates complete rejection of Negroes.
 A mean rank of 39 indicates no preference for Negroes.

** Significant at the 1% level of confidence.

CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

The attempt to discover what relationship existed between prejudice among Negro male delinquents and the variables of age, length of time the delinquent had been confined, intelligence, and family stability yielded no significant associations. There are some investigations which have revealed a relationship between degree of prejudice against whites and varying age levels. The present study showed no evidence of such a relationship which might in part be explained by the more homogeneous age group involved.

The length of time that a delinquent remained at the State Industrial School had no significant relationship to the degree of prejudice. This indicates that confinement at the State Industrial School did not appear to have any appreciable effect upon the feelings of prejudice which exist among the delinquents.

The theory has long been accepted that a broken home is one of the major causes of delinquency. The present study did not refute this popular theory but did reveal that prejudice against whites was more evident among delinquents than non-delinquents. Further, prejudice did not appear to be related to broken or unbroken homes.

With respect to intelligence and degree of prejudice,

no significant relationship was found to exist. This would indicate that the prejudice which a delinquent possesses is not effected by high or low intelligence.

A significant relationship was found between the Verbal intelligence and Performance intelligence of delinquents. This relationship was to be expected since an individual who exhibits high intelligence on the Verbal scale is apt to display somewhat equal ability on the Performance scale.

Another significant intercorrelation was that between age of the delinquent and the length of time the delinquent had been confined. This can be explained in that it was chronologically impossible for the young delinquents to have spent as much time at the State Industrial School as the older delinquents.

The delinquents as a whole showed a distinct preference for Negro photographs and rejection of the whites. This is in direct contrast to the results obtained from the non-delinquents who evidenced an acceptance of the whites and rejected the Negroes.

The analysis of the data according to cities revealed no significant difference in the degree of prejudice shown by the delinquents from Muskogee, Tulsa, and Oklahoma City. This would indicate that the feelings of prejudice against whites which delinquents possess are not different in the three cities.

With regard to the non-delinquents, it appears that those from Muskogee showed no significant preference for or against Negroes. However, those non-delinquents from Tulsa

and Oklahoma City displayed a decided rejection of Negroes which is not significantly different in the two cities.

Summary and Conclusions

Juvenile delinquency has long been a topic of concern to society because of its vast drain upon the nation's human and material resources. This investigation was designed to discover and understand the possible relationships between Negro delinquency and Negro prejudice against whites. Specifically, this study was designed to examine the causal relationship between Negro male delinquency and prejudice against whites.

With regard to the procedure of the investigation, a series of Negro and white pictures, which the subject ranked according to preference, were presented to 55 delinquents at the Oklahoma State Industrial School for Negro boys, who were from Tulsa, Oklahoma City, and Muskogee. These delinquents were matched with 55 non-delinquents on the basis of city, age, I. Q., family income, and family stability. The same series of photographs were then presented to the non-delinquents in order to determine their ranking preferences.

The conclusions of the study may be summarized as follows:

1. Negro male delinquents display a significantly greater preference for Negroes than do non-delinquents.
2. Negro male non-delinquents display a rejection of Negroes and an acceptance of whites.
3. No significant relationship is found to exist among

Negro male delinquents with respect to the degree of preference for Negroes and age, length of confinement, intelligence, or family stability.

4. Negro male non-delinquents show no prejudice against whites. This results in the non-delinquent accepting white standards and concepts; subsequently the non-delinquent lives more in harmony with his environment. Therefore, the non-delinquent is not beset by the frustrations which the delinquent experiences as an outgrowth of his non-acceptance. The delinquent, in attempting to alleviate his frustrations, adopts the outlet of aggression and this aggressive form of behavior eventually brings the individual into open conflict with society. These conclusions appear to substantiate the evidence from the field of social psychology. The delinquents show greater preference for members of their own group and this attachment is accompanied by feelings of hostility to members of an outside group, which results in the development of aggression.

5. The Horowitz ranking technique appears to be as appropriate for determining race prejudice among Negroes as it was with whites. Furthermore, the test seems to be as satisfactory for use with adolescents as it was with children.

Implications of the Study

The high relationship between delinquency and race prejudice seems to warrant two implications.

1. Negro parents and teachers should be on the alert for symptoms of race prejudice among Negro children. If

parents and teachers can detect these symptoms at an early age they will perhaps be able to alleviate or arrest the development of race prejudice.

2. The individuals in charge of juvenile institutions should take cognizance of race prejudice among delinquents and strive to alleviate the condition. If the purpose of a juvenile institution is reformation rather than incarceration, then the factor of race prejudice seems sufficiently important to warrant the attention of the various juvenile authorities.

Suggestions for Future Study

This study has touched on only one aspect of a very complex problem. Some other investigations which would be useful are:

1. A longitudinal study in which Negro prejudice is measured at various age levels. Such an investigation might permit the prediction of juvenile delinquency.

2. An investigation to determine the relationship, if any, between degree of prejudice and the type of criminal act committed.

3. A study of the relationship between race prejudice and adult Negro criminality.

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Form A. Personal Data Sheet

1. Examiner _____
2. Place _____ Date _____
3. Name of subject tested _____
4. Family Residence: Circle Answer.
Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Muskogee
5. Intelligence: The subject's I. Q. is:
Verbal Scale _____
Performance Scale _____
Full Scale _____

6. How long has subject been in Boley? _____

For items 7, 8, 9, and 10, circle the most correct answer.

7. Age: To the nearest year.

7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

8. Approximate total family income:

(0 - \$1,500) (\$1,500 - \$3,000) (\$3,000 - \$4,500)

9. Occupation of individual considered to be the family head:

Unskilled Skilled Professional

10. Family Stability: If parents reside together, then circle unbroken home. If parents are divorced or are not living together, then circle broken home.

Unbroken home Broken home

Picture Ranking Test Results:

In the space beside number one write the number of the picture which the subject liked best. Beside number two write the number of the picture which the subject liked next best and so on through number twelve. If the subject likes two or more pictures equally well then draw a circle around those numbers.

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

VITA

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Doctor of Education

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Minor: Education

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THESIS TITLE: RACE PREJUDICE AMONG NEGRO
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