

A COMPARISON OF ASSUMPTIONS AND STATEMENTS MADE BY A
SELECTED GROUP OF NON-SOCIOLOGISTS WITH THE RESEARCH
FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS OF SOCIOLOGISTS

A THESIS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem.--This study is focused upon the selected works of non-sociologists writing in the field of race relations. It attempts to answer the question, "Is there a similarity between the non-sociologists' explicit and implicit assumptions and statements concerning race relations and the scientific race relations theories, conclusions, or research findings of sociologists?" The hypothesis is that non-sociologists, who lack extensive formal training in race relations, will exhibit in their writings sophisticated and similar attitudes and assumptions concerning many of the currently accepted theories in the science of race relations. For this reason, the writer shall compare and contrast the racial assumptions of the non-sociologists with some of the leading ones of reputable sociologists.

Review of the Literature.--To the writer's knowledge, there has been only one similar study done in this area. That study was conducted by Tilman C. Cothran who examined "the content and range of stereotyped conceptions of white people set forth in fiction by Negro writers."¹ His sample consisted of twelve books written by early and contemporary Negro writers. He listed in rank order and by frequency the traits that

¹Tilman C. Cothran, "White Stereotypes in Fiction by Negroes," Phylon, XI (Third Quarter, 1950), 252.

were ascribed to white characters in his sample of twelve novels. His investigation revealed that:

white characters are most frequently depicted unfavorably;

Negroes possess not only pejorative conceptions of white character traits, but also they categorize whites into 'social types' which likewise tend to be unfavorable; and

the unfavorable conceptions of white people are in effect counter-conceptions.¹

There have been, however, other investigations in which the method of content analysis was employed. Several illustrations of these investigations may partially reveal the nature of some of the problems involved in this study and in content analysis.

Pierce, who examined 97 histories, 67 books in civic, sociological, and economic problems, 45 geographies, 109 readers, 10 French textbooks, and 50 music books, found that textbooks are usually permeated with national or patriotic spirit and that the attitudes engendered toward other people through a reading of these books must in many instances ". . . redound to their ignominy in contrast to the glory of America."² Pierce concluded that the boys and girls of America are guided in the forming of opinions regarding America and other countries by conscious or unconscious use of symbols favorable to a distorted view of American virtues and the less worthy aspects of other countries.³

¹Ibid., p. 256.

²B. L. Pierce, Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks (Chicago, 1930), p. 392.

³Ibid.

Other studies of school textbooks have tended to confirm Pierce's results and have shown that textbooks in the United States are not peculiar in conveying nationalistic conceptions.¹ Walworth has provided striking evidence of the divergent interpretations put upon the same wars and battles by United States historians and historians of former enemy states (United Kingdom, Canada, Spain, Mexico, and Germany).

In general, the historian tends to show, by open statements or by the selection of facts and emphasis, that the leaders of his own country have been honorable and the soldiers noble and courageous (defeated, if at all, only by overwhelming forces); enemy leaders, on the other hand, are often pictured as treacherous and enemy soldiers are cowardly.²

Millspaugh analyzed the role of different Baltimore newspapers in the city's interracial relations by studying the treatment given a Negro accused of murder, before his trial. He found sharp differences between the "white" and "Negro" papers in the proportion of statements carried which were "helpful," "destructive," or "neutral" to the defendant's case. Negro papers were more likely to be "helpful," while the white papers were more likely to be "destructive," for the most part, but sometimes "neutral."³

Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet studied differences in partisanship among newspapers, magazines, and radio during the 1940 presidential

¹H. Walworth, School Histories at War (Cambridge, 1938), p. 294.

²Ibid., p. 301.

³M. Millspaugh, "Trial by Mass Media?", Public Opinion Quarterly, XIII (1949), 328-329.

campaign. They found all three media favoring the Republican side, with the magazines more strongly partisan than the other two.¹

Sussman, by assuming that radio has an obligation to give a fair and balanced representation of every major social group, was able to document charges of bias through a content analysis of about thirty news programs on the major networks during a presidential campaign. She found that "labor was presented as being morally wrong five times as often as it was morally right; on the other hand, it was presented as being strong just as often as it was presented as being weak."²

Data and Method.--The method employed in this investigation involves the comparison and contrast of the non-sociologists' assumptions and statements with race relations theory. "Race relations theory" is defined as those conclusions, research findings, assumptions, and inferences made by reputable sociologists. The tables used in this investigation involve, or are the result of, the tabulation of the number of times specific assumptions were mentioned and implied in the works of the non-sociologists. The more recurrent assumptions are compared and contrasted with existing race relations theory.

The systematic study of communication is known as "content analysis." This is a relatively new technique which has only begun to develop its concepts and modus operandi. It represents an advance over

¹P. F. Lazarsfeld et al., The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign (New York, 1944), p. 231.

²L. A. Sussman, "Labor in the Radio News: An Analysis of Content," Journalism Quarterly, XXII (1954), 210.

older and more impressionistic methods of analysis, but there are many basic problems that remain to be solved.¹ Within limits, the technique is reliable and informative, provided the study is guided by a clear sense of what can be accomplished. In this regard, this study seeks to obtain reliable information concerning:

(a) The extent of treatment - the use of quantitative and descriptive data with regard to the number of instances specific assumptions about race are made by the non-sociologists; and

(b) The nature of treatment - the use of pre-defined categories devised to reveal the extent of the authors' treatment of race.

Studies employing the content analysis technique generally fall into three classes: (1) studies of newspaper content, (2) studies of story content, and (3) studies of textbook content. This study, in a modified form, is concerned with an analysis of textbook content. It is essentially what Festinger and Katz² describe as content analysis used "to trace the development of scholarship."³ In this particular case, content analysis is used to detect trends in the publication of scholarly and scientific journals and books. This use of content analysis involves a comparison of trends found within these books. This is essentially what this investigation attempts to do--to compare the trends of thought found within the books of non-sociologists with race relations theory.

¹M. Jahoda, M. Deutsch, and S. W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York, 1951), p. 544.

²L. Festinger and D. Katz, Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences (New York, 1953).

³Ibid., p. 425.

Bernard Berelson states that ". . . categories should be constructed with the important caution that they are most appropriately designed in terms of the problem under construction."¹ There are two general approaches in a content analysis to the formulation of categories: the a priori and a posteriori. The former sets up logical categories in advance; the latter derives categories from specific material examined and may require a considerable amount of trial and error experimentation. The a priori analyses that have been used tend to have greater simplicity and are particularly useful in providing simple statistics for charting trends and making correlations. The a posteriori analyses tend to provide more informative results.

The type of analysis chosen for this investigation is the a priori. The reason for this choice is the general likeness of the material presented in the non-sociologists' works and the corresponding simplicity of methods of presentation. This type of presentation does not necessitate numerous categories which could conceivably obscure the findings of the analysis. The success of this type does not depend necessarily upon numerous categories and large numbers.

The categories involving analysis of content in this investigation are as follows:

1. Avoidance as a Response to Prejudice and Discrimination

Upper-Class Complacency among Negroes
Residence in Negro Ghettos

¹Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis Communication (New York, 1952), p. 19.

2. Aggression as a Response to Prejudice and Discrimination

Indirect Aggression

Inefficiency Among Negro Workers
Displaced Aggression

3. The Functions of Prejudice

Economic Gains and Costs of Prejudice
Sexual Gains of Prejudice
Psychological Gains and Costs of Prejudice

Each time a statement was made, explicitly or implicitly, with reference to any of the categories listed above, the investigator assigned a value of one (1) beside that category in the non-sociologist's column who made the statement.

The first major category, "Avoidance as a Response to Prejudice and Discrimination," considers individuals' attempts to escape some aspects of discriminatory situations and to reduce their painful and disagreeable impact. An individual may make attempts to avoid these situations permanently, as would be the case in "passing" or assimilation. However, this thesis considers only two temporary types of avoidance: upper-class complacency among Negroes and living in a ghetto composed of all-minority-group members.

The second major category, "Aggression as a Response to Prejudice and Discrimination," considers individuals' attempts to strike back against prejudice and discrimination. The nature of aggression varies greatly from person to person and from group to group, much of it unconscious and unrecognized as hostility; however, this thesis only considers two forms of indirect aggression: inefficiency among Negro workers and displaced aggression.

The third major category, "The Functions of Prejudice," considers the effects prejudice has on prejudiced persons and those experiencing discriminatory situations. This is done in terms of the gains and costs these persons incur as a result of the existence of prejudice.

In the first major category, it became necessary to combine the non-sociologists' considerations of "middle-class complacency" and "upper-class complacency" into one category, "upper-class complacency." The reason for making this combination is that many of the non-sociologists refer to the Negro society in terms of the existence of only two classes--the upper and the lower classes. Others, especially when they are comparing the white society with the Negro society, refer to the Negro society in terms of only the middle and lower classes. In other instances, the hierarchal arrangement of Negroes is viewed in terms of the educated and uneducated, the businessmen and non-businessmen or common laborers, the leaders and the non-leaders. When such references are made, the writer assigns a value of one (1) in the author's column beside "upper-class complacency" if the statement of complacency refers to Negro leaders, businessmen, and educated Negroes. This procedure became necessary when the investigator realized that there is usually no clear distinction made by the non-sociologists included in the study in terms of the existence of three separate classes: upper, middle, and lower.

The books selected for this study were chosen after extended discussion with the investigator's thesis advisor. These discussions became the basis for the selection of ten books, all written by non-sociologists.

Listed below are the selected books written by non-sociologists:

Harry S. Ashmore, The Other Side of Jordan

James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name

Ralph and Carl Creger, This Is What We Found

John Howard Griffin, Black Like Me

Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom

Glenford E. Mitchell and William H. Peace, Angry Black South

James Peck, Freedom Ride

Dan Wakefield, Revolt in the South

Robert Penn Warren, Segregation, The Inner Conflict in the South

William D. Workman, The Case for the South

All of these books are written by non-sociologists and concern race relations. The authors of the first nine books are rather liberal in their consideration of race relations and the problems of the Negro. The last author on this list, William D. Workman, shows a definite white bias. His book is written in defense of segregation and attempts to state the average white Southerner's points of view and sentiments on desegregation and other related topics.

Some of the reputable sociologists whose research findings and conclusions are used throughout this thesis are: G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, John Dollard, Betram Doyle, Charles S. Johnson, Gunnar Myrdal, Hortense Powdermaker, Robert MacIver, and Robert Sutherland.

Anticipated Contribution.--The field of race relations, as a science, is relatively new and unmistakably controversial. Nevertheless, it has made lasting contributions to knowledge and to the understanding of

group relations. The writer hopes to be able to show that non-sociologists, who have no extensive formal training in the science of society but who are sophisticated and versatile, will manifest intelligent assumptions in their works and that these will be somewhat similar to the research findings and conclusions of reputable sociologists.

CHAPTER II

AVOIDANCE AS A RESPONSE TO PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Since the early 1940's when Robert L. Sutherland published his book, Color, Class, and Personality (1942), and Charles S. Johnson published his book, Patterns of Negro Segregation (1943), much attention has been given to the use of avoidance as an adjustment technique employed by the Negro upper class. The adjustment technique is commonly known as "upper-class complacency"; it is employed in an effort to avoid prejudice and discrimination. The writer will consider race relations theory (the research findings and conclusions of sociologists) concerning this technique and will compare these with the statements and assumptions found in the selected works of the non-sociologists under consideration.

Negro Upper-Class Complacency.---The most striking difference between the sociologists and the non-sociologists in their considerations of the above question is that some of the non-sociologists refer to the problem as "middle-class complacency." Others, of course, agree with sociologists in referring to it as "upper-class complacency." There seems to be little agreement among the non-sociologists as to what group of individuals composes the upper class and what group composes the middle class. Nevertheless, when they refer to this type of class complacency, the non-sociologists always have reference to Negro businessmen, leaders,

professionals, and educated Negroes. This is exactly the same group that sociologists refer to as "upper class."¹ Since the scientists and the non-scientists are speaking of the same class of people but are using different terms to describe them--upper class and middle class--the investigator, for purposes of analysis, shall refer to the problem as "upper-class complacency" inasmuch as this is the scientific term given to it by sociologists.

It is, however, generally agreed by the group of non-sociologists under consideration that the Negro upper-class members are attempting to seal themselves off from contact with the lower-class members of their group as much as possible. Table 1 shows the rank order and number of times the non-sociologists considered the theme of upper-class complacency in their works.

TABLE 1
UPPER-CLASS COMPLACENCY

Authors	Frequency
Harry S. Ashmore	9
John H. Griffin	6
James Baldwin	5
Martin L. King, Jr.	5
Dan Wakefield	4
Mitchell and Peace	3
James Peck	3
Ralph and Carl Creger	2
Robert P. Warren	1
William D. Workman	0
Total	38

¹G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities, (rev. ed.; New York, 1958), p. 233.

Table 1 shows that all of the non-sociologists made statements concerning the theme of upper-class complacency except William D. Workman. The number beside an author's name means that author considered upper-class complacency that number of times. For example, Harry S. Ashmore considered upper-class complacency in his book a total of nine times. All of the non-sociologists considered this theme a total number of thirty-eight times.

Simpson and Yinger¹ and Robert L. Sutherland² state that upper-class members of a minority group, by moving to suburban areas and insulating themselves from the problems and struggles of the lower-class members, can avoid many of the repercussions of prejudice and discrimination. Because their jobs are usually secure, they can afford the more expensive suburban homes. Many of them are self-employed which means that they only rarely come in contact with members of the dominant group. Under such economically secure circumstances, these upper-class members often become complacent and apathetic to race problems and to the problems of their lower-class brothers. "Having achieved a satisfactory adjustment, they see no reason to endanger it by allowing themselves to be identified with the minority as a whole."³

James Peck, a non-sociologist, agrees that members of the Negro upper class often shield themselves against the rest of the Negro popula-

¹Ibid.

²Robert L. Sutherland, Color, Class and Personality (Washington, 1942), p. 45.

³Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 233.

tion and become complacent during times of racial tension. Using Durham, North Carolina, as an example, Peck supports his contention as follows:

Out Fayetteville Street, beyond the Negro downtown section, is an area of prosperous Negro homes. There are a number of such homes since Durham is a center for Negro insurance companies. Residents of these homes are sealed off from the humiliations of segregation. They don't have to walk on sidewalkless pavements, ride in the back seats, or stand up in overcrowded city buses. Whenever they emerge from their prosperous homes, they ride in cars. These people, we were told, had opposed our Journey, as many prosperous Negroes oppose action which threatens their privilege status.¹

Simpson and Yinger's statement that upper-class Negroes "are able to afford well-ordered lives free from contact with the dominant group. . . , and free from dependence upon it; . . . they develop a complacency about 'race problems,'"² is in agreement with Peck's statement quoted above.

Robson did not refer to the topic under consideration as an upper-class adjustment, but rather as an adjustment to prejudice and discrimination made by the well-educated Negro class. If it can be agreed upon that the well-educated Negro class, in most situations, is the same as or constitutes the Negro upper-class, then there is no disagreement in Robson's analysis of the situation. Agreeing with Simpson and Yinger and Robert L. Sutherland, he states that this class remains quiet during times of racial unrest. For the most part, the members of this particular class do not rush to become leaders of protest movements and inter-racial organizations; they prefer to remain silent and apathetic.³

¹James Peck, Freedom Ride (New York, 1962), pp. 19-20.

²Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 233.

³C. B. Robson, "The Long Struggle," Angry Black South, ed. G. E. Mitchell and W. H. Peace, II (New York, 1962), p. 8.

Dan Wakefield, in considering the revolt of Negroes in the South, states that much of the present leadership comes from students and other people in the community who have not had a chance to occupy secure positions and become complacent in the face of racial tension. He says the following about the Negro middle class:

Naturally, the Southern Negro middle class is the section of the Negro community most often opposed to the new protest movements. They have the most to lose, at least materially. Many of them are in good standing with the whites of their town or city, and fear economic reprisals and the loss of benefits from subservient cooperation with the white leaders.¹

This particular idea is consistent with Simpson and Yinger's conclusion that "Having achieved a satisfactory adjustment, they see no reason to endanger it by allowing themselves to be identified with the minority group as a whole."² Upper-class members see no reason to become imbued in race tension.³

Martin Luther King, Jr., analyzed the complacency of the Negro upper class as having its basis in fear. Throughout his book, he made several attacks on the Negro upper class and urged the members of this class to take an active and responsible role in the fight for equality. He says:

Some of this lack of concern had its basis in fear. Many of the educated group were employed in vulnerable positions, and a forthright stand in the

¹Dan Wakefield, Revolt in the South (New York, 1960), p. 123.

²Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 233.

³Ibid.

area of racial justice might result in the loss of a job. So rather than jeopardize their economic security, many steered clear of any move toward altering the status quo. This, however, was not the whole story. Too much of the inaction was due to sheer apathy. Even in areas--such as voting--where they would not really be accused of tampering with the established order, the educated group had an indifference that for a period appeared incurable.¹

Here again the same idea of upper-class complacency is manifested, but it is stated in terms of the "educated group." Nevertheless, we have reason to believe that King is referring to the upper class inasmuch as he speaks of an educated group employed in vulnerable positions--such as teachers at Alabama State College in Montgomery, businessmen, and professionals.

Robert L. Sutherland states that many upper-class Negroes who grow complacent in the face of racial tension often develop serious guilt feelings in connection with their disregard to the problems of the group as a whole. These feelings of guilt sometimes lead some upper-class Negroes to take an active part in protest movements. There are others, however, who refuse to make this adjustment at the onset. A few atypical members of this class refuse to become complacent and, as a result, work for the betterment of the entire group as though their lives depended upon it.² Some of these members are the leaders of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and others which are devoted to the improvement of Negro life in the community.

¹Martin L. King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (New York, 1958), p. 35.

²Robert L. Sutherland, op. cit., p. 54.

Wakefield and King, particularly, agree that even though most members of this class are complacent, there are exceptions. They mention that, when the situation is called to the forefront and every member of the community has to take a stand, these upper-class members usually make their positions unmistakably clear. In the Montgomery boycott, these individuals became active participants and very often leaders. Wakefield states that the conservative members of the community, once the sit-ins were rampant throughout the South, often gave their support.¹ King says:

To be sure, there were always some educated people who stood in the forefront of the struggle for racial justice--but they were exceptions. The vast majority were indifferent and complacent.²

Simpson and Yinger state that members of the Negro upper class who attempt to move to suburban areas to avoid contact with the dominant group and lower-class members of their own group often encounter rigid barriers in securing adequate housing or finding a neighborhood that will admit them to move in. This, they say, is particularly true in the North where there exist restrictive covenants and neighborhood improvement agencies that are charged with the task of keeping the neighborhood void of minority-group members.³

In agreement with this idea, Ashmore believes that the Negro upper-class members are complacent, for the most part, and attempt to avoid prejudice and discrimination by moving to suburban areas. Yet, they encounter prejudice in their attempts to avoid it. He says:

¹Dan Wakefield, op. cit., p. 87.

²Martin L. King, op. cit., p. 35.

³Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 233.

For reasonably well-to-do Negroes as well as the very poor, housing ranks as the number one problem--the greatest single source of privation and of grievance. A Negro still encounters prejudice and discrimination in every area of every-day living.¹

The great, unresolved problem is to make provision for the increasing number of Negro families who have climbed the (social) ladder. . . . Except for a hardy few in the higher income brackets, however, they are simply denied the right to resettle as they see fit.²

The above quotations support Simpson and Yinger's conclusion that upper-class members of a minority are "able to avoid only some of the prejudice and discrimination directed against their group by sealing themselves from contact with the lower class."³ These sociologists believe that it is impossible for Negroes to avoid all the effects of prejudice and discrimination by moving to suburban areas.

Although most of the members of the Negro upper class shun the lower-class members of the minority, Simpson and Yinger believe that they put forth great effort to persuade others to patronize only business and professional people from their own group. They state:

Some leaders have developed this into an ideology of a "separate economy" or a "nation within a nation". . . . For a small minority, however, who see in it a mode of adjustment, it has often led to support of segregation. It is an attempt to derive "advantages from the disadvantages." Some businessmen have appealed to "race pride" to reduce or eliminate competition with white businessmen. . . .⁴

¹Harry S. Ashmore, The Other Side of Jordan (New York, 1960), p. 107.

²Ibid., p. 111.

³Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 233.

⁴Ibid.

Not only has this "separate economy" ideology been analyzed as perpetuating segregation, it has also been interpreted as giving rise to the growth of "black nationalism" among Negroes. Simpson and Yinger write:

This ideology (separate economy), largely found among Negroes in our society, is closely related to the growth of Negro "nationalism." Its appeal has not been large for the great bulk of Negro people.¹

James Baldwin agrees with Simpson and Yinger in their consideration of the "separate economy" ideology expressed by a few Negroes. Baldwin argues that the "Buy Black" philosophy of the Muslims is probably the creation of businessmen who have their own interests at heart. By exploiting the anguish of an oppressed people, such businessmen are able to sell their commodities to people who are swayed easily by a "separate economy" philosophy. He says:

They (the advocates of a separate economy) are present, for example, at every Buy Black street-corner meeting--meetings in which the speaker urges his hearers to cease trading with white men and establish a separate economy. Neither the speaker nor his hearers can possibly do this, of course, since Negroes do not own General Motors or RCA or the A & P, nor, indeed, do they own more than a wholly insufficient fraction of anything else in Harlem (those who do own anything are more interested in their profits than in their fellows).²

Simpson and Yinger contend that Negro politicians have a tendency to become divided into many factions and do not appear to be overly

¹Ibid.

²James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name (New York, 1961), p. 59.

interested in the advancement of the group as a whole.¹

In discussing Negro politicians, upper-class leaders, Ashmore says that they are not interested in the problems of their people, but in personal results. There is much controversy among them as to the best way to handle political situations and gain prestige for themselves. He uses Adam Clayton Powell as an example of this type of Negro leadership. He says that when it comes time to sacrifice and to take an uncompromising stand for the rights and betterment of all members of the Negro race, these leaders' cries become faint and unheard.²

Robert Sutherland, a sociologist, says that the automobile has helped many members of the upper class to avoid prejudice and discrimination. With the automobile, these persons are able to escape harsh treatments on city buses and other forms of interstate and intrastate transportation. They do not have to take a rear seat on a bus or sit in a segregated dining car when they travel in their own cars. "To many sensitive Negroes the coming of the automobile has been a second emancipation because through its use they can avoid the most conspicuous forms of Jim-Crowism on buses, streetcars, and trains."³

The non-sociologist who supported the above idea about the Negro upper class most explicitly was James Peck who states: "They don't have to . . . ride in the back seats, or stand up in overcrowded city buses. Whenever they emerge from their prosperous homes, they ride in cars."⁴

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 234.

²Harry S. Ashmore, op. cit., p. 65.

³Robert Sutherland, op. cit., p. 54.

⁴James Peck, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

William D. Workman, one of the non-sociologists considered in this investigation, does not consider the Negro upper class to be complacent. Table 1 shows that he did not make references to the theme of "Upper-class Complacency." He lashes out at the Negro upper class for having caused racial unrest in the South and for having disturbed the peace and harmony that once existed between the races. In his thinking, this class is everything but apathetic and indifferent; this class provides us with the leaders of social movements and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization which ". . . imposes an almost intolerable burden upon Americans who cherish state sovereignty, constitutional government, and racial integrity."¹ These upper-class leaders, in his opinion, are eager to have "mixed schools and mixed bloods."² Below is a statement which he makes about Negro lawyers and physicians, individuals we consider to be upper-class members. He says:

Negro lawyers are in many communities, just as Negro doctors and dentists, undoing the good that had been accomplished by slow, patient work over the years. In many a Southern community today, it is well-nigh impossible to arrange an interracial meeting, no matter how laudable the object, without risking an upsurge of bitter accusation and indictment. White people who formerly were willing and anxious to lend a helping hand in private and in public to their Negro neighbors, now remain aloof, not only because of the tense atmosphere but because of doubt as to the true intent of Negroes they formerly befriended.³

Nine of the non-sociologists agree or substantiate the conclusions drawn by sociologists concerning upper-class complacency as an adjustment

¹William D. Workman, The Case for the South (New York, 1960), p. vii.

²Ibid., p. 45.

³Ibid., p. 137.

to prejudice and discrimination. These non-sociologists agree that in times of racial tension the members of the Negro upper class are complacent and apathetic. Often they move to suburban areas of the city in an effort to avoid contact with prejudiced whites and lower-class Negroes. Since these people are usually businessmen and professionals, they often encourage others of their race to support their enterprises in an effort to establish a separate economy or in an effort to eliminate competition with whites.

There was one exception. William D. Workman contends that the Negro upper class is not complacent; in his opinion, these persons are responsible for many of the revolts occurring in the South. These persons have a tendency to create tension between the races; tension which plagues the South and robs it of the peace and harmony that once existed between the races.

Communities Composed Only of Minority Group Members.---Much attention in recent years has been given to the existence of communities composed only of minority-group members. There exist, for example, in Mississippi, Oklahoma, and other states, all-Negro towns. These towns are viewed as places of escape for Negroes; their chances for coming in contact with neighboring whites are minimized. More common, however, is the existence of ghettos in the North composed of minority-group persons. Attention in this section of Chapter II is directed primarily to ghettos in the North. Ghettos are usually forced upon the minority group by the prominent whites of a city who attempt to confine all members of a minority in a particular area.¹

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 233.

Eight of the non-sociologists under consideration make statements about the existence of Negro ghettos in the North. Table 2 shows the number of times each author considers the existence of ghettos in the North.

TABLE 2
THE EXISTENCE OF GHETTOS IN THE NORTH

Authors	Frequency
Harry S. Ashmore	23
James Baldwin	21
William D. Workman	13
Ralph and Carl Creger	6
John H. Griffin	2
Mitchell and Peace	2
Dan Wakefield	2
James Peck	1
Martin Luther King, Jr.	0
Robert P. Warren	0
Total	<u>70</u>

Table 2 reveals that eight of the ten non-sociologists referred to the existence of ghettos in the North seventy times. Sometimes this was included in an author's work to show that segregation exists in the North as well as in the South. Other times the existence of ghettos was used to refer to the concentration of Negroes in a particular city. Table 2 and Table 3 are related. Table 3 shows the number of times each author referred to the ghetto as a place in which escape from the dominant group is sought. Ghettos in this sense are viewed as an adjustment to prejudice and discrimination.

TABLE 3

GHETTOS AS AN AVOIDANCE RESPONSE TO PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

Authors	Frequency
Harry S. Ashmore	16
James Baldwin	14
William D. Workman	0
Ralph and Carl Creger	0
John H. Griffin	0
Mitchell and Peace	0
Dan Wakefield	0
James Peck	0
Martin L. King, Jr.	0
Robert P. Warren	0
Total	<u>30</u>

Table 3 shows that Harry S. Ashmore and James Baldwin were the only non-sociologists to consider the existence of ghettos as an avoidance response.

Ashmore's work deals primarily with Negroes above the Mason-Dixon Line and with their problems in the larger cities of the North. Baldwin's work attempts to cover a much larger area of Negro life; however, he does devote an entire chapter to the conditions in Harlem, probably the major Negro ghetto in the nation.

Simpson and Yinger state that ghettos are encouraged by some minority-group members since they represent isolated sections of a city partly free from prejudice and discrimination of the whites. Others, however, learn to dislike them because they are aware that ghettos usually represent the lowest settlement in the city where the rent is expensive

and the housing conditions are poor.¹ Commenting on the high rent Negroes pay to live in Northern ghettos, Weatherford and Johnson give good reason why some Negroes dislike living in ghettos. They say:

The migrants were charged from 10 to 100 per cent higher rentals than other groups. In New York City between 1919 and 1927 the Negro rentals in one area studied increased nearly 100 per cent (from \$21.66 to \$41.77), while average rentals increased during the same period only 10 per cent. In one of the old areas of Chicago where Negroes had been living for many years and few improvements had been made, the rents doubled between 1919 and 1931; and in some instances they reached the astonishing extent of a 250 per cent increase. But these increased results did not insure better care of the property on the part of owners and agents.²

Negroes living in ghettos cannot become totally independent and completely avoid the harrassment of the white population. Most of the ghetto residents work outside of the area for employers who are members of the dominant group.³ In their trips to the surrounding areas for purposes of shopping or working, Negroes encounter prejudice and discrimination in the stores and on their jobs. Their landlords are usually white. Even if a few do not have white employers or landlords, the mere existence of a ghetto reminds the residents therein that it is a segregated community, established to confine them in a particular location.⁴

James Baldwin does not agree that Negroes welcome Harlem as a place in which escape from the dominant group is made easier. In his

¹Ibid.

²W. D. Weatherford and C. S. Johnson, Race Relations (New York, 1934), p. 344.

³Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 234.

⁴Ibid.

opinion, the ghetto makes escape more difficult. Harlem is hated by every individual living therein, because everybody knows that Harlem exists as a place established to segregate the Negroes from the whites. Not only do adults hate ghettos but ". . . children do not like ghettos. It takes them nearly no time to discover exactly why they are there."¹ Commenting on the Negroes' attitude about Harlem, he states:

The projects in Harlem are hated. They are hated almost as much as policemen, and this is saying a great deal. And they are hated for the same reason: both reveal, unbearably, the real attitude of the white world, no matter how many liberal speeches are made, no matter how many lofty editorials are written, no matter how many civil-rights commissions are set up.²

In this sense, Baldwin disagrees with Simpson and Yinger who state that some members of a minority like ghettos and welcome them as a place in which escape from prejudice is made easier.³ The sociologists do agree, however, that some individuals are influenced by the fact that ghettos are segregated and that some persons resent them because of their being segregated. Yet, they do not go so far as to state that all Negroes--children and adults--hate ghettos. Non-sociologists are inclined to make all-inclusive and unqualified generalizations about a situation; sociologists tend to limit the application of their generalizations.

Baldwin goes further to state that Negroes hate Harlem not only because they recognize it is a segregated community, but because "One is victimized, economically, in a thousand ways--for example, rent, or car insurance. Go shopping in Harlem--for anything--and compare Harlem

¹James Baldwin, op. cit., p. 63.

²Ibid.

³Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 234.

prices and quality with those downtown."¹ This contention of Baldwin is somewhat similar to Weatherford and Johnson's findings. These sociologists found that Negroes in New York and Chicago pay from 10 to 100 per cent more for rent than other groups in these cities.²

Simpson and Yinger state that these communities are used as receiving posts where migrants unadjusted to the city can become adjusted to the strenuous ways of the city and become culturally assimilated. Harlem, for example, serves as a receiving post for Negroes migrating from the South and as a stepping stone for those who have become economically successful and socially adjusted and desire to move to less congested communities. Using a conclusion drawn by Miller and Park, Simpson and Yinger state that ghettos become the ". . . centers for old cultures--with native-language papers, schools and churches in the native tongue, and a general emphasis on the common background."³ In this sense, they state, Harlem and other ghettos are hindrances to the transition of minority-group members from the old culture to the new culture. Harlem, for example, is a hindrance to the transition of Negroes from the rural South to the urban North. Because these communities are centers for the old culture, many individuals refuse to partake of the true urban life.⁴

Although Ashmore describes Harlem as a place void of happiness, he still contends that many Negroes welcome it since it gives them a

¹James Baldwin, op. cit., p. 62.

²Weatherford and Johnson, op. cit., p. 344.

³Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 234.

⁴Ibid.

chance to recapture a few comfortable moments of the South, their former and familiar home. Describing Harlem, he says:

There are still visible signs of the Old South, incongruous here against the background of brownstone-row houses and old apartment buildings marked by the cracked marble of departed elegance. There are still restaurants bearing crudely hand-lettered signs advertising "chitterling with two vegetables, 90 cents."¹

In other words, the Old South is transplanted in Harlem and many Negroes find it easier to make adjustment in the metropolitan city of New York when they can retain the ways of an old culture. This is essentially the idea stated by Simpson and Yinger.²

Ashmore agrees with the statement made by Lester Granger of the Urban League. He said:

'So long as we have this continuing flood of migrants in New York, we would need Harlem and other substantially segregated neighborhoods as receiving posts if for no other reason. People want to, and probably need to, stay among their own kind when they are strangers trying to make a new life in unfamiliar surroundings.'³

Simpson and Yinger in their consideration of the ghetto do not go so far as to state that ". . . we need Harlem and other substantially segregated neighborhoods." They do state, however, that ghettos serve as "stepping stones to the new society. . ."⁴ and afford one an opportunity to become adjusted to the ways of urban life. Sociologists do not imply that ghettos are indispensable.

¹Harry S. Ashmore, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

²Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 234.

³Harry S. Ashmore, op. cit., p. 110.

⁴Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 234.

Agreeing with Simpson and Yinger on another point, Ashmore states that ghettos are favored by some as a place in which escape from the dominant group's prejudice is made easier. Here minority-group members can mingle with each other and do not have to worry about coming in contact, as frequently as they would were they not segregated, with members of the dominant group. This supports an observation made by Simpson and Yinger who state that "The people of Harlem . . . are able to avoid some of the daily and even hourly symbols and experiences of 'inferiority.'"¹

Disagreeing with Simpson and Yinger, Baldwin states that Harlem is not looked upon as a place in which one can avoid prejudice and discrimination. Rather, Harlem is viewed as the mere existence of prejudice and discrimination. Individuals who attempt to avoid prejudice and discrimination leave Harlem, if they are able, to go to a more respectable community.²

He does agree with Simpson and Yinger on one point. He says that a few members of the minority group living in Harlem are able to avoid some of the daily, physical contacts that others encounter. This is especially true if one works in Harlem. Yet, in his opinion, even these persons experience prejudice and discrimination in a mental sense inasmuch as they are able to perceive the existence of Harlem as a segregated community--created and maintained to keep the races separate.³

¹Ibid.

²James Baldwin, op. cit., p. 63.

³Ibid., p. 61.

Ashmore's conclusions in this respect are more similar to those of Simpson and Yinger. He considers the ghetto as a place in which remnants of an old culture are found. Ghettos are viewed as receiving posts for migrants from the South to the larger urban areas of the North. Some individuals do look upon ghettos as places in which escape from the dominant group's prejudice is made easier.

The other non-sociologists who considered the problem of Negro ghettos did not go into them as a question of avoidance. Most of them merely mentioned the fact that segregation exists in the North in the way of ghettos in an attempt to show that the North, too, has a tremendous job of alleviating racial barriers.

Conclusions.--In this chapter we have attempted to compare the assumptions and statements made by non-sociologists with the research findings and conclusions of sociologists on upper-class complacency among Negroes and communities composed only of minority-group members.

In the first section, it was pointed out that the views of the non-sociologists were somewhat similar to the conclusions and findings of sociologists. Both groups agree that the members of the Negro upper class attempt to seal themselves off from the lower-class members of their group and from the prejudice of the dominant group.

In the second section under the heading, "Communities Composed Only of Minority-Group Members," only two non-sociologists considered ghettos as a response to prejudice and discrimination. It was pointed out that Harry S. Ashmore and sociologists agree that some Negroes view Ghettos as islands partly free from the prejudice of the dominant group.

James Baldwin, however, believes that ghettos are not viewed by minority-group members as places in which they can escape prejudice and discrimination. Since only two non-sociologists considered this topic and since both of them were in disagreement with each other, we are somewhat hesitant about drawing generalizations. Our findings do not indicate that sociologists and non-sociologists have similar or dissimilar points of view on this topic. Our findings merely indicate that one non-sociologist agrees with sociologists and one does not.

CHAPTER III

THE FUNCTIONS OF PREJUDICE

Many scholars have attempted to analyze prejudice in terms of the dominant group's economic, sexual, and psychological gains and have attempted to show that prejudice exists and is perpetuated because members of the dominant group are able to make staggering gains in these areas when there exists a first- and second-class citizenry. This section will compare views in race relations theory on the above topic with the ones expounded by the group of non-sociologists under consideration. The forms of prejudice are divided into three main divisions--economic, sexual, and psychological. The corresponding costs will be considered for the first and third areas.

Economic Gains of Prejudice.--Every non-sociologist under consideration contended that there have been economic costs and gains of prejudice. Nine of the ten non-sociologists contend that prejudice exists because dominant-group members are able to rack up substantial gains due to the existence of racial barriers. Table 4 shows the number of times that each author considered the theme of economic gains and costs of prejudice.

Table 4 shows that each author made references to the economic gains and costs of prejudice. The total number of references made by all the authors is seventy-five. Martin L. King, Jr., referred to the theme

above more than any of the other authors; he referred to the economic gains and costs of prejudice nineteen times. Robert P. Warren and William D. Workman made three references to the theme; they referred to the theme less than any of the other authors.

TABLE 4
ECONOMIC GAINS AND COSTS OF PREJUDICE

Authors	Frequency
Martin L. King, Jr.	19
James Baldwin	14
Harry S. Ashmore	12
Ralph and Carl Creger	9
John H. Griffin	9
James Peck	8
Mitchell and Peace	6
Dan Wakefield	5
Robert P. Warren	3
William D. Workman	3
Total	<u>75</u>

In most cases, the white upper-class and middle-class whites are the ones who gain economically from prejudice.¹ On this point, John Dollard states:

It is quite plain that the most active sources of antagonism between Negroes and whites lie between the middle-class whites and the Negroes. In promoting their own interests the white middle class uses any means at hand to fight competitors; this they do with whites and Negroes alike, of course, but in the case

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 261.

of Negroes the caste barrier and various other un-American methods of competition can also be used.¹

Because middle-class and upper-class whites own the major businesses and employ a greater bulk of the workers, they gain in the sense that minority-group members are usually salaried below the minimum wage law; this means greater profits. Again, these whites are able to avoid most of the dirty and undesirable types of work which usually turn out to be monotonous and manual. Because of the color of their skin, many whites who are uneducated are able to secure jobs that Negro Ph. D's are unsuccessful in getting.²

John H. Griffin, a non-sociologist, throughout his book stated that the Negro is handicapped economically because the whites have control of the best jobs. It is difficult for Negroes to gain employment in the South. Illustrating this point, Griffin tells of an incident in which he sought employment in Mobile, Alabama. He describes the incident as follows:

The foreman of one plant in Mobile, a large brute, allowed me to tell him what I could do. Then he looked at me in the face and spoke in these words:

"No, you couldn't get anything like that here."

His voice was not unkind. It was the dead voice one often hears. Determined to see if I could not break in somehow, I said: "But if I could do a better job, and you paid me less than a white man"

"I'll tell you . . . we don't want you people. Don't you understand that?"

¹John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (3rd ed.; New York, 1949), p. 128.

²Simpson and Yinger, op. cit.

"I know," I said with real sadness. "You can't blame a man for trying at least."

"No use trying down here," he said. "We're gradually getting you people weeded out from the better jobs at this plant. We're taking it slow, but we're doing it. Pretty soon we'll have it so the only jobs you can get here are the ones no white man would have."

"How can we live?" I asked hopelessly, careful not to give the impression I was arguing.

"That's the whole point," he said, looking me square in the eyes, but with some faint sympathy, as though he regretted the need to say what followed: "We're going to do our damndest to drive every one of you out of the state."¹

This quoted conversation that Griffin had with a foreman at a plant in Mobile tends to substantiate John Dollard's and Simpson and Yinger's conclusions that whites attempt to avoid the heavy manual and monotonous types of work which are considered most undesirable.² The whites are able to save the best jobs for themselves and pay the Negroes less for doing the most undesirable work. The above conversation also shows that Negroes encounter difficulty in securing jobs, much of this difficulty is due to the color of their skin. Since whites are able to save the best jobs for themselves, this is considered as an economic gain for them and a loss to Negroes.

Simpson and Yinger state that landlords are able to take advantage of minority-group members and to charge their tenants considerably

¹John H. Griffin, Black Like Me (New York, 1960), pp. 105-106.

²See John Dollard, op. cit., and Simpson and Yinger, op. cit.

higher rent because they are members of a minority and because of the limited opportunities for these persons to rent other homes in other areas.¹ In another chapter we considered the finding of Weatherford and Johnson in which Negroes were charged considerably higher rent than other groups.²

Harry Ashmore, agreeing with Weatherford and Johnson, and Simpson and Yinger, takes the position that white landlords make astonishing profits by renting slum property at a much higher cost than it is really worth. This is an economic gain to the landlords and a loss to Negroes. Ashmore says:

With all of this, square foot for square foot, and in terms of services rendered, the Negro usually pays more for housing than any other class of our citizens. Great profits in slum property are still possible for a callous investor; that such are still around is indicated by the tales of calculated exploitation that fill the docket of New York City's special housing court.³

James Baldwin says: "Now I think there is a very good reason why the Negro in this country has been treated for such a long time in such a cruel way, and some of the reasons are economic. . . ." ⁴ In Baldwin's opinion, money is the universally accepted symbol of status; the Negro has been deprived of economic advancement and, as a result, has very little status. In another chapter we considered Baldwin's opinion that the

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit.

²Weatherford and Johnson, op. cit.

³Harry S. Ashmore, op. cit., p. 109.

⁴James Baldwin, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

Negro in Harlem is exploited by his white landlords and the white merchants of the ghetto. In his opinion, the Negro is exploited by paying high rent, higher prices for the articles he buys in Harlem, for car insurance, and for housing outside the slum area. The Negro's lack of money has affected his status and has caused him to suffer economic deprivation. This, of course, costs the Negro greatly.

By branding a minority group inferior and inadequate, many labor unions are successful in keeping these persons from being admitted, thereby keeping the best jobs for themselves and keeping members of a minority from receiving adequate pay for their work. Many medical and professional organizations often limit the chances of professional members of a minority for vocational and professional training, advancement, and general acceptance in the community.¹

Agreeing with the above statement made by Simpson and Yinger, Ashmore states that labor unions have been instrumental in contributing to the Negro's low economic position. As a result, white labor-union workers have been able to reduce competition with the Negro and to monopolize certain facets of the labor industry. Ashmore says:

Hill's (Herbert Hill, the NAACP's national labor secretary) device was to call the roll of virtually every major union in the country, craft or industrial, and cite examples of discrimination against Negroes ranging from absolute bars of Negro apprenticeship, through Jim Crow Locals, to the failure of even open unions to give Negroes proper recognition in policy-making positions.²

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit.

²Harry S. Ashmore, op. cit., p. 79.

Ashmore concludes that labor unions are becoming more liberal, and Negroes are gaining more power in them as a result of their sheer weight of numbers.¹

Economic Costs of Prejudice.--There is a paradox in the above situation. A few members of the dominant group are able to make substantial gains from the existence of prejudice, but in the long run the entire community suffers from it. When a community or a corporation fails to hire the best possible manpower, regardless of the color of the applicant's skin, this is considered to be a loss to that community or corporation.

Fineberg says:

When an aviation company turns away excellent aviators--former fliers of Uncle Sam--because their skins are the wrong color or they don't worship in the right church, and when the company's officials put into the pilots' seats men less competent but with a more correct ancestry, the lives of all passengers are endangered. . . . Who loses when should-be clerks are made executives and should-be executives are turned into delivery boys?²

Robert MacIver mentions the economic cost of prejudice which lies in the area of housing. Discriminatory limitation on the supply of housing for Negroes means that owners of the houses have less incentive to maintain their property in decent condition. These houses will rent anyway since there is only a limited number of houses available for Negroes. Deterioration lowers the value of bordering property of white

¹Ibid.

²S. A. Fineberg, Punishment Without Crime (New York, 1949), pp. 60-61.

persons and injures the whole community through the total costs of slums.¹

Ashmore agrees with Robert MacIver that there are comparable losses in the maintenance of slums. Slums, maintained at a higher cost to Negroes, may enable the landlord to make great profits, but slums tend to hinder the development and beauty of a city. Landowners living near slum areas suffer inasmuch as their property is depreciated due to its proximity to such areas. In addition to these costs, the city and state in which slums are found pay for the existence of them in the sense of providing for public health patients. Were better jobs available, along with better housing conditions, the standard of living for Negroes would increase. When this happens, the city and state will not be burdened with high costs of providing medical care for slum dwellers.¹ Slums are not only economic costs to Negroes; they cost the city and state as well.

Since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision to desegregate the schools in the South, there has been much tension over the matter of school desegregation. As a consequence, many Northern industries have failed to move to the South. Simpson and Yinger have this comment to make on the issue in question:

In 1954, a representative of the Fantus Factory Locating Service in New York stated that "at least 20 corporation moving projects" on which his firm was working were being reconsidered in light of the conditions in the South. White employees of these

¹Robert M. MacIver (ed.), Discrimination and National Welfare, Institute for Religious and Social Studies (New York, 1949), pp. 21-22.

²Harry S. Ashmore, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

firms do not want to move into an area threatened by conflict and dissension; furthermore, more and more companies have Negro personnel to consider.¹

Martin L. King, Jr.'s analysis of the situation is somewhat similar to that of Simpson and Yinger. Throughout Stride Toward Freedom, King states that the Negro has been exploited economically, politically, and morally. However, the Negro has not suffered alone; the entire South has been stricken. King writes:

The region has marvelous possibilities, and once it came to itself and removed the blight of racial segregation, it would experience a moral, political, and economic boom hardly paralleled by any other section of the country.²

The above statement supports Simpson and Yinger's conclusion that the South has suffered in its attempts to exploit the Negro.³ Industries, says King, do not readily move to areas plagued by opposition to desegregation and tension over race relations.⁴

On the question of segregated schools, Simpson and Yinger state that the South pays extra for the duplication of expenditures on "separate but equal" facilities. Not only does the South pay more for its separate facilities, but in the long run it pays for inadequate education and less efficient services. "It is a case of buying a poorer product with more money."⁵ In a society like ours, characterized by high mobility, many

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 274.

²Martin L. King, Jr., op. cit., p. 10.

³Simpson and Yinger, op. cit.

⁴Martin L. King, Jr., op. cit.

⁵Simpson and Yinger, op. cit.

people live and go to school outside their region of birth; poor schools in one area vastly affect the life of every other area as well as their own since the poorly educated migrate, too. Simpson and Yinger write:

Desegregated schools that tried to maintain the standards set for white children would be more costly. The standards for Negro children have of course been very low in many areas and vastly need raising, and the long-run gains would be extensive.¹

Supporting Simpson and Yinger, the Cregers believe that poor schools for Negroes also cost the nation. These underdeveloped institutions turn out inadequately prepared students. Segregated schools cost the South twice as much to operate and still produce poorly educated students. These authors, pleading for racial equality and better schools for Negroes, state:

If they were able to do what they did in spite of the handicaps they endured, how many more might have been on the list if their opportunities had been equal to those of other Americans! Cures might have been discovered for diseases still incurable and discoveries made enabling us to outstrip Russia in the space program.²

John H. Griffin tells how poor schools and no education at all for Negroes become burdens to society as a whole. He states:

Our schools in the South don't compare to the white schools, poor as they are. You deprive a man of educational opportunities and he'll have no knowledge of the great civilizing influences of art, history, literature and philosophy.³

¹Ibid.

²Ralph and Carl Creger, This Is What We Found (New York, 1960), pp. 17-18.

³John H. Griffin, op. cit., pp. 96-97.

He goes on to say that uneducated Negroes lower the educational standard of the nation. Plus, Negroes who are uneducated encounter greater difficulty in securing employment; when they cannot find employment, they become the burden of the state in the sense that they must be provided with welfare aid. Therefore, white citizens without their knowledge oftentimes pay for the Negro's unemployment.¹

A prejudice that has permitted a minority of the dominant whites in the South to exploit Negro labor is one of the key factors in the poverty of many of the white people of the region. Johnson noted that this situation goes back to the time of slavery in the following manner:

The plantation system did not require whites in any large numbers, and the lack of industries limited the growth both of a middle class and of white-collar workers. The "tarheelers" and the "sand hillers" of the Carolinas, the "crackers" of Georgia, the "red necks" of Alabama . . . together with others of the lower middle and lower classes, felt the brunt of the slave system. While the planters lived in the rich river bottoms, the poorer whites lived in the hills, nursing their illusion of a common destiny by virtue of a common color. The two classes seldom came into contact where dangerous economic contrasts could be made. The interclass struggle, hatred, and antagonism of the poorer whites were mitigated by this categorical segregation and by the consoling rationalization of the superiority to the black labor that was controlled by the planters.²

Many lower-class whites continue to suffer economically from a system that gets a large share of its labor from a suppressed group. "The

¹Ibid., pp. 97-98.

²Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation (New York, 1943), p. 79.

adverse effects for the whole nation are heightened in an economy based on specialization and the division of labor, where the functional inter-relatedness makes each individual highly dependent upon others."¹

Ralph and Carl Creger, non-sociologists, state that slavery was first initiated for profit; the slave owners could get a great deal of work from the slaves without paying them a salary. On this problem they state:

Most planters believe there was more profit in working a slave to death in eight to ten years and then buying another strong replacement than in working him moderately for twenty years. . . .²

Profit was the slaveholder's motive³

Supporting a conclusion drawn by Johnson, and Simpson and Yinger, the Cregers contend that the poor whites have suffered along with the Negro. They state:

The businessman could be reasonably sure of cheap labor so long as the white working man was so busy keeping the Negro in line that he hardly had time to consider the benefits of the organization. If there was any talk of organization, all management had to do was drop a few hints and there was plenty of Negro labor available at an even cheaper price.⁴

In this section, the non-sociologists and sociologists were in agreement. Their findings, assumptions, and statements were similar on the following points concerning the economic gains of prejudice:

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 276.

²Ralph and Carl Creger, op. cit., p. 19.

³Ibid., p. 20.

⁴Ibid.

- (a) Slavery was initiated for profit.
- (b) Upper-class and middle-class whites are usually the ones who gain economically from prejudice since they own the major businesses and employ a greater bulk of the workers.
- (c) Landlords are able to charge Negro tenants rent higher than other minority groups and to make staggering profits without improving their property.
- (d) White labor-union leaders have been successful in denying Negroes admission, thereby saving the best jobs for themselves and making higher wages for their labor.

The statements and assumptions of non-sociologists were similar to the research findings and conclusions of sociologists on the economic costs of prejudice. They agree that:

- (a) Landlords who allow their property to deteriorate are somewhat responsible for the depreciation of bordering property.
- (b) Tension in the South has caused many Northern industries to shy away from the region.
- (c) The South pays extra for the duplication of expenditures on segregated schools. These schools, however, produce poorly trained students.
- (d) A prejudice that has permitted some whites to make economic gains is a key factor in the poverty of lower-class whites.

Sexual Gains of Prejudice.--John Dollard's publication, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, has directed much attention to the sexual gains of prejudice. Since the dominant-group men are usually the ones to gain sexually and since the oppressed group usually has little choice in the matter, our attention will be directed to the sexual gains of the whites due to the existence of prejudice and discrimination in America. "Sexual gain" is defined as:

. . .the fact that the white men, by virtue of their . . . position, have access to two classes of women, those of the white and Negro (group). The same condition is somewhat true of the Negro women, except that they are rather the objects of the gain than the choosers.¹

Women of the white group and Negro men are somewhat restricted to their own races.

Seven of the ten non-sociologists under consideration made mention of the sexual gains of prejudice. Table 5 shows the rank order and frequency of the non-sociologists' reference to the sexual gains of prejudice. Table 5 shows that Martin L. King, Jr., Harry S. Ashmore, and William D. Workman did not mention the sexual gains of prejudice in their books. James Baldwin makes the highest number of references, ten, to the theme in question.

Martin L. King, Jr. and Harry Ashmore do not consider mixed sexual relationships in any sense in their books. Workman, however, did not consider the sexual gains of prejudice, but he did devote a few statements to the argument for racial integrity. Workman believes that deseg-

¹John Dollard, op. cit., p. 135.

regation would lead to racial amalgamation and urges whites and Negroes to oppose it in an effort to "keep the races pure."¹ A few statements from Workman's book will help to illustrate this point.

The intermarriage potential within a fully integrated society is something Southerners do not wish to risk, even if their fears were subsequently proved to be groundless. The chance is too great a one to take, for if intermarriage on a considerable scale were to result, there could be no effective turning back by the time the mistake were discovered.²

With or without the backing of anthropologists, he finds complete repugnance in the idea of any mixing of the races, and that is one of his fundamental objections to racial integration in the public schools. There is a fierce pride of race among Southerners who have come by such an Anglo-Saxon concept either by heritage or by adoption, and that pride countenances no adulteration of the white family stock.³

TABLE 5

THE SEXUAL GAINS OF PREJUDICE

Authors	Frequency
James Baldwin	10
John H. Griffin	6
Ralph and Carl Creger	4
Dan Wakefield	4
Mitchell and Peace	3
Robert P. Warren	2
James Peck	1
Harry S. Ashmore	0
Martin L. King, Jr.	0
William D. Workman	0
Total	30

¹William D. Workman, op. cit., p. 88.

²Ibid., p. 46.

³Ibid., p. 212.

These statements were quoted to show Workman's position on mixed sexual relationships. He speaks about intermarriage in most cases, but the general attitude of the book indicates that he is not in favor of the purely erotic relations which do not necessarily lead to marriage. He never makes the statement, but it is implied strongly that there have only been sexual losses, primarily to the white men, in mixed relationships since these affairs oftentimes produce mixed bloods, an abominable fact in Workman's thinking. It is important to note that Workman does not disagree with the statement made by Simpson and Yinger which says that "the crossing of quite different racial stocks does not result in physical disharmonies."¹ He merely states that the Southerner ". . . finds complete repugnance in the idea of any mixing of the races . . ."² If one views his statement in this sense, Workman does not contradict the findings of social scientists, particularly anthropologists.

It is appropriate now to compare some of the assumptions made by the non-sociologists who considered the sexual gains of prejudice with the research findings and conclusions of sociologists. Since many of the non-sociologists' points of view are similar, it is not necessary to give attention to each of their positions.

Agreeing with John Dollard, John H. Griffin takes the position that white men in the South are able to secure Negro women because of their superior position. If they are employers of Negro women, it is no

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 55.

²William D. Workman, op. cit., p. 88.

trouble to threaten them into having an affair. In telling of one of his encounters with white men as he hitchhiked through the South, Griffin states:

I stared at my black hands, saw the gold wedding band and mumbled something meaningless, hoping he would see my reticence. He overrode my feelings and the conversation grew more salacious. He told me how all the white men in the region craved colored girls. He said he hired a lot of them both for housework and in his business. "And I guarantee you, I've had it in every one of them before they ever got on the payroll."¹

John Dollard, after extensive research, concluded that ". . . white men, by virtue of their caste position, have access to two classes of women, those of the white and Negro castes."² His conclusion is very much similar to Griffin's analysis of the situation. Dollard says that mixed relations are prevalent in Southerntown; Griffin says that "Mongrelization is already a widespread reality in the South--it has been exclusively the white man's contribution to the Southern Way of Life."³ Negro men and white women are limited, for the most part, to their own races in sexual choices.

The total effects of mixed sexual relations are not felt in the immediate sexual contact. Sexual contacts between dominant-group men and minority-group women influence the nature of the relationships between the dominant men and women and the family patterns of the majority and

¹John H. Griffin, op. cit., p. 108.

²John Dollard, op. cit., p. 135.

³John H. Griffin, op. cit., p. 109.

minority groups. Men and women who defy racial barriers and participate in mixed sexual relations often encounter grave feelings of guilt and frustration. The men of the oppressed group encounter feelings of inadequacy, persecution, and many other frustrations directly related to the dual morality code.¹ Again, mixed offsprings can be a source of tension between the husband and wife of a Negro family. On this question, Dollard says:

The presence of a very light child in a Negro family is, as would be suspected, a constant possible source of discontent since it opens the way to the suspicion that this child has been fathered by a white man. Lightness in children, though seeming to be desired, can be a disadvantage from this standpoint.²

In "Southerntown," Dollard found that this practice was more widespread among white men of middle-class status. Nevertheless, he states: "This gain probably accrues to lower-class as well as to middle-class white men, although in Southerntown itself the main white group is of middle-class status."³

Simpson and Yinger state that mixed sexual relationships are declining as race consciousness grows. Dollard is not sure that this is true. He says that "It is probably true that acts of intercourse result in fewer children than in former days and that the bulk of sexual relationships does not produce children."⁴ But, one cannot be sure that sexual

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 262.

²John Dollard, op. cit., p. 152.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 141.

relationships are fewer since no one is willing ". . . to make a census on the matter."¹ Of course, it must be remembered that Dollard speaks only for Southerntown; also, his views were published much earlier than the views of Simpson and Yinger.

Dan Wakefield takes the position that whites make violent attempts to preserve the status quo of segregation ". . . because the whole area of sexual guilt and fear is, and has always been, a potent and primary factor"² White men have exploited the Negro women sexually and are afraid that Negro men will make reprisals once they are in power. Simpson and Yinger state that many of the myths created by white men about Negro males are the result of their fear that Negro males and white females will engage in sexual relations as has been the case with white males and Negro females. There seems to be agreement between the sociologists and Wakefield.

James Baldwin observed, "The Northern Negro in the South sees, whatever he or anyone else may wish to believe, that his ancestors are both white and black. The white men, flesh of his flesh, hate him for that very reason."³ In Baldwin's opinion, racial conflict and hatred in the South are due to the white man's exploitation of the Negro woman. Baldwin reports this conversation with two Southern Negroes:

"Integration," said a very light Negro to me in Alabama, "has always worked very well in the South,

¹Ibid.

²Dan Wakefield, Revolt in the South (New York, 1960), p. 96.

³James Baldwin, op. cit., p. 112.

after the sun goes down." "It's not miscegenation," said another Negro to me, "unless a black man is involved."¹

John Dollard observed that in Southerntown much of the tension between the races was due to the sexual relations among white men and Negro women. Negroes often showed signs of resentment to the white men's appearance in Negro neighborhoods after dark. On this point, Dollard states that:

. . . some years ago the tension between the races increased in Southerntown; white men were coming with a growing frequency into the Negro district to prostitutes and other women. The Negro men became more and more indignant and finally determined on action.²

This statement by Dollard seems to justify Baldwin's conclusion that racial conflict and hatred in the South are, in some respects, due to the white man's exploitation of the Negro woman.

Baldwin, along with the other six non-sociologists who considered the topic under discussion, agrees with Simpson and Yinger that white men of the South are guilt-ridden. He says: "Perhaps the master who had coupled with his slave saw his guilt in his wife's pale eyes in the morning. And the wife saw his children in the slave quarters. . . ."³

The non-sociologists who considered the sexual gains of prejudice tended to support race relations theory on this issue. It is well to bear in mind that race relations theory, in our case, has reference to the research findings, conclusions and assumptions of reputable sociologists.

¹Ibid., p. 115.

²John Dollard, op. cit., p. 155.

³James Baldwin, op. cit., p. 109.

Griffin, Baldwin, Wakefield, Mitchell and Peace, Warren, and Peck believe that most of the mixed sexual contact has been between the men of the majority with the women of the minority groups. This is a research finding of John Dollard, a reputable sociologist. All seven of the non-sociologists who have given consideration to this question believe that certain guilt feelings and frustrations develop as a result of individuals' breaking or crossing racial barriers. This supports the contentions and conclusions of Simpson and Yinger and the research findings of John Dollard.

The Psychological Gains and Costs of Prejudice.--The psychological gains of prejudice are defined as the dominant-group members' feeling or belief that they are not just average members of society but are to some degree special and important. This is accomplished by believing that they are superior and by deluding Negroes into believing that they are inferior. Coupled with this has been the whites' insistence, and Negroes' too, to a certain extent, that minority-group members should exhibit deferential forms of behavior in the presence of whites.¹

There are, however, concomitant losses or personality costs of prejudice. "Seldom are the gains achieved without cost to the individual and to the group."² It is the opinion of Simpson and Yinger that the losses far outweigh the gains in terms of the values of the prejudiced persons themselves. In a complex society where all members are dependent

¹Allison Davis et al., Deep South (Chicago, 1941), pp. 22-24.

²Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 265.

upon each other, it is impossible for a dominant group to inflict penalties on minority groups without being penalized itself.¹

All ten of the non-sociologists under consideration made mention of the psychological gains of prejudice. Table 6 shows the rank order and frequency of the non-sociologists' references to the theme of psychological gains and costs of prejudice.

TABLE 6
THE PSYCHOLOGICAL GAINS AND LOSSES OF PREJUDICE

Authors	Frequency
William D. Workman	14
John H. Griffin	13
James Baldwin	8
Ralph and Carl Creger	6
Dan Wakefield	6
James Peck	4
Martin L. King, Jr.	3
Harry S. Ashmore	2
Mitchell and Peace	2
Robert P. Warren	1
Total	59

Each author considered the problem of psychological gains and losses of prejudice.

The Psychological Gains of Prejudice.--Betram Doyle feels that the psychological gains of prejudice have their roots in slavery. The slave

¹Ibid.

master created for the Negro an image of himself and the Negro. The slave being oppressed had no other choice except to accommodate the master in following the prescribed rules of etiquette. While the slave was taught that the whites were superior, he was also taught to ". . . look upon himself as a 'nigger.' The word, it seems, conveyed a notion of low status."¹ For reasons of survival, the slave usually showed himself to be "inferior" in his master's eyesight; often he thought of himself as being inferior--but this was not always the case.² Doyle says, "Negroes, then, tended to accept the status of subordinates, to adapt themselves to it, and to support the adaptation with the appropriate attitudes and sentiments."³

Simpson and Yinger state that the white man's desire for prestige is common. They state:

If a whole group of fellow human beings can be kept in an inferior position and especially if they can be made to give daily signs of deference and humility--and if I can persuade myself by a system of beliefs that they are really inferior--I can get a comforting feeling of prestige that my own individual achievements might not command.⁴

In contrasting the prestige gain in the North with the gain in the South, Dollard states that Northerners are able to secure a prestige

¹Betram Doyle, The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South (Chicago, 1937), p. 71.

²E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States (New York, 1949), p. 38.

³Betram Doyle, op. cit., p. 73.

⁴Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 263.

position because they are old, learned, or have money. In the South, this does not have to be the case. The white man in the South has prestige simply because he is white.¹ Dollard says:

The gain here is very simple. It consists in the fact that a member of the white caste has an automatic right to demand forms of behavior from Negroes which serve to increase his own self-esteem. To put it another way, it consists of an illumination of the image of the self, an expansive feeling of being something special and valuable.²

Dollard offers two possible motives for the Negro's submissive behavior. One possible motive is that the repressed antagonism of the Negro is replaced and concealed by servile behavior. "A second motive will probably be that of identification with the socially powerful white man, accompanied by idealization, pride in the white man, permissiveness, and a wish to serve him."³ This second motive usually leads the Negro to desire to be like the white man.

Dollard states that it must be remembered that such behavior is demanded of the Negro, sometimes by force. "Negroes who do not exhibit it are 'getting out of their place,' are 'uppity,' are 'getting above themselves,' and there is a way of dealing with them."⁴

The demand for submission and adulation from Negroes may have its roots in the white man's passion for dominating others and having them

¹John Dollard, op. cit., p. 174.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 175.

⁴Ibid.

behave in a desired manner. Agreeing with Simpson and Yinger, Dollard says that this passion is "common" and "human."¹

Some submissive responses of Negroes to whites, as given by Dollard, are: the use of "Mr." as a white man's mark and the omission of it in speaking to Negroes; the lifting of hats by Negro men when whites pass; the continual flow of agreement by the Negro while a white man is talking, such as "Yes, boss," "Sho nuff," "Well, I declare," and the like.² Dollard says:

Here is the sort of submissive response that white men like: A white man speaks to a Negro, "How are you, Sam?" Sam: "Oh, pretty good for an old nigger." In this case the Negro takes toward himself the derogatory attitude of the white man, calls himself by the name "nigger" which has so much negative affect for Negroes.³

Considering the psychological gains the white man has received because of the existence of prejudice, James Baldwin says that the white man needs the Negro in the sense that the Negro can be used as a yardstick. The white man has deemed himself superior, the Negro inferior; and has done all within his power to see that the Negro accepts his position and "stays in his place."

Baldwin says:

In a way the Negro tells us where the bottom is: because he is there, and where he is, beneath us, we know where the limits are and how far we must not fall. We must not fall beneath him. We must never allow ourselves to fall that low, and I am not trying

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., pp. 179-180.

³Ibid., p. 179.

to be cynical or sardonic. I think if one examines the myths which have proliferated in this country concerning the Negro, one discovers beneath these myths a kind of sleeping terror of some condition which we refuse to imagine.¹

F. Henderson Moore's article, "School Desegregation," which appears in Angry Black South, states that the white man has been so successful in promulgating the myth of his superiority that some Negroes today believe that the white man is superior. This means that the white man has been successful in creating for himself a prestige position in society, a psychological gain. Moore states:

Still remaining with many Negro people is a belief in the supremacy of the white man. This causes alarm and serious concern on the part of Negro leaders. The brainwashing of Negro slaves by the early slavemasters is reflected in the attitude of some Negroes long after the abolition of slavery. There are Negroes who feel that the white man has done them a great favor, and for this they should always walk humbly in his sight.²

Workman, on the other hand, says that it is no myth that the white man is superior; it is the truth. He speaks as though the white man's superiority and the Negro's inferiority are inherited and irrevocable. Because both races understand this, "white men and black men . . . have lived together in peaceful co-existence in the South for a long time, and can continue to do so"³ Prejudice and discrimination in Workman's opinion are not a prejudgment or a denial of rights and opportunities for

¹James Baldwin, op. cit., p. 133.

²F. Henderson Moore, "School Desegregation," Angry Black South, ed. G. E. Mitchell and W. Peace, III (New York, 1962), p. 59.

³William D. Workman, op. cit., p. viii.

Negroes. These are looked upon as a recognition of the fact that Negroes are innately inferior. The white man is prejudiced, he says, but only to the extent that he recognizes that the Negro ". . . cannot possibly be equal to the white man."¹ Workman makes the following statement:

. . .and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which, I believe, will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.²

Workman, a white Southerner, has come to believe in the superiority of the white man and in the inferiority of the Negro--definitely a psychological gain on the part of the white man.

The Psychological Costs of Prejudice.--Simpson and Yinger define prejudice as a "categorical prejudgment of an individual because he is classified as a member of a particular group."³ Prejudice, they say, is not based upon facts but upon a judgment before the facts are presented. Individuals who are prejudiced tend to lose contact with reality inasmuch as they attempt to know and judge without the proper evidence being presented. In the opinion of Simpson and Yinger, whites pay a cost of ignorance:

One of the inevitable effects of such judgment-before-the-fact applying to a greater or less degree,

¹Ibid., p. 27.

²Ibid., p. 45.

³Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 263.

is a loss of contact with reality. Rationality is held in high esteem in our society. It is contradicted by prejudice, which furnishes a greatly oversimplified or completely inaccurate "explanation" of one's difficulties and often also a program of action that is supposed to solve them. Because it is blind to the real causes, this program of action is unable to effect a real cure.¹

On the same point, T. C. Cothran states that ". . . when two racial groups are in superordinate and subordinate positions and are at the same time oriented toward the same goals such as are implicit in the 'American Creed,' each group tends to develop and hold unfavorable stereotyped conceptions of the other."² These unfavorable stereotyped conceptions are usually misconceptions in the sense that they do not portray reality. Stereotypes are inaccurate, oversimplified "explanations" of a particular group or its characteristics. Members of racial groups who hold these conceptions incur grave psychological costs in the sense that they are deluding themselves and are erroneously categorizing others.

Gunnar Myrdal also gives consideration to the cost of prejudice. He refers to the whites' lack of information and abundance of misinformation about Negroes as follows:

It thus happens that not only the man in the street, but also the professional man, shows ignorance in his own field. One meets physicians who hold absurd ideas about the anatomical characteristics of the Negro people or about the frequency of disease among the Negroes in their own

¹Ibid.

²T. C. Cothran, op. cit., p. 252.

community; educators who have succeeded in keeping wholly unaware of the results of modern intelligence research; lawyers who believe that practically all the lynchings are caused by rape

The ignorance about the Negro is the more striking as the Southerner is himself convinced that he "knows" the Negro, while the Yankee is supposedly ignorant on the subject In fact, the average Southerner "knows" the Negro and the interracial problem as the patient "knows" the toothache--in the sense that he feels a concern--not as the diagnosing dentist knows his own patient's trouble

The ignorance about the Negro is not, it must be stressed, just a random lack of interest and knowledge. It is a tense and highstrung restrict and distortion of knowledge, and it indicates much deeper dislocations within the minds of the Southern whites

The stereotypes are ideological fragments which have been coined and sanctioned. They are abstract and unqualified, as popular thinking and popular belief tend to be. They express a belief that "all niggers" are thus and so. But, in addition, they are loaded with pretention to deep insight.¹

Hortense Powdermaker states that the meek and unaggressive or deference behavior of Negroes is not lacking in hostility. This type of behavior was forced upon the Negro by circumstance and taught by culture.² Simpson and Yinger add that because the Negro has been forced to resort to deference behavior--but has not fully accepted--the white man has often been led to believe that he knows the Negro. In their opinion,

¹Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York, 1944), pp. 40-42.

²Hortense Powdermaker, "The Challenging of Negro Aggression by the Cultural Process," American Journal of Sociology, VII (May, 1943), 750-758.

this is a psychological cost to the white man inasmuch as he is ignorant of the Negro and is not aware of it.¹

The cost of moral ambivalence is another personality consequence of prejudice. It has reference to the development of mutually contradictory views of life which cause one to be at odds with himself.²

The democratic and Christian ideologies teach that men are created equal while the Southerners have divided the races into "superior" and "inferior" categories. The Southern ideology is not consistent with the democratic and Christian ideologies, yet Southerners cling to both. This produces frustration. Simpson and Yinger say:

What are the effects on the white child of being taught a democratic and Christian ideology and then also being taught, by words and actions, the contrary ideology of intergroup prejudice? The prejudice encourages him to displace his hostilities onto members of the socially designated "inferior" groups, but his democratic and Christian training prevents him from being quite sure of himself. There is a burden of guilt which will not, for the most part, be consciously recognized but will be projected onto the minority group, with further feelings of hostility, more aggression, and intensified feelings of guilt.³

In Myrdal's opinion, moral ambivalence is the most important factor in race relations in the United States. He writes as follows:

Though our study includes economic, social, and political race relations, at bottom of our problem is the moral dilemma of the American--

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 240.

²Ibid., p. 268.

³Ibid.

the conflict between his moral valuations on various levels of consciousness and generality. The "American Dilemma," referred to in the title of this book, is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests; economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook.¹

A non-sociologist, John H. Griffin encountered many whites in his travels throughout the South. He says that many of them think of themselves as being superior to Negroes.² Because a Negro in the presence of a white man is thought to be unfit and inferior, many of them asked Griffin foolish and strange questions about Negroes and their sexual relationships, questions which they would not dare ask in the presence of other whites. He says:

All showed morbid curiosity about the sexual life of the Negro, and all had, at base, the same stereotyped image of the Negro as an inexhaustible sex-machine with oversized genitals and a vast store of experiences, immensely varied.³

Due to the lack of communication and contact between the races, Negroes and whites grow up ignorant of each other. Griffin concludes:

The Negro does not understand the whites any more than the whites understand the Negro. I was

¹Gunnar Myrdal, op. cit., p. xliii.

²John H. Griffin, op. cit., p. 65.

³Ibid., p. 91.

dismayed to see the extent to which this youth exaggerated--how could he do otherwise?--the feelings of the whites toward Negroes. He thought they all hated him.¹

Griffin states that this lack of communication and contact between the races not only causes the races to become ignorant of each other, but has given rise to racism among Negroes. This he calls, ". . . a senseless tragedy of ignorant against ignorant, injustice answering injustice--a holocaust that will drag down the innocent and right-thinking masses of human beings."² Simpson and Yinger arrived at basically the same conclusion. After observing segregated communities, characterized by a lack of contact between the races, they concluded that these communities have a decided tendency to develop a spirit of ultranationalism. Individuals living within such communities have a tendency to promulgate ideas of racial superiority.³ This conclusion, however, was also considered in another chapter.

On the point of lack of communication and understanding between the races, Warren comments on how ignorant the races are of each other. In one of his conversations, he discovered that an Episcopal rector had been informed by his bishop that the skull of the Negro was limited in capacity. Warren writes:

I ask the Episcopal rector, in the Deep South, a large handsome man, almost the twin of my friend sitting in the fine office overlooking the rich city. He has just told me that when he first came

¹Ibid., p. 175.

²Ibid., p. 176.

³Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 234.

down from the North, a generation back, his bishop had explained it all to him, how the Negroes' skull capacity was limited. But as he said, brain power isn't everything¹

The Cregers point out some of the contradictions and inconsistencies in the white man's thinking. These contradictions and inconsistencies are considered as psychological losses to the white personality in the sense that the individual adheres to two opposing philosophies. Pointing out some of the inconsistencies of whites, these non-sociologists state:

We have sometimes tried to justify our actions on the assumption that certain races are inferior to others. It has never been proved that any races are inherently inferior or superior.

We criticize the Negro for being inferior, but we save our bitterest criticism for those Negroes obviously not inferior²

Martin L. King agrees with Simpson and Yinger who state that inconsistencies in the thinking and beliefs of whites often lead to their frustration, a psychological cost in our thinking. King says that white Americans, thinking themselves superior, have adhered to contradictory philosophies concerning the question of race. They profess to the teaching of democracy and practice the very antithesis of democracy. King describes the situation as follows:

Indeed, segregation and discrimination are strange paradoxes in a nation founded on the

¹R. P. Warren, Segregation, The Inner Conflict in the South (New York, 1956), p. 50.

²Ralph and Carl Creger, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

principle that all men are created equal. This contradiction has disturbed the consciences of whites both North and South, and has caused many of them to see that segregation is basically evil.¹

King believes that these contradictory philosophies give rise to frustration and tension within the whites. Because they cling to inconsistent philosophies, whites are constantly at odds with themselves.²

The non-sociologists agree that the white man has received deference or psychological gains from the existence of prejudice. The white man has created a status position for himself and has denied the Negro the same. Because he belongs to a prestige group, the white man has been able to demand the reverence of the Negro. This, in essence, confirms or is in agreement with the research findings, conclusions, assumptions of sociologists Simpson and Yinger, Gunnar Myrdal, Betram Doyle, and John Dollard. These sociologists state that the white man has been successful in carving out for himself a prestige position. Because he is white and has promulgated the idea of his superiority, he is able to look upon the Negro as being inferior and himself as superior.

The same holds true for the psychological losses of prejudice. Both groups, the sociologists and the non-sociologists, agree that there have been psychological costs of prejudice. Due to the lack of communication between the races, there has developed ignorance of both races of each other. By clinging to inconsistent philosophies, the white Americans have experienced frustration and have been at odds with themselves.

¹Martin L. King, Jr., op. cit., pp. 190-191.

²Ibid.

Conclusions.--This chapter considered the economic costs and gains, the sexual gains, and the psychological costs and gains of prejudice.

In the first section of this chapter, we found that all the non-sociologists agreed with sociologists that there have been definite economic costs and gains of prejudice.

Nine of the non-sociologists agree with sociologists that there have been sexual gains of prejudice, largely in the favor of upper-and middle-class white men. Workman was the only non-sociologist to imply that mixed sexual relationships were costs to all whites who cherish racial integrity.

Because the whites have created a myth of their superiority which both whites and Negroes have been encouraged, if not forced, to believe was true, they enjoy a prestige or psychological gain of prejudice. Ignorance of the Negro and moral ambivalence are viewed by sociologists and non-sociologists as personality costs of prejudice.

In this chapter there was, for the most part, strong agreement between sociologists and non-sociologists. Only in one case was there disagreement. Workman, contradicting the white males' sexual gains of prejudice, shows a definite white bias. It must be remembered, though, that Workman is writing in defense of segregation and attempts to present the views of the average white Southerner.

CHAPTER IV

INDIRECT AGGRESSION AS A RESPONSE TO PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

This chapter attempts to compare the assumptions of non-sociologists with the research findings and conclusions of sociologists on two forms of indirect aggression. The two forms of indirect aggression that will be considered are "inefficiency among Negro workers" and "displaced aggression." Indirect aggression, in this case, is viewed as a response or an adjustment to prejudice and discrimination. Indirect aggression is viewed in terms of (1) the individual's use of rather subtle and covert means of striking back against prejudice and discrimination, and (2) his attacks on substitute targets.

In the first case, indirect aggression is seen in the case of Negroes working slowly or awkwardly on a job so as to lower the rate of production. In the second case, it may be viewed as displaced aggression in the sense that the aggressor does not attack the source of his frustration; he attacks a scapegoat, a less powerful and more defenseless substitute. A Negro man, for instance, enraged with his white employer, may attack another Negro man or his own wife or children in an effort to relieve his feelings of hostility and thus reduce the tension. In this case a substitute object is attacked; the source of his difficulty is not attacked.

All of the non-sociologists under consideration made references to, or inferences and assumptions about, indirect aggression as a response to prejudice and discrimination. Table 7 shows the rank order and number of times each non-sociologist considered the question or theme of indirect aggression as a response or adjustment to prejudice and discrimination.

TABLE 7
INDIRECT AGGRESSION

Authors	Frequency
James Baldwin	12
John H. Griffin	6
William D. Workman	6
Harry S. Ashmore	5
Mitchell and Peace	5
Ralph and Carl Creger	4
Martin L. King, Jr.	4
Dan Wakefield	4
James Peck	1
Robert P. Warren	1
Total	<u>48</u>

James Baldwin gave more consideration to the problem of indirect aggression as a response to prejudice and discrimination than any of the other non-sociologists. Baldwin considered the problem twelve times, which is twice as much as the next two writers, John H. Griffin and William D. Workman, who considered the problem six times.

It should be kept in mind that this table shows the number of times these non-sociologists considered both forms of indirect aggression, "inefficiency among Negro workers" and "displaced aggression." The reason for combining these two is that these forms of indirect aggression

are very similar; so much so that several of the non-sociologists confused or fused the two. For instance, Ralph and Carl Creger state: "It is no wonder that the Negro appears shiftless and lazy. This is his way of showing his hostility. He cannot attack his powerful oppressors--not directly--but he can be, and often is, successful in displacing or redirecting his hostility on to a substitute target--his employer's time and money."¹ This statement combines the two forms of indirect aggression under consideration; and it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the two in many of the non-sociologists' work.

Inefficiency Among Negro Workers.--This form of aggression can be used by even the most powerless member of an oppressed group. Many Negroes, who are afraid of being threatened by economic reprisals, imprisonment, and possibly the loss of their lives, become aggressive in the sense that they work slowly and awkwardly, or leave a job entirely if the treatment is too offensive.² Inefficient employees are costly; whites and Negroes both realize this.

Many whites, however, attempt to justify their claim that the Negro is inferior by pointing to instances of inefficient work performed by Negroes. They fail ". . . to see that, whether by conscious intent or by lack of motivation, it is an expression of hostility and primarily a result of the low ceiling on opportunity which they impose on the minority group."³

¹Ralph and Carl Creger, op. cit., p. 26.

²Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 244.

³Ibid.

Simpson and Yinger take the position that irresponsible or awkward work is a natural personality consequence of being underpaid and overworked.¹ An individual feels that he must perform the amount of work equal to his pay; therefore, his work out-put becomes less when the working conditions are not to his liking and his salary is below standard.

In instances where the worker cannot afford to leave a job entirely, due to family obligations, for instance, he still may become aggressive indirectly: "A Negro field hand or unskilled factory worker or janitor may not dare to stop work entirely, but he can be careless with the white man's time and goods."²

In rural areas where the white farmers are heavily dependent upon Negro labor, Dollard noticed a considerable amount of retaliation on the part of Negroes in the sense of a high rate of mobility. He says:

We must also consider the high labor turnover among plantation Negroes Moving away is a form of retaliation that exasperates planters who want an efficient but stationary labor force. It is troublesome and expensive to have a constant shifting of tenant families. But one of the few things made absolutely secure to Negroes by emancipation was freedom of geographic mobility, and this they use in part to express their discontent with the conditions under which they work.³

Dollard further states that the use of this type of aggression by Negroes sometimes works against their interests and welfare. Oftentimes they are not successful in finding another job; many times they would much prefer

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³John Dollard, op. cit., p. 302.

to remain in the company of friends and relatives. Nevertheless, " . . . it evidently gives some satisfaction."¹ Dollard writes:

Oftentimes just to go away is one of the most aggressive things that another person can do, and if means of expressing discontent are limited, as in this case, it is one of the few ways in which pressure can be put on. The alarm of the whites and the exultation of Negroes at the mass migrations to the North are evidence of how effective this pressure can be; it will continue to be so long as the Negroes are needed for plantation labor, but of course no longer.²

Even if it is true that this particular type of indirect aggression will continue only as long as Negroes are needed for plantation labor, it seems likely that other forms of indirect aggression will continue as long as ". . . any work situation in which lack of confidence in the employers and lack of hope for advancement lead to low morale."³

Ralph and Carl Creger take the position that the Negro has a right to become lazy and inefficient. The job ceiling for Negroes is so low and his salary is so small that ". . . anyone would show a lack of concern under these conditions."⁴ In their opinion, the Negro's inefficiency is ". . . his way of showing hostility. He cannot attack his powerful oppressors--not directly--but he can be, and often is, successful in displacing . . . his hostility on to a substitute object--his employer's time and money."⁵ This statement combines the two forms of indirect

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Simpson and Yinger, op. cit.

⁴Ralph and Carl Creger, op. cit.

⁵Ibid.

aggression under consideration. It also supports Dollard's contention, as well as the contention of Simpson and Yinger,¹ that if Negroes were paid higher wages by their employers, they would not be tempted to resort to certain forms of aggression.

Dollard states that some Negro women encourage mixed sexual relationships; this is an aggressive way of retaliating against white women who think they are superior and pay their maids and cooks meager salaries. This gives the maids and cooks a chance to retaliate and to earn extra remuneration.² Another type of retaliation that these Negro servants often resort to is leaving their jobs without warning. Dollard says:

White women frequently complain that their Negro cooks and servants never have the courage to let them know before they leave. They just disappear some day after a pay day. One housewife, a good natural psychologist, said that she always suspects that they are about to leave whenever they come around to praise her or "make over her" especially.³

Dollard believes that the Negro cooks and servants are afraid to reveal their intention in advance. In the case above, the acts of praise are viewed as an apology in advance for what they intend to do or ". . . the Negro woman views leaving as an aggressive act and fears to confess her intention lest she be stopped somehow or argued out of going.⁴ He says, "By leaving an unpleasant situation, she says, 'I may be inferior and

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit.

²John Dollard, op. cit.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

you may have advantages over me, but at least you do not own my body."¹

Since most non-sociologists tended to combine the two forms of indirect aggression and it is difficult to separate them, we find it necessary to consider more of their views under the next heading. We shall also attempt to point out how the non-sociologists attempted to combine the two forms.

Displaced Aggression.--Displaced aggression has reference to the Negro's attempt to cope with a prejudiced situation. Much of his aggression, instead of being directed against the dominant group, the source of his frustration, is redirected against his fellows or other substitute targets. The idea is sometimes referred to as the "frustration-aggression hypothesis." This hypothesis has been particularly useful in explaining the hostility and tensions that characterize the interaction within a minority group. It should not be supposed that all of the aggression within a minority group is the result of the redirection of hostility: "Some of it is simply a product of the normal interaction within the group, the prejudice of the majority, at most, is an indirect factor."²

Nevertheless, according to Simpson and Yinger, it does seem likely that some of the violence and hostility found among Negroes toward other Negroes can be explained by displaced aggression.³

Being unable to attack what one believes is the true source of difficulty because of its power, or not knowing the true source of one's

¹Ibid.

²Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 248.

³Ibid.

difficulties, one turns upon an easily accessible and relatively powerless fellow-group member. This, of course, does not solve his problem. The displaced aggressor often develops guilt complexes because his hostility usually does not have the sanction of society and he has not attacked the real source of his difficulty; he has attacked an innocent and more defenseless object or person.

Displaced aggression may be directed to other minorities with whom one happens to be in contact. Simpson and Yinger conclude:

Negroes are sometimes susceptible . . . to anti-Semitism beyond their hostility to other whites. Mexicans in the United States often show a strong anti-Negro feeling, partly in an effort to dissociate themselves in their own minds and in the minds of the dominant whites, from identification with Negroes partly as a form of displaced aggression.¹

The idea that displacement may be directed to other minorities with whom one happens to be in contact was brought out by Harry S. Ashmore. In discussing the Negro-Puerto Rican relationship in Harlem, he says:

The fact is that Puerto Ricans have little in common with Negroes except the same problems of poverty, housing, employment, and general discrimination. Probably no more than 30 per cent of them are dark-skinned enough to pass unnoticed in a Negro community. In culture and temperament they are as separate from the Negro community as they are from the white.

Although many of them live cheek by jowl with Negroes in the ghettos there is virtually no social mixing--and there is often a great deal of tension.

¹Ibid., p. 249.

There has been relative quiet on this front lately, but some of the worst of juvenile gang rumbles of a few years ago involved Puerto Ricans versus Negroes.

Only the force of circumstances has kept most Negroes and Puerto Ricans physically together.¹

William D. Workman disagrees with Simpson and Yinger who state that some tension within the minority group is the result of displacement. Simpson and Yinger state that Negroes, instead of attacking whites, the true source of their difficulty, often redirect their hostility to other Negroes.² Workman believes that ". . . there are inferior races and superior races"³ Negroes constitute one of the inferior races. Therefore, according to him, when Negroes attack other Negroes, it can only be viewed as another sign of their inferiority--an inferiority partly ". . . due to their low moral, educational, and economic attainment."⁴ What Simpson and Yinger view as displaced aggression, Workman views as further evidence of the Negroes' inferiority.

James Baldwin takes the position that segregation and unequal opportunities for Negroes have caused many Negroes to become embittered and shiftless. In one case, Baldwin states that many Negro youth become problem-children in school. In his opinion they are frustrated by prejudice and discrimination and seek to gain a release of their tensions by directing them to their teachers. Teachers, too, are frustrated by the barriers erected by prejudice and discrimination and attempt to

¹Harry S. Ashmore, op. cit., p. 88.

²Simpson and Yinger, op. cit.

³William D. Workman, op. cit., p. 45.

⁴Ibid., p. 29.

release their pent-up emotions by blaming their students for their frustration:

They (the teachers) are underpaid and ill treated by the white world and rubbed raw by it every day; and it is altogether understandable that they, very shortly, cannot bear the sight of their students. . . .

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the violent distractions of puberty, occurring in such a cage, annually take their toll, sending female children into the maternity wards and male children into the streets. It is not to be wondered at that a boy, one day, decides that if all this studying is going to prepare him only to be a porter or an elevator boy--or his teacher--well, then, the hell with it. And there they go, with an overwhelming bitterness which they will dissemble all their lives, an unceasing effort which completes their ruin. They become the menial or the criminal or the shiftless, the Negroes whom segregation has produced and whom the South uses to prove that segregation is right.¹

This statement by Baldwin shows or has inherent therein the two forms of indirect aggression which we are considering. On the problem of inefficiency among Negroes, this statement supports Simpson and Yinger in their contention that--

Inefficient, lazy--and therefore costly--work is a source of great deal of complaint from members of the dominant group. They usually assume it to be proof of inferiority²

Baldwin says that, due to the lack of opportunities for Negro youth, they usually become disgusted with school and become shiftless. Segregation produces this shiftlessness among Negroes and yet ". . . the South uses

¹James Baldwin, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

²Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 244.

(this) to prove that segregation is right."¹ Their conclusions are very much similar on this point.

The idea of displacement is inherent in Baldwin's statement quoted above. Teachers, frustrated by poor conditions, ". . . very shortly, cannot bear the sight of their students."² The teachers are redirecting their hostility onto their students. Students, on the other hand, frustrated by poor conditions and discrimination, redirect their hostility onto other students by engaging in "the violent distractions of puberty."³ This is displaced aggression.

Baldwin agrees with John Dollard who states that were the salaries of Negroes higher, much of the frustration that they encounter would be eliminated.⁴

Martin Luther King, Jr., implies that if Negroes are able to release their tensions in a more direct manner, they will not be inclined to resort to displaced aggression. King observes that since the Montgomery boycott, there has been a marked decrease in Negroes fighting among themselves. Negro hospitals in Montgomery, he says, have reported less incidents of violence among Negroes. Since Saturday nights are more peaceful than they used to be, many of the hospital officials and nurses are able to attend church on Sunday. He believes that the Negro is developing self-respect and is willing to struggle and sacrifice until first-

¹Baldwin, op. cit.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴John Dollard, op. cit., p. 153.

class citizenship becomes a reality. He implies that Negroes are willing now to attack the true sources of their difficulty; they are willing to attack in the peaceful, non-violent way.¹

King's idea that Negroes are not inclined to resort to displaced aggression when they are able to attack the true source of difficulty is in agreement with Simpson and Yinger and Robert Sutherland. These sociologists believe that the indirect method of aggression, displacement, is only used because a more direct method would not be expendable at the time, or that Negroes are physically unable to attack or do not recognize the source of their conflict. Actually, displacement is substitution. When one attacks the true source of his frustration, his tensions are released. There is no need to blame others for hardships.² If Negroes in Montgomery, for instance, were attacking the whites, true sources of tension, there was little or no need for them to engage in acts of violence with other Negroes. They were satisfied.

James Baldwin³ and Simpson and Yinger⁴ state that many white employers are learning that the hopes and aspirations of their workers are essential to efficient production and are attempting to make peace with their workers through the improvement of relationships with their employees, raising salaries, and showing a genuine concern for their employees. This, they believe, will eliminate much of the indirect aggression manifested

¹Martin L. King, Jr., op. cit., p. 190.

²See Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., pp. 243-244, and Robert Sutherland, op. cit., p. 54.

³James Baldwin, op. cit.

⁴Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., pp. 244-245.

by Negroes for their white employers.

Conclusions.--Sociologists and non-sociologists agreed on the following points:

- (a) Inefficiency among Negroes is a form of aggression.
(Workman, however, was the only non-sociologist who did not believe that this was true. He contends that the Negro is shiftless, lazy, and inefficient because he is inferior and is limited educationally, economically, and morally.)
- (b) Some of the Negro's acts of violence can be accounted for through the application of the frustration-aggression hypothesis. (Again, Workman did not believe that this was true. Workman, who shows a definite white bias, says that the Negro is simply showing another sign of his inferiority when he attacks members of his group.)
- (c) Displacement may be directed to other minorities with whom one happens to be in contact.
- (d) Negroes who work under offensive conditions are likely to become inefficient and careless on the jobs. It is assumed that once these conditions are alleviated, much of the indirect aggression manifested by Negroes for their white employers will be eliminated or reduced.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was focused upon the selected works of non-sociologists writing in the field of race relations. It attempted to answer the question, "Is there a similarity between the non-sociologists' explicit and implicit assumptions and statements concerning race relations and the research findings and conclusions of sociologists?" The hypothesis is that non-sociologists, who lack extensive formal training in race relations, will exhibit in their writings sophisticated and similar attitudes and assumptions concerning many of the currently accepted theories in the science of race relations and the conclusions drawn by reputable sociologists. The writer compared the racial assumptions of the non-sociologists with the research findings and conclusions of sociologists. The method of content analysis was used to show the rank order and the number of times each non-sociologist considered specific themes concerning race.

The Findings

The findings are presented under the various chapter headings in this thesis. In Chapter II, we considered the topic, "Avoidance as a Response to Prejudice and Discrimination." This topic was divided into two sub-headings: "Upper-Class Complacency" and "Communities Composed Only of Minority-Group Members."

Upper-Class Complacency.--Sociologists and non-sociologists agreed on the following points:

1. Members of the Negro upper class are able to avoid some of the prejudice and discrimination directed against their group by sealing themselves off, as much as possible, from contact with lower-class members of their group. The desire to avoid prejudice and discrimination often leads these persons to move to suburban areas.

2. Members of this class often become complacent and apathetic toward "race problems." They usually lead well-ordered lives and see no reason to endanger their security by becoming involved in the fight for equality.

3. These upper-class Negroes often make efforts to persuade other members of the minority to patronize only the business and professional people of their race. This often develops into a "separate economy" ideology.

Communities Composed Only of Minority Group Members.--Only two non-sociologists considered residence in ghettos as an avoidance response to prejudice and discrimination. Their assumptions are as follows:

1. Ashmore agrees with sociologists that ghettos are sometimes viewed by some minority-group members as islands partly free from the prejudices and discrimination of the dominant group.

2. Baldwin, disagreeing with Ashmore and sociologists, does not believe that ghettos are viewed as islands partly free from prejudice and discrimination. Using Harlem as his example, he states that children and adults hate Harlem and other ghettos like it. Ghettos, in his opinion, represent the very existence of prejudice and discrimination.

3. Ashmore is in agreement with the theory of Miller and Park which holds that old cultures are transplanted in new environments. He pointed to several cultural traits of the South which had been transplanted in Harlem.

4. These non-sociologists do agree with sociologists that individuals working and residing in ghettos are able to avoid many physical contacts with dominant-group members.

5. The non-sociologists and the sociologists agree that segregated communities have a decided tendency to split into factions.

Chapter III, "The Functions of Prejudice," is subdivided into three parts: the economic costs and gains of prejudice, the sexual gains of prejudice, and the psychological costs and gains of prejudice.

Economic Costs and Gains of Prejudice.---Sociologists and non-sociologists agreed on the following points:

1. Middle- and upper-class whites are able to avoid the most undesirable types of work. Since many of these persons employ Negroes and pay them salaries below the minimum wage law, they are able to make higher profits.

2. The same prejudice that allowed members of the white middle- and upper-classes to gain economically is often the reason for the poverty of many lower-class whites.

3. Landlords who make staggering profits from renting sub-standard houses to Negroes are partly responsible for the depreciation of bordering property. The city and state are stricken with an economic burden caused by the total cost of slums. These areas are partly responsible

for the poor health of many of the residents living therein. Slum dwellers who are patients often have to be provided for through city and state funds.

4. Prejudice often prevents industries from using the best possible manpower. This is a loss to these industries.

5. Racial tension has caused many Northern industries to shy away from the South.

6. Segregated schools not only cost the citizens more in terms of duplicated expenditures, but also they usually provide inadequate education and less efficient services.

Sexual Gains of Prejudice.--Sociologists and non-sociologists agreed on the following points:

1. The white man, due to his superior position, has access to the women of his group and to those of the Negro group.

2. Negro males and white females are somewhat restricted in their choices.

3. Due to their having crossed the racial barriers and yet believing that Negroes are inferior, white males often encounter grave feelings of guilt and frustration.

Psychological Gains and Costs of Prejudice.--Sociologists and non-sociologists agreed on the following points:

1. Whites, by creating the myth that they are to some degree special and important, have been able to demand forms of deference from Negroes.

2. The belief that he is superior and that the Negro is inferior has caused the white man to develop serious frustrations. This belief is inconsistent with the "American Creed" which implies that all men are equal. Belief in both has caused many white men to be at odds with themselves.

3. Due to the lack of communication between the races, there have developed misconceptions concerning both races. It is considered a psychological cost when the white man claims to know the Negro when, at the same time, he is ignorant of the Negro and is not aware of it.

Chapter IV, "Indirect Aggression as a Response to Prejudice and Discrimination," is concerned with two forms of indirect aggression-- "inefficiency among Negro workers" and "displaced aggression." Sociologists and non-sociologists agreed on the following points:

1. Inefficiency among Negro workers is considered to be a form of indirect aggression, an attempt to strike back against prejudice and discrimination.

2. Negro workers who are underpaid and overworked often become shiftless, awkward, and irresponsible workers and waste their employers' time and money. Inefficient workers are costly.

3. Some of the hostility within minority groups can be explained in terms of displaced aggression. Individuals who cannot strike back at the source of their frustration and tension often attack a substitute target--usually a member of their own group.

4. Displaced aggression is often directed toward other minorities.

Conclusions

The hypothesis that non-sociologists will exhibit in their writings sophisticated attitudes and assumptions that are similar to many of the research findings and conclusions of sociologists was validated. Most of the research findings and conclusions of sociologists were very much similar to the assumptions and statements of non-sociologists.

Thus, assumptions and statements of the group of non-sociologists under consideration show a similarity to the research findings and conclusions of sociologists. It is quite possible that these non-sociologists have kept abreast with, and are well informed in, the area of race relations theory.

Men like James Baldwin and Harry Ashmore have records which show that they have been writing in the area of race relations for some time. The Cregers, of course, stated that their book was largely based on the findings of reputable sociologists in the area of race relations. Others, like M. L. King, Jr., James Peck, and Mitchell and Peace, are not only educated men, they are "freedom fighters." With such a record of fighting to destroy racial barriers, these men, no doubt, have made use of the scientific research of sociologists in the area. Some of this research, it seems, would be helpful to them in analyzing situations and would sharpen their insight into the many race problems they have faced.

These men, it must be stressed, did not develop any new concepts or novel research techniques. They merely attempted to interpret situations as best they knew how. Their knowledge was laden with implications for race relations theory.

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