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## Incidence of Extreme Prejudice in Negro and White Elementary School Children as Related to Personality, Age and Experience in Mixed Versus Segregated Schools

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INCIDENCE OF EXTREME PREJUDICE IN NEGRO AND WHITE  
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN AS RELATED  
TO PERSONALITY, AGE AND EXPERIENCE  
IN MIXED VERSUS SEGREGATED SCHOOLS

BY

HENRY POZDOL

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
OF LOYOLA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

JUNE

1967

## LIFE

Henry Pozdol was born in Chicago, Illinois on July 10, 1923, and attended St. Ann's High School and Quigley Preparatory Seminary in Chicago.

The degree of Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy was conferred on him in 1946, and the Master of Arts in Religious Education in 1949 from St. Mary of the Lake University, Mundelein, Illinois. In 1950, he received the degree of Licentiate in Sacred Theology from St. Mary of the Lake Pontifical Seminary, Mundelein, Illinois.

He was ordained a priest for the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago on May 3, 1950. Since 1957 he has been a psychology student at Loyola University, on a part time basis.

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# I

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to empirically determine the influence of three variables on the incidence of extreme racial - ethnic prejudice in school children. These independent variables are: personal experience in integrated versus segregated schools; age; and personal - social adjustment. The dependent variables are the incidence of extreme prejudice by Negro children toward Whites, Jews and Puerto Ricans and the incidence of extreme prejudice by White children toward Negroes, Jews and Puerto Ricans. The extent to which White children distinguish between Negroes and Poorly Educated Negroes was determined, as was the extent to which Negro children distinguish between Whites and Southern Whites.

The first hypothesis of this study is that personal experience with other racial - ethnic groups in integrated schools should be associated with a reduction

in the incidence of the more extreme forms of prejudice. There is little or no direct evidence on this point. Goodman (1964, p. 267) points out the need for research into the social and psychological realities of the desegregation process. "It seems well-nigh incredible that...this crucial facet has not been explored. Such is apparently the case, however...Yet surely this 'natural laboratory' provides unparalleled opportunities for studies of race attitudes and attitude change."

Leaders in the field of education dispute the role that the school should or could play in promoting better race relations. Some hold that, if the purpose of education is to produce good citizens, it must convince the students of the lack of validity to the notion of superior and inferior ethnic groups, the irrationality of prejudice, and the harm that it causes to the whole "fabric" of our society. Other educators point out that prejudices are: (1) learned at very early ages, (2) irrational, and (3) learned outside the school. These factors would indicate that school experiences have little or no influence on prejudices.

The indirect evidence available is mixed. The classical study by Horowitz (1936) supports the view that school experiences are not relevant to prejudices. Newcomb, Turner and Converse, in Social Psychology (1965) regard the Horowitz (1936) study as an authoritative study in this area. Horowitz found no differences in the prejudices of White boys in the North versus South, or in integrated schools versus all-White schools. Newcomb, et al accept the general Horowitz conclusion that attitudes toward Negroes are "...chiefly determined, not by contact with Negroes, but by contact with the prevalent attitudes toward Negroes."

There are some exceptions to the general Horowitz conclusion that prejudice is unrelated to personal experience. For example, Deutsch and Collins (1951) found that personal experience with Negroes in an integrated housing unit tended to decrease prejudice toward Negroes. Katz (1955) found that personal experience with Negroes in an adolescent interracial group resulted in decreased prejudice. There have not been enough studies of this sort to permit general conclusions about the conditions under



which personal experience does or does not change prejudice. But it is clear that personal experience can change prejudice.

Newcomb et al imply that the incidence of extreme prejudice may be another exception to the general Horowitz conclusions. "...as measured by these three tests...which, of course, did not take account of some of the issues that divide adults on such matters as civil rights..." The strongest prejudice assessed by Horowitz's indicators consisted of the frequency with which White boys declined to play marbles, baseball, etc., with Negro children.

Extreme prejudice, as defined in this study, begins at the point where Horowitz's indicators stopped. It includes the stronger indicators: "Have as speaking acquaintance only," "Have as visitors only to my nation," and "Would have them removed from my nation."

The second hypothesis is that the incidence of extreme prejudice in school children will increase with age. Several studies have reported the age at which awareness of a physical difference appears; the age at which values are attached to this difference and the age at which

organized attitudes appear. However, the age at which the extreme prejudices appear has not been examined. The present study examines the incidence of extreme prejudice in fifth through eighth grade children.

The third hypothesis is that the relationship between poor personal adjustment and prejudice holds for Negro children as well as for White children. Personal - social adjustment is assessed by means of the California Test of Personality. There have been several studies indicating that maladjusted persons tend to be more prejudiced than well adjusted persons. One would expect that this relationship should be most pronounced in the case of extreme prejudice. The present study examines this relationship within White children, and also examines the relationship within Negro children. The personality - prejudice relationship within Negro children apparently has never been examined. More general scores of personal and social adjustment are being used in order to prescind from the issue whether the relevant personality variable is specifically neuroticism.

## II

### LITERATURE

#### A. Prejudice and Experience

There is agreement that prejudice is learned. However, the relative contributions of various types of experience on the increase or decrease of prejudice in children is not clear. The prejudices of parents clearly has some influence, but evidence indicates that this influence is not decisive.

Frenkel-Brunswik and Havel (1953) report only low positive correlations between parental prejudice and children's prejudices. Bird, Monachesi and Burdick (1952) found (in 145 white Midwestern families) that parent-child attitudes differ fairly often. In part, this may be due to an absence of indoctrination in the home. Bird et al observed (p. 306): "Very few of the families are typified either by vigorous efforts to educate children in democratic attitudes or by vigorous efforts to inculcate in children strong antipathies toward Negroes." Radke-Yarrow,

Trager, and Miller (1952) come to a similar conclusion.

The classical study by Horowitz (1936) showed that unpleasant personal experiences are not necessary for the development of prejudice. Children in the North and in the South, in mixed schools and in all White schools showed the same course in developing attitudes toward Negroes. Newcomb, Turner and Converse (1956) in a widely accepted current text in social psychology reflect the consensus of social scientists in their conclusion that: "Prejudice or lack of it is related to role prescription - the emerging attitudes toward Negroes in society much more easily than it is related to personal contact."

The corollary to the proposition that personal experience does not effect the development of prejudice is that experience can not effect the decrease of prejudice. Newcomb, Turner and Converse also tend to follow Horowitz on this issue.

However, some studies do indicate that contact can effect a reduction of prejudice. Zelig and Hendrickson (1933) administered a modification of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale toward 39 groups to 200 sixth grade

children. They found that racial tolerance was significantly related to the amount of acquaintance with the various groups. The relationship, however, was much higher for other races than for Negroes.

Williams (1934) reported a Y.W.C.A. project in which the experience of shared games and trips resulted in positive attitude changes by both White and Negro girls. Zeligs and Hendrickson (1935) asked children what they (the children) regarded as the basis for their racial attitudes. In fifteen interviews on the material contained in the race questionnaire, they found that racial attitudes were dependent on either personal experience, or, where this had been lacking, on the children's conception of quaintness and grotesqueness in the costumes and customs of the group. There seemed to be no general principles or democratic ideals governing attitudes toward other racial or national groups.

Allport and Kramer (1946) tested 437 college undergraduates as to their experience with and opinions concerning minority groups. The results showed that genuine contact between members of groups having the same,

or nearly the same, socio-economic status improves friendly relations between the groups. Conversely, contact between members of groups holding very different socio-economic status (or between members of groups equally deprived of status) intensifies rivalry and the desire to establish status at the expense of the other group. Thirty-one percent of the Allport and Kramer subjects reported exclusively favorable memories of their school in respect to lessons of tolerance and understanding. The remainder (69%) recalled unfavorable or mixed influence or no influence at all.

Mackenzie (1948) started with the hypothesis that stereotypes break down under contact between members of formerly segregated groups. She tested 234 persons in a government agency, 224 in a Northwestern university and 356 in a Midwestern university. Her questions concerning willingness to associate with Negroes dealt with relationships similar to those in the Bogardus Social Distance Scale. Her results showed that respondents who have known Negroes of professional status tend to have significantly higher opinions of Negroes than those who lack such

acquaintance. As a result of her findings she modified the hypothesis to read "the occupational status of Negroes whom the respondents had known rather than the number of Negroes per se is an important factor in determining willingness to associate with Negroes."

Deutsch and Collins (1951) made a study of the change of attitudes of White housewives in four housing projects - two segregated and two integrated. Attitude change was far more frequent and almost exclusively in a positive direction in the integrated project where living contact was the closest. Deutsch and Collins explain the results in terms of Festinger's "dissonance theory."

Gray and Thompson (1953) administered the Bogardus Social Distance Scale to 400 White undergraduate students at the University of Georgia and to 300 Negro undergraduate students in three Negro colleges in Georgia. Students were asked to rate 24 ethnic groups and they were also asked the degree of acquaintance with each group. The Negro students expressed more prejudice toward all groups except their own than did the White students. It was found that acquaintance with at least five individuals of an

ethnic group resulted in less prejudice toward that group. This was true in the cases of both White and Negro raters.

To check the reliability of the data, the test was readministered to 100 Ss (50 White and 50 Negro students). Again, the Whites were more liberal than the Negroes and acquaintanceship with ethnic groups improved the social distance scores for those groups. Other factors found to affect social distance ratings were education and the education of Negro parents. Freshmen were less liberal than seniors. Negroes whose parents were college graduates were more liberal than Negroes whose parents had only a high school education. Religion and income did not affect the social distance ratings.

Neprash (1953) tested 61 boys, 50 from 9-12 years of age and 11 boys from 12-15 years of age. He administered a modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale and a questionnaire in regard to their actual contact with Negroes. If the boy answered yes to three of the five items in the Bogardus test, he was classified as "friendly." The results showed that among the boys from 9-12, the "friendly" boys had several times as many personal contacts with



Negroes than did those who were "unfriendly." The older boys from 12-15 had three Negro boys in their group. Only one boy was classified as "unfriendly." Neprash concluded that there is no inconsistency between his study and Horowitz's study. Mere physical proximity, that does not result in more intimate personal relationships, is of no value in the reduction of prejudice.

Katz (1955) observed a Northern urban interracial group, the YM, composed of 22 Negro and 17 White adolescents of both sexes. He observed them for ten months. Only one or two of the White members could have been characterized initially as strongly prejudiced. All the Ss reported marked changes in a favorable direction except one S who claimed he had never been prejudiced. Five of the 22 Negroes still had strong resentments against White people as a whole. Every Negro reported some change in a favorable direction. One difference between the experiences of the Negroes and Whites was that the Negroes suffered very little community disapproval for their associations with White people; whereas almost all White members encountered social disapproval.

## B. Prejudice as a Function of Personality

Allport and Kramer (1946) concluded that prejudiced responses are part of the total pattern of personal life. The prejudiced person is also the person who views the world as a jungle where one must choose to become "the diner or else the dinner," who is especially prone to fear swindlers as a menace to his safety, who is authoritarian in his outlook, who has no disposition to sympathize with the underdog, who rejects legislative attempts to protect minority groups, and who feels no shame at his own prejudice.

Allport (1954) concludes that prejudiced persons are inclined to "perceive the world as a jungle where men are basically evil and dangerous." Some part of the suspicious-rejecting inclination may be learned, as Allport suggests, from early interpersonal experience: "There is some evidence that children lacking basic trust in early life are prone to develop in later childhood a suspiciousness of nature, including prejudice against minority groups."

More specific conclusions include the finding

that personality mediates the impact of experience with Negroes on attitude change. Mussen (1950) investigated 106 boys before and after a one month contact with Negroes in camp. He administered the Horowitz Face Test to establish their attitude toward Negroes, and the TAT to determine their personality adjustment. He concluded that the boys who revealed great needs to defy authority and strong aggressive feelings increased in their prejudice after contact; whereas the more adjusted boys decreased in their prejudice.

There is also evidence of an inter-action between culture and personality, Prothro (1952) indicated that many southerners were anti-Negro but otherwise low on Ethnocentrism scale. On the other hand, those favorable toward Negroes were rarely unfavorable toward other groups. He concludes that this implies the influence of cultural norms in defining what out-groups are inferior or threatening.

Pettigrew (1958) concluded that the degree of prejudice is related to authoritarianism within a given culture. However, in societies whose norms prescribe unfavorable attitudes toward Negroes, many individuals will

accept these norms without being authoritarian in personality.

Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford (1950) found that prejudice is highly generalized. That is, a person who is prejudiced toward Negroes will also be prejudiced toward Jews, Catholics, etc. They maintain that prejudice is a function of the authoritarian personality. Highly authoritarian persons have been subjected to strict parental control. They retain their resentment and express their hostility toward those who can be safely attacked. This model has stimulated a large amount of research. While many authors disagree with specific aspects of the model, the general concept that prejudice is a function of personality has been repeatedly confirmed.

Ackerman and Jahoda (1950) investigated children who were under treatment of psychoanalytically and psychiatrically oriented social agencies. They found that even among fairly young children, the less adjusted are more prejudiced.

Gough, Harris, Martin and Edmunds (1950) administered a modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale and a General Intolerance Scale to 242 children in the fourth, fifth

and sixth grades of two Minneapolis public schools. Their conclusions were as follows:

1. There is a relationship between children's attitudes toward specific groups, such as Negroes and Jews. And there is a relationship between attitudes toward specific groups and scales assessing more generalized reactions of tolerance and intolerance.
2. Responses to personality inventory items which embody sentiments of hostility, resentment, distrust, insecurity, etc., are related to both specific prejudices and generalized attitudes of intolerance.
3. Scholl children who are intolerant, are also constricted, cynical and fearful, less confident and secure, and more suspicious and more ethnocentric than children of greater tolerance.

Evans (1952) has demonstrated that college students who score high anti-Semitism (Levinson-Sanford Anti-Semitism Scale) stress political and economic values (Allport-Vernon Study of Values). Those who make low anti-Semitism scores, on the other hand, stress aesthetic and social values.

Frenkel-Brunswik and Havel (1953) found that the child who is highly prejudiced toward the Negro is also likely to be highly prejudiced toward the Jew, Mexican, etc. But prejudice toward Negroes is greater than toward other minorities (Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese and Jews).

Kutner (1958) observed that among second-graders "the prejudiced children are not only less capable of producing valid conclusions but the invalid ones they do produce are dogmatically held." Kutner finds prejudiced children less able in forming concepts, more ready to jump to conclusions, poor in dealing with ambiguous problems, less task-oriented in problem-solving, more easily discouraged and perplexed in face of problems to be solved, less likely to show insight and understanding, and - generally - functioning cognitively in a fashion marked by rigidity and by intolerance of ambiguity. Such traits are not a function of intelligence.

Many authors have disagreed with specific aspects of the authoritarianism model while agreeing that personality and prejudice are related. But Prentice (1961) studied the relationship between ethnic attitudes and neuroticism

and found no relationship. His subjects were 66 male freshmen, Boston University in the spring of 1955; 28 female nurses, Metropolitan State Hospital in the summer of 1955; and 128 male and female freshmen enrolled at Boston University in the fall of 1955. He administered the California E Scale, the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale, the Rotter Incomplete Sentence Blank, the Psycho-somatic Inventory and the self reference variation of the Sentence Completion Test. His results did not support a significant relationship between ethnic attitudes and neuroticism.

#### C. Stages of Attitude Development

The development of race awareness and attitudes in a continuous process through childhood. Goodman (1952) distinguishes three phases. Phase 1: Awareness of racial identity; Phase 2: Orientation, the learning of race-related words, concepts, and values; Phase 3: True Attitude-organized sets of concepts and values. Goodman holds that awareness of one's racial identity is but one facet of that consciousness of self which is gradually achieved during the first three or four years of life.

Clark concluded that: (1955) "Among three-year-

old Negro children in both Northern and Southern communities, more than 75% showed that they were conscious of the difference between "white" and "colored." These findings clearly support the conclusion that racial awareness is present in Negro children as young as three....Furthermore, this knowledge develops in stability and clarity from year to year, and by the age of seven it is part of the knowledge of all Negro children. Other investigators have shown that the same is true of white children." Stevenson and Stevenson (1960) observed 5 Negro and 5 White children, two and one half to three years of age, for a year in a nursery school. They report that: "Only one (of the five) Negro and one (of the five) White children gave no indication of racial awareness" by spring of the nursery school year. Some of the children developed a concern about their racial status.

Landreth and Johnson (1953) questioned whether such findings hold equally for children of lower and upper socio-economic status. They studied White three and five-year-olds of conspicuously different status backgrounds in California. They conclude that the higher status chil-



children tend to "perceive skin color in cognitive terms," while lower status children "perceive it in affective terms." But in both groups a majority of children did perceive it, at both age levels.

Simple awareness of a difference develops into more complex distinctions by the time the child reaches five or six years of age. Trager and Radke-Yarrow (1952) studied the social perceptions of kindergarten, first grade and second grade children in Philadelphia. They concluded that: "...concepts and feelings about race frequently include adult distinctions of status, ability, character, occupations, and economic circumstances....Among the older children stereotyping and expressions of hostility are more frequent, and attitudes are more crystallized than among the younger children." Stevenson and Stewart (1958) report that: "by the ages of four, five and six these subjects were responding in a manner which indicated not only awareness of racial differences but also the use of stereotyped roles." By age seven or eight, the awareness of values and roles progresses to an internalization of a more or less organized system of values.

G.W. Allport (1954) concludes that by age seven or eight many children arrive at what he describes as a "totalized rejection." As children grow older they normally lose this tendency to total rejection and overgeneralization and make distinctions about social distance. In children, this verbal rejection may be accompanied by behavioral acceptance. By about age twelve, however, verbal rejection (and behavioral acceptance) is likely to have been replaced by the "double talk" customary among adults who profess no prejudice while in fact demonstrating it. Hence, the relationship between age and verbal prejudice is curvilinear. But as the verbal prejudice begins to decrease, the behavioral prejudice formerly absent begins to increase.

### III

#### INSTRUMENTS AND PROCEDURE

##### A. California Test of Personality

The California Test of Personality was developed by Thorpe, Clark and Tiegs (1953 Revision). It is administered in the form of a paper and pencil questionnaire. The Elementary School form consists of 12 sections which each contain 12 questions. The child responds to each question by circling "yes" or "no." The test is: "organized around the concept of life adjustment as a balance between personal and social adjustment. Personal adjustment is assumed to be based on feelings of personal security and social adjustment on feelings of social security."

The sections assess the following areas of personal and social adjustment.

##### Personal Adjustment

1A. SELF-RELIANCE--An individual may be said to be self-reliant when his overt actions indicate that he can

do things independently of others, depend upon himself in various situations, and direct his own activities. The self-reliant person is also characteristically stable emotionally, and responsible in his behavior.

1B. SENSE OF PERSONAL WORTH--An individual possesses a sense of being worthy when he feels he is well regarded by others, when he feels that others have faith in his future success, and when he believes that he has average or better than average ability. To feel worthy means to feel capable and reasonably attractive.

1C. SENSE OF PERSONAL FREEDOM--An individual enjoys a sense of freedom when he is permitted to have a reasonable share in the determination of his conduct and in setting the general policies that shall govern his life. Desirable freedom includes permission to choose one's own friends and to have at least a little spending money.

1D. FEELING OF BELONGING--An individual feels that he belongs when he enjoys the love of his family, the well-wishes of good friends, and a cordial relationship with people in general. Such a person will as a rule get along well with his teachers or employers and usually feels proud of his school or place of business.

1E. WITHDRAWING TENDENCIES (Freedom From)--The individual who is said to withdraw is the one who substitutes the joys of a fantasy world for actual successes in real life. Such a person is characteristically sensitive, lonely, and given to self-concern. Normal adjustment (high score) is characterized by reasonable freedom from these tendencies.

1F. NERVOUS SYMPTOMS (Freedom From)--The individual who is classified as having nervous symptoms is the one who suffers from one or more of a variety of physical symptoms such as loss of appetite, frequent eye strain, inability to sleep, or a tendency to be chronically tired. People of this kind may be exhibiting physical expressions of emotional conflicts. Normal adjustment (high score) is characterized by a reasonable freedom from these tendencies.

#### Social Adjustment

2A. SOCIAL STANDARDS--The individual who recognizes desirable social standards is the one who has come to understand the rights of others and who appreciates the necessity of subordinating certain desires to the needs of

the group. Such an individual understands what is regarded as right or wrong.

2B. SOCIAL SKILLS--An individual may be said to be socially skillful or effective when he shows a liking for people, when he inconveniences himself to be of assistance to them, and when he is diplomatic in his dealings with both friends and strangers. The socially skillful person subordinates his or her egoistic tendencies in favor of interest in the problems and activities of his associates.

2C. ANTI-SOCIAL TENDENCIES (Freedom From)--An individual would normally be regarded as anti-social when he is given to bullying, frequent quarreling, disobedience, and destructiveness to property. The anti-social person is the one who endeavors to get his satisfactions in ways that are damaging and unfair to others. Normal adjustment (high scores) is characterized by reasonable freedom from these tendencies.

2D. FAMILY RELATIONS--The individual who exhibits desirable family relationships is the one who feels that he is loved and well-treated at home, and who has a sense of

security and self-respect in connection with the various members of his family. Superior family relations also include parental control that is neither too strict nor too lenient.

2E. SCHOOL RELATIONS--The student who is satisfactorily adjusted to his school is the one who feels that his teachers like him, who enjoys being with other students and who finds the school work adapted to his level of interest and maturity. Good school relations involve the feeling on the part of the student that he counts for something in the life of the institution. On the Adult level of the test School Relations is called Occupation Relations.

2F. COMMUNITY RELATIONS--The individual who may be said to be making good adjustments in his community is the one who mingles happily with his neighbors, who takes pride in community improvements, and who is tolerant in dealing with both strangers and foreigners. Satisfactory community relations include as well the disposition to be respectful of laws and of regulations pertaining to the general welfare.

The test was constructed in the following manner.

Over 1000 criteria of adjustment were considered. Five educational psychologists and five clinical psychologists evaluated these criteria. About forty percent of the criteria were eliminated or combined with other criteria. For each level, two to six items were devised for each criterion. Various experts rated the items. The items that survived were administered to 100 students at each level. The students indicated whether they could understand the items. The comprehensible items were logically grouped into 16 sections and administered to 200 students (for each level). Sections that were highly correlated were combined. This resulted in 12 sections. Bi-serial correlations were computed for each item against total section score. The 12 items that contributed most to each section score were retained.

The test authors furnish information on the reliability of the elementary form (Table 1).

The test authors discuss the question of validity and refer to several studies. For example, the Syracuse University study found that the CTP correlated more closely with clinical judgments than did any other personality test



for children. However, in view of the fact that the CTP holds a virtual monopoly in the area of questionnaires suitable for young children, it did not really have much competition. At the present time, the CTP should probably be interpreted on the basis of face validity and the other forms of validity should be considered open questions.

Table 1  
Reliability Coefficients

California Test of Personality - Elementary

1. Personal Adjustment	.93
A. Self-reliance	.64
B. Sense of Personal Worth	.79
C. Sense of Personal Freedom	.79
D. Feeling of Belonging	.77
E. Withdrawing Tendencies	.83
F. Nervous Symptoms	.82
2. Social Adjustment	.92
A. Social Standards	.59
B. Social Skills	.73
C. Anti-social Tendencies	.77
D. Family Relations	.77
E. School Relations	.78
F. Community Relations	.79
Total Adjustment	.94
Number of cases	648

Norms for the elementary level test are based on

4,562 pupils in grades four through eight in schools in Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Massachusetts and California. About 85% of the subjects in normative population were Whites of European origin and 15% were members of minority groups - Mexican, Negro, Oriental.

#### B. Modified Bogardus Distance Scale

The Bogardus Scale uses Thurstone's method of equal-appearing intervals. In devising a method for scaling the subjective social distances between different ethnic groups, Bogardus' basic problem was to obtain equal interval social distances. A large number of types of social relationship were considered. One hundred persons judged these relationships on the continuum of social distance.

The seven social relationships that best met the criteria of equal appearing intervals, a wide range of distances, and minimum ambiguity (dispersion) were selected. These relationships were: (1) would marry into group; (2) would have as a close friend; (3) would have as a next door neighbor; (4) would work in the same office; (5) have as a speaking acquaintance only; (6) have as visitors only in my

nation; and (7) would debar from my nation.

The present study is concerned with extreme prejudice. Extreme prejudice is defined as an indorsement of any or all of the last three statements. Attempts were made to find childrens' versions of the first four statements. However, this problem will not be considered here.

Preliminary trials indicated that the term "debar" in item 7 was too difficult for elementary school children. The wording was changed to "Would have them removed from my nation." "Extreme prejudice" is defined as a "yes" answer to any one of the last three items (#5, #6, or #7 modified). That is, a child is "extremely prejudiced" toward the members of a social/ethnic group if he endorses the statement: "Would have as a speaking acquaintance only," or the statement: "Would have as visitors only to my nation," or the statement: "Would have them removed from my nation." If a child does not endorse one or more of these statements, he is not extremely prejudiced.

### C. Procedure

Having received permission from the Board of Education of the Chicago Public Schools and individual

Catholic Schools, the California Personality Test (Elementary Series - Grades 4 - 8) and the Modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale were administered to over 2,000 students in a lower middle class neighborhood in the process of racial transition. Three integrated schools in the center of the transition were tested. Then four White segregated schools within one mile of the transition line and three Negro segregated schools within one mile of the transition were tested. The process of transition in this area has been gradual. The extreme end of the Negro section had been a Negro neighborhood for about fifteen years. The socio-economic status of the area is lower middle class. Both Public and Catholic schools were included in each section. The number of Ss in the various categories are given in Table 2.

Table 2  
Number of Subjects by Race, Grade,  
and Integrated and Segregated Schools

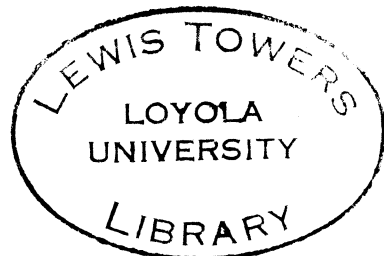
Grade	White		White	
	School Intg.	School Seg.	School Intg.	School Seg.
5th	77	216	70	162
6th	82	214	82	134
7th	69	197	71	162
8th	87	225	51	146
	315	852	274	604

The Modified Bogardus Test administered to Whites investigated their attitudes toward Colored, Puerto Ricans, Jews, and Poorly Educated Colored. The other minority groups were included to test whether intolerance was a generalized way of looking at people, or was there a more specific target. Two groups of Colored were included to test how many Whites with a negative attitude toward the Colored made any distinction between the two groups of Colored. The Modified Bogardus Test given to Negroes investigated their attitudes toward Whites, Puerto Ricans, Jews, and Southern White Folks.

The Bogardus and California Tests were administered at the same time to small groups. In most cases, it was given to a particular room in one of the grades, except in one case where the test had to be administered to two rooms at one time in the school hall. In all other cases, the test was administered in the classroom. Children were told not to put their names on the test papers. In the small schools all the children in grades 5 to 8 were tested. In the larger schools, rooms in each grade were selected at random, avoiding classes of the very gifted and the very

slow.

The children put the answers to the California Test on separate scoring sheets with an IBM pencil and their tests were machine scored by the California Test Bureau. In all the schools the children were used to putting answers on similar score sheets, and so there was no problem with the procedure.



## IV

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION RESULTS

#### A. Incidence of Extreme Prejudice in White and Negro Children.

Over all, 24% of the White children indicated Extreme Prejudice (EP) toward Negroes while only 7% of the Negro children indicated EP toward Whites. ( $X^2 = 102$ , d.f. = 1,  $<.001$ ). This is congruent with previous findings that Whites are more prejudiced toward Negroes than Negroes are toward Whites.

White children made some distinction between Negro and Poorly Educated Negro. Incidence of EP was 24% toward the Negro, while the incidence of EP toward the Poorly Educated Negro was 29% ( $X^2 = 18$ , d.f. = 1,  $p. <.001$ ).

Some white children showed extreme prejudice toward other minority groups; but the incidence was only about one-half of the incidence toward the Negro. The incidence of EP toward Negroes was 24%; toward Puerto Ricans

was 14%; and toward Jews was 12% (Corcoran's Q for k related samples - 259, d.f. - 2, p.  $< .001$ ).

Negro children drew a sharp distinction between White and Southern White. The incidence of EP toward Whites was 7% while the incidence toward Southern Whites was 25% ( $X = 135$ , d.f. = 1, p.  $< .001$ ).

Negro children also distinguished between Whites and Puerto Ricans and, especially between Whites and Jews. The incidence of EP toward Whites was 7%; toward Puerto Ricans was 16% and toward Jews was 19%, (Corcoran's Q for R related samples = 107, d.f. = 2, p.  $< .001$ ).

#### Integrated Schools vs. Segregated Schools

In segregated schools, 27% of the White children expressed EP toward Negroes; while in integrated schools, 17% of the White children expressed EP toward the Negro. ( $X = 14$ , d.f. = 1, p.  $< .001$ ).

In segregated schools, 7% of the Negroes expressed EP toward Whites; and in integrated schools the incidence of EP was the same, 7% of the Negroes expressing EP toward the Whites.

The contact experienced in an integrated school



is associated with a lower incidence of EP on the part of the White children, but not on the part of the Negro children. However, the incidence of EP in Negro children is much lower than the incidence in White children, even in integrated schools. (Integrated White 17; integrated Negro 7%; = 12; d.f. = .1 p. <.001).

#### Incidence of EP by Grade Level

Results shown in Table 3 indicate that the incidence of EP toward Negroes increases as the child progresses from grade five to grade eight. This takes place in both integrated and segregated schools. However, as shown above, the over-all incidence of EP in integrated schools is lower than in segregated schools.

In the case of the prejudice of Negro children toward Whites (Table 4), there is some evidence that it tends to decrease with age. This trend is statistically significant in the integrated school, but not in the case of the Negro child in the segregated school. The incidence of EP is relatively low in either type of school. The incidence clearly does not increase with age as it does among the White children. In terms of Allport's hypothesis

that the relationship between age and prejudice is curvilinear; these results suggest that the incidence of verbal EP reaches its peak earlier for Negro children than for White children. If the incidence of verbal EP in White children does, indeed, decrease, it is later than the eighth grade.

Table 3

Incidence of Extreme  
Prejudice (In percentages)  
of White Children Toward Negroes  
by Grade Level in Integrated and Segregated  
Schools

Grade	Integrated Schools	Segregated Schools	All Schools
5	17%	19%	18%
6	09%	30%	24%
7	14%	30%	26%
8	25%	29%	28%
$\chi^2$	10.54	8.17	10.86
d.f.	3	3	3
p.	<.02	<.05	<.02

Table 4

Incidence of Extreme Prejudice  
(In Percentages)  
Of Negro Children Toward Whites by Grade Levels  
And Integrated and Segregated Schools

Grade	Integrated Schools	Segregated Schools	All Schools
5	11%	08%	09%
6	11%	09%	10%
7	04%	06%	05%
8	03%	06%	05%
$\chi^2$	8.39	1.70	6.76
d.f.	3	3	3
p.	<.05	N.S.	>.05 <10

Adjustment and Extreme Prejudice

Adjustment is assessed in terms of Total Personal Adjustment and Total Social Adjustment scores on the California Test of Personality. The scores are categorized as high, medium, or low. High is defined as the upper one third of the normative sample; medium is defined as the middle one third of the normative sample; and low is defined as the lower one third of the normative sample. The frequencies with which Negroes and Whites in the pre-

sent sample were categorized as high, medium, and low are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

FREQUENCY OF HIGH, MEDIUM AND LOW  
PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT  
AMONG NEGRO AND WHITE CHILDREN

	<u>NEGRO</u>		<u>WHITE</u>	
	PERSONAL	SOCIAL	PERSONAL	SOCIAL
HIGH	98	98	305	297
MEDIUM	468	429	570	542
LOW	312	351	292	328
TOTAL	878	878	1167	1167

An inspection of Table 5 reveals that neither Whites nor Negroes are distributed one-third high, one-third medium, and one-third low. Further, Whites and Negroes are not distributed similarly. However, these issues are not directly pertinent to the present question. These data are analyzed in terms of EP. High personal adjustment is indicated in the cases of 98 Negroes. What proportion of these 98 Negroes manifest EP? Low personal adjustment is indicated in the cases of 292 Whites. What proportion of these 292 Whites manifest EP? And so forth.

Incidence of EP to Negroes, Puerto Ricans and

Jews among White children with low, medium, and high personal adjustment scores is presented in Table 6. It is clear that the incidence of EP is related to personal adjustment of the White children.

Table 6

Personal Adjustment and Incidence  
(In Percentages)  
Of Extreme Prejudice in White Children Toward  
Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Jews

Personal Adjustment	Negroes	Puerto Ricans	Jews
High	21%	8%	8%
Medium	22%	14%	11%
Low	31%	19%	19%
$\chi^2$	11	16	21
d.f.	2	2	2
p.	<.01	<.001	<.001

Incidence of EP toward Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Jews among White children with low, medium, and high social adjustment scores is presented in Table 7. It is clear that the incidence of EP is related to social adjustment of the White children.

Table 7

Social Adjustment and Incidence  
(In Percentages)  
Of Extreme Prejudice in White Children Toward  
Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Jews

Social Adjustment	Negroes	Puerto Ricans	Jews
High	12%	5%	4%
Medium	25%	13%	9%
Low	34%	23%	24%
$\chi^2$	39	43	62
d.f.	2	2	2
p.	<.001	<.001	<.001

Table 8

Personal Adjustment and Incidence  
(In Percentages)  
Of Extreme Prejudice in Negro Children Toward  
Whites, Puerto Ricans, and Jews

Personal Adjustment	Whites	Puerto Ricans	Jews
High	2%	4%	4%
Medium	7%	15%	17%
Low	10%	21%	26%
$\chi^2$	8	17	25
d.f.	2	2	2
p.	<.02	<.001	<.001

Incidence of EP toward Whites, Puerto Ricans and Jews among Negro children with low, medium, and high personal adjustment scores is presented in Table 8. It is clear that the incidence of EP is related to personal adjustment of the Negro children.

Table 9

Social Adjustment and Incidence  
(In Percentages)  
Of Extreme Prejudice in Negro Children Toward  
Whites, Puerto Ricans, and Jews

Social Adjustment	Whites	Incidence of EP Toward Puerto Ricans	Jews
High	1%	7%	6%
Medium	5%	13%	15%
Low	12%	22%	27%
X <sup>2</sup>	21	19	30
d.f.	2	2	2
p.	<.001	<.001	<.001

Incidence of EP toward Whites, Puerto Ricans, and Jews among Negro Children with low, medium, and high social adjustment scores is presented in Table 9. It is clear that the incidence of EP is related to the social adjustment of the Negro children.

Discussion

The present study used a latitudinal rather than a longitudinal methodology. This introduces the possibility of a systematic bias. That is, it is possible that the more prejudiced families were more likely to remove their children from an integrated school than from a segregated school.

The author does not believe that this is a source of serious error. Both public and parochial schools operated on a geographic basis. That is, a family living in a given house could send children to the parochial school serving the geographic area, but to no other parochial school; or they could send the children to the public school serving the geographic area but to no other public school. The parents could, of course, move from the area. But they could not remain in the neighborhood and choose between an integrated school and a segregated school.

Living in the area involved sharing with Negroes the local facilities for shopping, recreation, transportation, religious services, etc. In this context, the sharing of school facilities per se did not seem to be the dominant



issue. The most prejudiced families were unwilling to share any of these facilities and moved from the areas, regardless of whether the children were in an integrated school or a segregated school. The families that were willing to share the other facilities did not seem to make a special issue over the sharing of school facilities.

Hence, the author believes that there is some systematic bias in the sense that the most prejudiced families moved from the area and their children are not represented in this sample. But there is not a serious bias in the sense that those children in integrated schools came from less prejudiced families than did the children in the segregated schools. The family has no choice in the matter except for leaving the area altogether.

An issue that has implications for public policy, especially one about which people are deeply emotional, is not going to be resolved by any one study. However, the results of the present study indicate that the experience of attending an integrated school is associated with a reduction in the incidence of the more extreme forms of prejudice.

This does not mean that the children who refrain from endorsing extreme items thereby indicate a liking for Negroes. But a lower incidence of EP would seem to be a more realistic immediate goal than the goal of true social equality. And the experiences encountered in an integrated school do seem to be associated with the immediate goal of civil rights.

## SUMMARY

This empirical study considers the influence of three variables on the incidence of extreme racial - ethnic prejudice in school children. These variables are personal experience in integrated or segregated schools, age, and personal and social adjustment.

The hypothesis that personal experience with other racial - ethnic groups influences the more extreme forms of prejudice is verified for White children. In segregated schools 27% of the White children express extreme prejudice; while in integrated schools only 17% of the White children express extreme prejudice. However, experience did not influence the incidence of EP among Negro children. The incidence of EP in Negro children was the same (7%) in the segregated and the integrated schools.

Results show that incidence of EP toward Negroes increases as the child progresses from grade five to eight. This is true within both the integrated and the segregated schools. In the case of the incidence of EP in Negroes to-

ward Whites there is evidence that it tends to decrease from grade five to eight.

Incidences of EP toward Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Jews among White children are related to personal adjustment. Likewise, the incidences of EP toward Whites, Puerto Ricans, and Jews among Negroes are related to the personal adjustment of the Negro children. The incidences of EP toward Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Jews among White children are related to social adjustment. Incidence of EP toward Whites, Puerto Ricans, and Jews among Negro children are related to social adjustment.

The incidence of EP is not the same toward all minority groups. White children made some distinction between Negro (25%) and Poorly Educated Negro (29%). White children manifested a lower incidence of EP toward Puerto Ricans (14%) and Jews (12%) than toward Negroes (25%).

Negro children drew a sharp distinction between White and Southern White. The incidence of EP among Negro children toward Whites was 7% and toward Southern Whites was 25%.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Reverend Henry Pozdol has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Psychology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

May 29, 1967  
Date

John Flanagan  
Signature of Adviser (PK)