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THE ATTITUDES OF LOGAN CITY, UTAH
TOWARD ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS
WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE NEGRO

by

Ella D. Lewis Douglas

Report No. 2 submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

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in

Social Science

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Ella D. Lewis Douglas

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INTRODUCTION

The Problem

One major purpose of the research conducted by human relations agencies has been to determine the correlates of prejudice. The analysis of data has persistently aimed at identifying those groups within the population among whom the incidence of prejudice is higher. If such groups can be identified, programs to reduce prejudice can be designed especially for them.

However, there is a strong feeling in the American society that certain groups in the population are congenitally inferior to others.¹ These are the ethnic minority groups, such as the Negro, the Spanish-American, the Oriental, the Jew, and the American Indian. Such a conception is a significant one in prejudice regardless of what the minority is. Few issues in the field of social psychology, or in sociology, are more vexing than the relative importance of various social factors in the formation of attitudes.

Many studies have been made regarding racial prejudice and the individual, but fewer studies have been made on racial attitudes of whole communities toward ethnic minority groups in the United States.

¹Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf and Company, 1956), p. 438-439.

Statement of the Problem

This research study is concerned with the racial attitudes in Logan City, Utah, toward ethnic minority groups, with special emphasis on attitudes toward Negroes.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are significant to this study and thus need defining:

Race: For our purposes a race is a human group which is culturally defined in a given society. This group is considered different from others by virtue of ascribed and/or visible physical characteristics.²

Prejudice: Prejudice has been defined as an averted or hostile attitude toward a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have objectionable qualities ascribed to the group.³

Racial Prejudice: Racial prejudice is a system of reciprocal relations of stereotyping, discrimination, and segregation existing between human groups which are considered as races. Racial prejudice is a special case of prejudice, which may assume many forms (cultural, ethnic, class, religious, etc.).⁴

Negro: Anyone known to have Negro ancestry is a Negro in the United States.

²Carter V. Good, Dictionary of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959), p. 436.

³Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Boston, Massachusetts: The Beacon Press, 1954), p. 7.

⁴Good, p. 436.

Racial Discrimination: The denial of certain rights or privileges to some individuals on the basis of race or color is racial discrimination.⁵

⁵Ibid., p. 178

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Recently much attention has been given to the phenomenon of prejudice. Studies in this field usually emphasize prejudice directed toward a minority group on the part of a majority or dominant group.

According to Rosenblum, prejudice is directly related to social class identification, i.e., the higher one's social class status identification, the more likely he is to be prejudiced toward ethnic groups.⁶ He further states, "That there is no significant statistical relation between prejudice toward ethnic group and church affiliations."⁷

The studies of Bettelheim and Janowitz,⁸ Greenblum and Pearlin,⁹ and Silberstein and Seeman,¹⁰ found that the downwardly mobile and perhaps the upwardly mobile are more prejudiced than persons stable in status.

In Freeman's studies, it was found that socio-economic status tends to be inversely related to prejudice toward Negroes.¹¹

⁶Abraham L. Rosenblum, "Ethnic Prejudice as Related to Social Class and Religiosity," Sociology and Social Research, XVIII (March 1959), p. 274-275.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 36.

⁹Joseph Greenblum and Leonard I. Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice: A Socio-Psychological Analysis," in Reinhard Bendix and Semour Martin Lipset, eds., Class, Status, and Power (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), Chapter 6.

¹⁰Fred B. Silberstein and Melvin Seeman, "Social Mobility and Prejudice," American Journal of Sociology, LXV (November 1959), p. 260-262.

¹¹Donald Freeman, "Status Discrepancy and Prejudice," American Journal of Sociology, LXXV (March 1966), p. 210.

Stouffer found that four-fifths of his Air Force enlisted men said "no" to the idea of desegregated group crews; but only one-third of the northern solidiers and two-thirds of the southerners personally disapproved of working with Negroes.¹²

This finding of Stouffer indicates a kind of fair-weather tolerance, which is affected by the situation. Moreover, in a coal mining town, Minard found that the majority of Negro and white miners easily follow a traditional pattern of integration below ground, but a rigid pattern of segregation on the surface.¹³ Simpson and Yinger conclude from their survey of the literature that:

Many studies show that individual behavior can be modified by changes in the situation, independently of personality . . . a very high proportion of persons have tendencies toward non-discrimination that may be called out by strategic situational changes, even though such tendencies normally are dormant.¹⁴

Rose has taken this point of view:

Individual prejudice is unrelated to intergroup conflict and that such racial prejudice varies directly with changes in the social situation, and not with fluctuations in individual attitudes.¹⁵

Raab and Lipset have observed that "prejudiced attitudes do not necessarily lead to prejudiced behavior."¹⁶

¹²S. A. Stouffer, The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life, I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 579.

¹³R. D. Minard, "Race Relations in the Pocahontas Coal Field," Journal of Social Issues, VIII (1952), p. 29-44.

¹⁴G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p. 780.

¹⁵Arnold Rose, "Intergroup Relations vs. Prejudice: Pertinent Theory for Social Changes," Social Problems, IV (1956), p. 173-176.

¹⁶S. M. Lipset and E. Raab, Prejudice and Society (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1959), p. 11.

Studies on the Effect of Equal-Status Work Contact

Brophy found a very marked reduction in anti-Negro prejudice among white merchant seamen who had shipped one or more times with Negro sailors.¹⁷

Merton, West, and Jahoda found a moderate increase in favorable attitudes toward interracial housing projects among lower-class white tenants in such a project who had previously worked with Negroes as compared with those who had not had this experience.¹⁸

Deutsch and Collins, however, found only a slight and statistically unreliable relationship between work experience and attitudes toward Negroes among white housewives in a segregated biracial public housing project.¹⁹

Irish's study reported that the combination of a favorable community atmosphere, a highly selected group of ethnic newcomers, and the friendly personal contacts made possible by living in the same block, produced favorable changes in the attitudes of Boulder residents toward Japanese-Americans. Casual and impersonal contacts with the same newcomers, in the same community atmosphere, were significantly less effective in improving attitudes.²⁰

¹⁷S. N. Brophy, "The Luxury of Anti-Negro Prejudices," Public Opinion Quarterly, IX (1946), p. 456-466.

¹⁸R. K. Merton, S. Patricia West, and Marie Jahoda, Social Fictions and Social Facts: The Dynamics of Race Relations in Hilltown (New York: Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1949), p. 200.

¹⁹M. Deutsch and Mary E. Collins, Interracial Housing: A Psychological Evaluation of a Social Experiment (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951), p. 100.

²⁰D. P. Irish, "Reactions of Caucasian Residents to Japanese-American Neighbors," Journal of Social Issues, VIII (1952), No. 1, p. 10-17.

Allport and Kramer, in reporting the results of their study of the attitudes of college students toward Jews and Negroes, found that contact between members of groups having the same economic and social status improved friendly relations between them.²¹

Smith found a significant gain in favorableness of attitudes toward Negroes on the part of 46 graduate students who were taken to Harlem on visits which included lectures by Negroes and participation in teas and dinners with Negro hosts and guests.²²

Tumin, Barton, and Burris give us a clue about the impact of formal education upon behavior.²³ They claim that as formal education increases there tend to occur noticeable shifts from traditionalism to secularism in general social philosophy. Brophy has evidence for a similar contention.²⁴

Research findings indicate that extensive contact with minority groups is related to increased tolerance toward those groups. Numerous investigators have found increased tolerance toward Negroes as a consequence of working with Negroes.²⁵

²¹G. W. Allport and B. M. Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice," Journal of Psychology, XXII (1946), p. 9-39.

²²T. T. Smith, An Experiment in Modifying Attitudes Toward the Negro (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 110.

²³Melvin Tumin, Paul Barton, and Bernie Burris, "Education, Prejudice and Discrimination," American Sociological Review, XXIII (February 1958), p. 41-49.

²⁴Ira N. Brophy, "The Luxury of Anti-Negro Prejudice," Public Opinion Quarterly, IX (Winter 1945), p. 456-466.

²⁵For example, Harry S. Brown and George W. Albee, "The Effect of Integrated Hospital Experiences on Racial Attitudes: A Discordant Note," Social Problems, XII (Winter 1966), p. 325.

Samuelson, in her analysis of an NORC study, concludes that general education does diminish prejudice.²⁶ Harding and his associates, reviewing the literature in 1954, state that the most consistent finding is a negative correlation between prejudice of all kinds and amounts of formal education.²⁷ Allport disagrees, however, with those enthusiasts who claim that the whole problem of prejudice is a matter of education.²⁸ Samuelson actually agrees that some aspects of prejudice are not affected by education.²⁹

Of particular relevance to current study is the work done by Mauss on race attitudes among Mormons.³⁰ The Mormon Church has a lay priesthood which is bestowed generally upon all male members over 12 years of age, but it is officially withheld from any Church member of "Hamitic" (African) lineage. This policy originates in Divine fiat, according to Mormon teachings. Since this proscription against Negroes is made explicit in contemporary Church policy and in Mormon (extra-biblical) scriptures, it constitutes a kind of ecclesiastical discrimination that is not only condoned but unequivocally required by the Church hierarchy.

Mauss' study found no evidence of a carry-over of the Mormon doctrine about the Negro into secular civil life. He concluded that

²⁶B. Samuelson, "Does Education Diminish Prejudice?" The Journal of Social Issues, I (August 1945), p. 11-13.

²⁷J. Harding, "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," Handbook of Psychology (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1945), p. 1039.

²⁸Allport, p. 39.

²⁹Samuelson, p. 13.

³⁰Armand L. Mauss, "Mormonism and Secular Attitudes Toward Negroes," Pacific Sociological Review, (Fall, 1966), p. 91-99.

racism in Utah might be related to the rural and small-town environment in much of the Mountain West (as in other parts of the country), or it might be the sickness of individual Mormon bigots, who would find some other way to rationalize their racism, even if the Mormon Church were without its peculiar "Negro doctrine."³¹ However, Mauss' sample was taken from California Mormons, which leaves the question of Mormon race attitudes in Utah open for investigation.

Summary of the Literature

The above survey of literature suggests the following:

1. That socio-economic status tends to be inversely related to prejudice, with status-stable persons less likely to be prejudiced than mobile persons.

2. Individual attitudes and behavior can be modified by changes in the social situation.

3. Social contact between equals reduces prejudices. Equal status work contact between white and Negroes may produce favorable changes in attitudes among white workers, small favorable changes, or no changes at all, depending primarily on the nature of work and the type of attitude measurement.

4. Education diminishes prejudice, at least for some, although there is not unanimity on this among scholars.

³¹Ibid.; see also, Armand L. Mauss, "Mormonism and the Negro: Faith, Folklore, and Civil Rights," Dialogue, II:4(Winter 1967), p. 38-39.

Hypotheses for this Study

As a result of the above review of literature, the following hypotheses emerged to guide this study:

1. Attitudes toward Negroes and other minority groups in Logan would be dependent primarily upon education level and other secular influences such as the rural-urban difference, age, and region of origin, with the greatest racial prejudice expected among those from lower education levels, inland regions, rural upbringing, and older age-levels.
2. Race attitudes in Logan would also be partly dependent upon religious differences, as follows: (a) Mormons would be more likely to show racial prejudice than would non-Mormons; and (b) among Mormons, those who accept without question the Church policy on the Negro would be more likely to show prejudice, toward Negroes as well as toward others, than would those doubting or rejecting the Church policy.
3. Those residents, whether Mormon or non-Mormon, who had some early contact with, or exposure to, Negroes on an equal-status basis would be less likely to hold prejudiced attitudes than would those with little or no such exposure.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The Study Population Universe

Logan's population is characterized by considerable homogeneity of regional, race, and religious background. Virtually all residents are of English, Scandinavian and/or German ethnic origin, and more than 80 per cent are of the Latter-Day Saint (Mormon) religion. The population of about 20,000 is small enough to allow for a reasonably sized sample to be drawn from the entire community. Knowledge of and experience in the community indicate that almost all the people are life-long residents, largely home-owning and middle class. The middle class constitutes 95 per cent of the population, with lower and upper classes (if any), making up the other 5 per cent.

The culture is small-city urban, but not cosmopolitan. Logan City is located in Cache Valley, Utah, and has one of the few American economies founded mainly for a religious purpose, dominated by religious sentiments, and managed by religious leaders.

Agriculture provides direct support for approximately 33 per cent of the population; manufacturing supports about 8 per cent; construction another 6 per cent; and the remainder of the population is supported by the local Utah State University, and by a variety of supply and service industries and occupations based mainly on agriculture.

The city itself was established in 1870, when the price of lots was fixed at \$3.50 an acre. Today, it is one of the two major marketing and distribution centers of Cache Valley.

It is essentially a middle class residential area. The dominant subculture, derived from the dominant religion, is Mormon (formally the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, or simply "LDS"), and most of the political power is wielded by Mormons.³²

The sample

The sample on which this study is based was a random sample of Logan adults. Twelve hundred individuals were selected from the telephone directory of Logan, Utah. Every thirteenth name was chosen, at random, omitting the names of university students and of those obviously and exotically foreign, so that the sample, insofar as possible, would include only "typical" residents.

Instrument

The testing instrument used for the study was the questionnaire included in the Appendix. The questions were of the multiple-choice kind, enabling the respondent to express degrees of agreement or disagreement, and/or to add brief statements. As few questions as possible were used, but enough were included to receive an adequate attitudinal overview from the community respondents under study. Some questions deliberately employed a certain degree of subterfuge. For example, Numbers 4 and 5 were worded in such a way as to make it easier for those with anti-Negro attitudes to express them; and the social distance scale on the first page of the questionnaire included the names of three

³²Most of the information in the last few paragraphs is taken from Joel E. Ricks and Everett L. Cooley, eds., The History of a Valley--Cache Valley, Utah-Idaho (Logan, Utah: Cache Valley Centennial Commission, 1956), supplemented by a few personal findings and observations based upon a year's residence in Logan.

fictitious "ethnic" groups (Jacobins, Grenovians, and Rovenians) to elicit some indication of generalized prejudice against out-groups.

Data-gathering procedure

The questionnaires were mailed during April, 1968, together with the following items:

1. A post card to be returned stating that the respondent had completed the questionnaire and returned it. This made it possible to keep the questionnaires themselves anonymous, while still permitting follow-up on non-respondents.

2. A self-addressed envelope for the return of the questionnaire.

Through the University's publicity office, a special effort was made to gain the good-will of the community for the questionnaire. Articles describing favorably the research project and testing instrument were carried by all of the local newspapers and radio stations for several days before the mailing.

Follow-up

Respondents were given two or three weeks to complete and mail back the questionnaires. An appeal was then made through the radio and newspapers. After another week, post-cards were sent to the respondents for whom there were no return post-cards on file, reminding them to complete and mail their questionnaires. Out of 1200 questionnaires sent out, 452 were returned completed. Since 180 names in the sample were subsequently found to have moved away, the net return was 452 out of 1020 or 45 per cent. In addition to the 452 valid questionnaires returned, some 30 more were returned completely blank (thus requiring the payment of return postage in vain). This would seem to indicate a degree of protest or hostility in the community toward the survey

(probably toward any such survey). Just how widespread this hostility was (despite all public relations efforts!) is difficult to estimate, but presumably it was only "the tip of the iceberg."

The Independent Variables

Although the instrument would obviously permit study of a great range of dependent and independent variables, this preliminary study is limited to the effects of the following independent variables:

The scale of presumptive secularization

The Mauss study (cited in footnote 30) found that certain social background variables had the effect, respectively, of reducing the tendency to hold negative attitudes toward Negroes. (Such accords, of course, with the research of others as well.) These variables are especially: region of origin, rural vs. urban origin, age, and education level. Such factors are also those believed to have the greatest "secularizing" influence, that is, the factors influencing people to think in secular, rationalistic ways, rather than in religious or traditional ways.³³ A nominal scale was built from the responses to questions about the above variables. The resultant scale of 0-15 was reduced to the four categories of very low, low, medium, and high (with the first two combined for non-Mormons because of extremely small sub-sample sizes). Use of this "Scale of Presumptive Secularization" as an independent variable has the effect, of course, of controlling simultaneously for the factors which comprise it. Accordingly, separate controls for

³³Tumin, et al.

education, age, etc., were not employed in the analysis. Table 1 shows the distribution of the respondents on this scale.

Scale of childhood exposure

This scale was used to measure the degree of exposure that the respondents had had with minority groups while growing up. One of the most widely accepted principles of intergroup relations is the declaration that "if people only knew each other better," there would be less prejudice and hostility. The underlying hypothesis is that contact between racial groups reduces prejudice and hostility.³⁴

Two items in the instrument indicated the amount of childhood exposure to Negroes and to other ethnic groups: No. II asked, "As a child or youth, did you ever play with any youngsters from any of the following groups?" No. III asked, "While you were growing up, among which of these groups, if any, did you have any close friends or neighbors?"

From these two items, a "Scale of Childhood Exposure to Negroes" was constructed, with a range of 0-5. A score of 4 or 5 was considered "high," 3 "medium," 1 or 2 "low," and the rest "zero." The overwhelming majority of the sample, Mormon and non-Mormon, scored "zero," making the sub-sample sizes of the other categories very small. Table 2 shows the distribution of the respondents on this scale.

³⁴J. Milton Yinger, "Beyond Legal Equality: The Contact Hypothesis," A Minority Group in American Society (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 119. (See also footnotes 17 through 25 herein.)

Dependent Variables

Several items were used as indicators of attitudes toward Negroes. These made possible some estimate of prejudice, stereo-typing, and good- or ill-will: "It's too bad, but in general Negroes seem to have inferior intelligence when compared to whites." "Most Negro neighborhoods are run down because Negroes simply don't take care of property." "A lot of Negroes blame white people for their positions in life, but the main problem is that the average Negro doesn't work hard enough in school and in his job."

Indicators of segregationist tendencies were found in these questions: "It would probably be better for whites and Negroes to attend separate churches or wards." "I would be glad to have a Negro for dinner in my home." Segregationist tendencies in housing were indicated by responses to this question: "Suppose you owned your own home and several (Negro) (Mexican) (Oriental) (American Indian) families moved into your block. Frankly, would you be apt to move elsewhere if you could get a fair price for your home?" Table 3 shows the distribution of Mormon and non-Mormon respondents on items indicating prejudice and discrimination.

Besides general attitudes and segregationist tendencies, the third kind of dependent variable studied is social distance, measured by a version of the well-known Bogardus Social Distance Scale. Page 1 of the instrument (see Appendix) shows which ethnic groups besides Negroes were included in the Bogardus Scale. Scores on this scale consisted of simple arithmetic means for the various sub-samples studied: the smaller the mean score of a category of respondents (out of a possible 7), the more tolerance and intimacy with a given ethnic group would be

acceptable to the respondents. Table 4 shows the means of the total sample of respondents, by religious affiliation, for selected ethnic groups in the Bogardus Scale.

FINDINGS

Having explained briefly the main dependent and independent variables involved in this study, we can now consider what we have ascertained about the relationships among them.

We shall first have a rapid overview of the four initial tables referred to above, in order to emphasize the significance of some of the gross findings. From the Totals in the first table, we can see that three-fourths of the respondents are Mormon or LDS, and one-fourth are non-LDS. Though various religious affiliations (and a number of non-affiliations) are, of course, represented in the latter category, the sub-sample was too small to make further division by religious affiliation very practical. This distribution, as between LDS and non-LDS, is roughly comparable to the actual population distribution in Logan, with a small LDS under-representation here.

Table 1 also shows us that there is a great discrepancy between the LDS and non-LDS distributions on the Scale of Presumptive Secularization. While only 15 per cent of the non-LDS sample ranks "low" or "very low" on the scale, the corresponding figure for the Mormon sample is 57 per cent (21 per cent + 36 per cent). Half of the non-LDS sample is "high" in presumptive secularization, compared to 9 per cent of the LDS. Thus the two religious categories in question differ greatly not only in religion, but also in the extent of secularizing experiences they have had. No researcher can afford to overlook this datum in discussing differences between the Mormons and their neighbors in Logan.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL RESPONDENTS, BY RELIGION, ON THE
SCALE OF PRESUMPTIVE SECULARIZATION

(Scale derived from combining the factors of education level, rural/
urban origin, region of origin, and age.)

	<u>Very Low</u>		<u>Low</u>		<u>Medium</u>		<u>High</u>		<u>Totals</u>	
	LDS	Non-LDS*	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS
Number	70 ↓	-	121 ↓	18 ↓	112 ↓	43 ↓	31 ↓	57 ↓	334 ↓	118 ↓
% of each religious group	21%	-	36%	15%	34%	36%	9%	49%	100%	100%
% of total sample	15%	1	27%	4%	25%	9%	7%	13%	74%	26%

*Combined with "Low" because of an extremely small number of cases.

In Table 2 we see an even greater disparity between Mormons and others in the extent of the childhood exposure to Negroes they have had. Of the Mormons in Logan, 89 per cent report no exposure at all, with another 5 per cent having had slight exposure, and only 6 per cent reporting high exposure. In contrast, while more than half of the non-Mormons report little or no exposure to Negroes while growing up, 42 per cent have had medium or high exposure. To be more specific, our scale of exposure was constructed in such a way that medium exposure signifies at least having lived as a child in a neighborhood with Negroes, and/or having played with Negro children. Such experiences are, not surprisingly, rare for LDS residents of Cache Valley.

The comparison between LDS and non-LDS responses on Table 3 shows a consistently higher rate of negative feeling for the LDS, and the percentage-point differences are very large. Approximately two-thirds of the LDS sample, compared to roughly half that rate for the non-LDS, apparently believe that Negroes as a group do not care for their property and don't work hard enough. Furthermore, the LDS are twice as likely, or more, than the non-LDS, to prefer separate churches and neighborhoods, not only for Negroes, but (where housing is concerned) for Orientals, Mexicans, and American Indians as well. In Table 4 we see the same kind of gap between Mormon and non-Mormon preferences and attitudes. To be sure, the Mormons, on the average, could hardly be called highly discriminatory here, for the score of 3.0 on Negroes indicates that members of this ethnic group would be acceptable to the average Mormon as next-door neighbors, at least (but, presumably, not so for the 54 per cent of the Mormons who indicated, on Table 3, that they would move away if Negroes moved in). Nevertheless, whatever ethnic group on the list we consider, we find that the Mormons, on the

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL RESPONDENTS, BY RELIGION, ON THE
SCALE OF CHILDHOOD EXPOSURE TO NEGROES

	<u>Zero</u>		<u>Low</u>		<u>Medium</u>		<u>High</u>		<u>Totals</u>	
	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS
Number	297	13	18	55	0	26	19	24	334	118
% of each religious group	89%	11%	5%	47%	0	22%	6%	20%	100%	100%
% of total sample	66%	3%	4%	12%	0	6%	4%	5%	74%	26%

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL RESPONDENTS, BY RELIGION, ON INDICATORS
OF PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

	% 's answering "agree strongly" or "agree somewhat" to state- ments at left		
	<u>LDS</u>	<u>Non-LDS</u>	<u>Combined</u>
<u>Indicators of Prejudice</u>			
1. It's too bad, but in general Negroes seem to have inferior intelligence when compared to whites	30%	12%	26%
2. Most Negro neighborhoods are run down because Negroes simply don't take care of property	69%	37%	63%
3. A lot of Negroes blame white people for their position in life, but the main problem is that the average Negro doesn't work hard enough in school and in his job	61%	27%	54%
<u>Indicators of Discrimination</u>			
4. I would be glad to have a Negro for dinner in my home	65%	80%	69%
5. It would probably be better for whites and Negroes in each denomination to attend separate churches or wards	38%	13%	32%
6. Suppose you owned your own home and several Negro families moved into your block. Frankly, would you be apt to move elsewhere if you could get a fair price for your house? % who would "probably" or "almost certainly" move	54%	26%	47%
7. % who would "probably" or "almost certainly" move away if an Oriental family moved in	22%	11%	19%
8. % who would "probably" or "almost certainly" move away if an American Indian family moved in	25%	9%	21%
9. % who would "probably" or "almost certainly" move away if a Mexican family moved in	40%	20%	34%
	N's (100%) = 334	118	452

TABLE 4

MEAN SCORES OF ALL RESPONDENTS, BY RELIGION, ON THE
BOGARDUS SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE®

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	Mean Social Distance Scores		
	<u>LDS</u>	<u>Non-LDS</u>	<u>Combined</u>
1. Chinese	2.6	1.8	2.4
2. Grenovians*	2.9	1.8	2.6
3. American Indians	2.2	1.7	2.1
4. Japanese	2.3	1.8	2.2
5. Jews	2.1	1.5	1.9
6. Jacobins*	3.1	2.0	2.8
7. Mexicans	2.6	1.8	2.4
8. Negroes	3.0	2.2	2.9
9. Rovenians*	2.9	1.7	2.6
N's (100%) = 334 118 452			

®The Bogardus Social Distance Scale, with a range of 1 to 7, includes the following items:

- 1 = would marry into this group
- 2 = would have as close friends
- 3 = would have as next-door neighbors
- 4 = would work in the same office or room
- 5 = would have only as speaking acquaintances
- 6 = would have only as visitors to my nation
- 7 = would debar from my nation

*Fictitious "ethnic groups" deliberately included to provide some indication of generalized social distance preferences toward "outsiders."

average, prefer from one-half to one whole step greater social distance on the scale than do non-Mormons. One interesting and amusing additional observation might be made about this table: In general, the fictitious groups on the list elicit the greatest social distance scores; this is especially true for the LDS, whose social distance scores for the Negroes and for the three fictitious groups are almost the same. We believe that this reflects a generalized tendency of our respondents to prefer to avoid the unknown, including Negroes, who, for most Logan residents, are perhaps as "unknown" as "Rovenians."

We have seen a large and consistent difference between Mormons and non-Mormons in this Logan sample in their attitudes toward Negroes and other ethnic groups, with the Mormons always appearing the less favorably disposed. However, we have also seen, from Tables 1 and 2, that Mormons differ from non-Mormons in far more than religion. We are entitled to ask, therefore, whether the differences between these two groups in their attitudes can be attributed to religious factors, or to such secular factors as degree of childhood exposure to Negroes, education level, age, community of origin, and the like, which are also grossly different for the Mormon and non-Mormon samples. Table 5 gives us some data relevant to this question, although we are hampered there by some very small sub-samples. Controlling for secularizing experiences seems, generally speaking, to bring the Mormons and non-Mormons closer together at the lower levels of the scale, while broadening the gap between them (or leaving it the same) at the medium and high levels. In other words, Mormons and non-Mormons that are similarly lacking in urban cosmopolitan living experiences, in education, and in youth, are similarly negative in their attitudes toward Negroes and others. Mormons are, at this lower end of the scale, actually considerably more favorably

TABLE 5: DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES AND OTHERS BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION,
WITH PRESUMPTIVE SECULARIZATION CONTROLLED

(Figures are percents in each category answering "agree strongly" or "agree somewhat")

Rank on Presumptive Secularization Scale	<u>Low/Very Low*</u>		<u>Medium</u>		<u>High</u>	
	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS
<u>Abbreviated Questionnaire Items</u>						
<u>Indicators of Prejudice</u>						
1. Negroes have inferior intelligence	33%	44%	25%	9%	29%	9%
2. Negroes don't care for property	71%	67%	64%	35%	65%	32%
3. Negroes don't work hard enough	62%	56%	54%	30%	61%	18%
<u>Indicators of Discrimination</u>						
4. Would be glad to have a Negro to dinner	58%	28%	69%	81%	80%	91%
5. Whites and Negroes should attend separate churches	44%	39%	32%	12%	16%	9%
6. Would move out if Negroes moved in	60%	72%	46%	23%	42%	16%
7. Would move out if Orientals moved in	26%	28%	14%	8%	26%	7%
8. Would move out if Indians moved in	28%	33%	17%	8%	29%	2%
9. Would move out if Mexicans moved in	44%	67%	30%	14%	42%	11%
N's (100%) =	191	18	112	43	31	57

*"Low" and "Very Low" categories are combined because of the extremely small N for non-Mormons.

disposed toward the various ethnic groups, on some items, than are the non-Mormons. In the "medium" and "high" columns, however, the Mormons remain much less favorable in their attitudes toward Negroes and others than do the non-Mormons, and the percentage-point gaps, again, are very large. It is true that, as we move from left to right on the table (from lesser to greater presumptive secularization), both Mormons and non-Mormons show a general tendency to decline in negative ethnic attitudes, but the decline is far sharper for non-Mormons than for Mormons, suggesting that religion remains as an independent influence affecting attitudes toward ethnic groups.

This same religious factor, affiliation, is operative in social distance preferences, as can be seen from Table 6. Once again, at the lower levels of presumptive secularization, the Mormon and non-Mormon social distance scores are very similar for all but the fictitious "ethnic groups" and the Jews. (Mormons, for some reason, remain particularly wary of these fictitious groups all the way across the table). In the "medium" and "high" columns, we see the same tendencies as in Table 5; namely, both LDS and non-LDS drop in social distance scores, but the latter remain noticeably less distant toward ethnic groups than the former, even at the right end of the table. Once again, religious affiliation seems to have an independent influence.

There is another relevant religious factor, however, besides mere affiliation. As in any religious group, there are Mormons who accept with little question whatever the Church teaches, and there are those who have some doubts. Rather than deal, however, with the larger and more complex question of general religious orthodoxy, we decided to address ourselves to the particular Mormon doctrine and policy about Negroes, which would seem to be more relevant for this study, and to

TABLE 6: DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL DISTANCE PREFERENCES TOWARD CERTAIN ETHNIC GROUPS,
BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, WITH PRESUMPTIVE SECULARIZATION CONTROLLED

(Figures are mean scores from a range of 1 to 7 on the Bogardus Social Distance Scale)

Rank on PS Scale	<u>Low/Very Low</u> *		<u>Medium</u>		<u>High</u>	
	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS
Selected Ethnic Groups:						
1. Chinese	2.6	2.8	2.8	1.9	2.3	1.5
2. "Grenovians"	3.0	2.1	3.0	1.8	2.3	1.7
3. American Indians	2.2	2.3	2.2	1.8	2.1	1.5
4. Japanese	2.4	2.2	2.3	1.5	2.1	1.8
5. Jews	2.3	1.6	2.1	1.6	1.8	1.4
6. "Jacobins"	3.2	2.4	3.0	2.1	3.1	1.9
7. Mexicans	2.8	2.7	2.7	1.9	2.2	1.5
8. Negroes	3.3	3.2	3.1	2.1	2.5	2.0
9. "Rovenians"	3.0	1.2	3.0	1.7	2.8	1.7
N's (100%) =	191	18	112	43	31	57

*"Low" and "Very Low" categories are combined on this table because of the extremely small N for Non-Mormons.

compare those Mormons who strongly believe in this doctrine with those demurring or expressing some doubts. The results, again with controls for degree of presumptive secularization, can be seen in Table 7. Here we can see that both the religious and the secular factors are operative again. In all four categories of presumptive secularization, those who strongly believe in the Mormon policy toward Negroes are less favorably disposed than the doubters in their attitudes, which would seem to indicate that belief in this policy does make a difference in secular attitudes, not only toward Negroes, but toward other ethnic groups as well. To be sure, presumptive secularization makes a difference too, for both believers and doubters have a definite general tendency to decline in negative attitudes as we move across the table. There is some inconsistency in this general tendency, probably owing to instability in some of the very small sub-samples, but the tendency remains.

In Table 8, too, the religious factor of strong belief in the Negro doctrine, and the rank on the secularization scale both affect attitudes toward the various ethnic groups. As has been true in the past, the religious factor is not so important at the lower levels of presumptive secularization. In both the "very low" and the "low" columns, the social distance scores for believers and doubters are very similar; in fact, the doubters turn up actually with higher social distance scores for several of the ethnic groups. In the "medium" one, the doubters have greater social distance preferences than do the believers. All things considered, however, one can say, from studying this table, that while social distance scores decline across the table for both believers and doubters in the Church's Negro doctrine, the scores do remain higher for the believers, testifying again to an independent effect for this religious factor.

TABLE 7: DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES AND OTHERS AMONG MORMONS BY BELIEF OR DOUBT
IN CHURCH NEGRO DOCTRINE, WITH PRESUMPTIVE SECULARIZATION CONTROLLED

(Figures are percents in each category answering "agree strongly" or "agree somewhat")

Rank on Presumptive Secularization Scale	Very Low		Low		Medium		High	
	Strong Believers	Doubters	Strong Bel'rs.	Dtrs.	Strong Bel'rs.	Dtrs.	Strong Bel'rs.	Dtrs.
Abbreviated Questionnaire Items								
<u>Indicators of Prejudice</u>								
1. Negroes have inferior intelligence	45%	36%	31%	26%	27%	17%	43%	0
2. Negroes don't care for property	82%	79%	74%	52%	69%	54%	72%	50%
3. Negroes don't work hard enough	80%	56%	71%	33%	55%	57%	67%	50%
<u>Indicators of Discrimination</u>								
4. Would be glad to have a Negro for dinner	50%	36%	67%	71%	65%	77%	72%	100%
5. Whites and Negroes should attend separate churches	54%	64%	38%	39%	38%	17%	19%	0
6. Would move out if Negroes moved in	59%	57%	61%	52%	50%	40%	33%	33%
7. Would move out if Orientals moved in	38%	21%	19%	26%	16%	11%	29%	20%
8. Would move out if Indians moved in	39%	29%	23%	23%	21%	11%	33%	0
9. Would move out if Mexicans moved in	50%	29%	43%	35%	31%	28%	38%	33%
N's (100%) =	56	14	90	31	77	35	21	10

TABLE 8: DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL DISTANCE PREFERENCES TOWARD CERTAIN ETHNIC GROUPS, AMONG MORMONS BY BELIEF OR DOUBT IN CHURCH NEGRO DOCTRINE, WITH PRESUMPTIVE SECULARIZATION CONTROLLED

(Figures are mean scores from a range of 1 to 7 on the Bogardus Social Distance Scale)

Rank on BS Scale	<u>Very Low</u>		<u>Low</u>		<u>Medium</u>		<u>High</u>	
	Strong Believers	Doubters	Strong Bel'rs.	Dtrs.	Strong Bel'rs.	Dtrs.	Strong Bel'rs.	Dtrs.
Selected Ethnic Groups								
1. Chinese	2.9	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.7	2.4	2.3	2.2
2. "Grenovians"	3.3	4.0	2.6	2.8	3.0	2.5	2.2	3.0
3. American Indians	2.3	2.7	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.2	1.3
4. Japanese	2.6	2.7	2.3	2.2	2.5	2.0	2.4	1.5
5. Jews	2.5	2.4	2.0	2.0	2.2	1.9	1.9	1.5
6. "Jacobins"	3.5	4.5	2.9	2.8	3.1	2.6	2.7	3.0
8. Negroes	3.6	4.1	3.1	2.9	3.3	2.6	2.6	1.8
9. "Rovenians"	3.2	4.0	2.7	2.7	3.2	2.5	2.7	3.4
N's (100%) =								
	56	14	90	31	77	35	21	10

In answer, then, to the question we posed earlier about the relative importance of religious and secular factors in explaining the differences between Mormons and non-Mormons, we would have to say so far that both kinds of factors operate. Mormons, like others, tend to decline in their negative attitudes toward Negroes and other ethnic groups when we apply controls for the various secularizing influences represented in our scale; but, at the same time, Mormons at all degrees of secularization tend to be more negative in their attitudes than do non-Mormons, and Mormons strongly believing in the Church doctrine more negative than those doubting it.

There is, however, one more kind of secular factor in this study, which we have mentioned but not yet discussed as a possible independent variable; that is the factor of the degree of childhood exposure to Negroes. Table 9 compares Mormons with non-Mormons in their attitudes toward Negroes and others, according to this factor. Here, for the first time, we get some evidence that a secular factor might be more important than the religious one as a determinant of ethnic attitudes. To be sure, with so many of our respondents, particularly Mormon ones, in the "zero" category of exposure to Negroes, very small sub-samples are left in the remaining columns. However, the results are suggestive. Let us look first at the "zero" column in Table 9. These are the respondents who say that they had no exposure to Negroes while they were growing up. Mormons are more likely than non-Mormons to hold negative attitudes toward Negroes and the others on seven of the nine items, and most of the percentage-point differences are quite large. Now let us look at the "high" column, where we have the respondents indicating a large degree of childhood exposure to Negroes (which implies here having had Negroes as close friends). The rate of negative responses for Mormons is now

TABLE 9: DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES AND OTHERS BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION,
WITH CHILDHOOD EXPOSURE TO NEGROES CONTROLLED

(Figures are percents in each category answering "agree strongly" or "agree somewhat")

Rank on Scale of Childhood Exposure to Negroes	Zero		Low		Medium		High	
	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS
<u>Indicators of Prejudice</u>								
1. Negroes have inferior intelligence	31%	23%	50%	15%	N	8%	10%	21%
2. Negroes don't care for property	70%	46%	100%	45%	O	46%	32%	17%
3. Negroes don't work hard enough	65%	23%	89%	42%	C	23%	21%	33%
<u>Indicators of Discrimination</u>								
4. Would be glad to have a Negro to dinner	65%	54%	39%	80%	A	85%	68%	87%
5. Whites and Negroes should attend separate churches	38%	23%	61%	20%	S	23%	32%	17%
6. Would move out if Negroes moved in	54%	46%	61%	33%	E	8%	21%	38%
7. Would move out if Orientals moved in	23%	23%	11%	7%	S	4%	10%	17%
8. Would move out if Indians moved in	25%	15%	28%	9%		4%	10%	29%
9. Would move out if Mexicans moved in	40%	38%	50%	16%		15%	10%	13%
N's (100%) =	297	13	18	55	0	26	19	24

lower than that for non-Mormons on all but three of the items. In other words, while having had childhood exposure to Negroes tends to reduce negative feeling toward various ethnic groups for both Mormons and non-Mormons, the effect is far stronger upon the Mormons, for it virtually "wipes out" all of the uniquely Mormon race prejudice that we have been seeing in the previous tables. When we look at all of the columns of the table, instead of just the two extreme ones, another interesting development occurs: The effect of childhood exposure seems to be a curvilinear one for both Mormons and non-Mormons, but with the curves going in opposite directions for the two groups. For the Mormons, the rate of negative feeling toward the ethnic groups first goes up from the "zero" to the "low" column, and then down in the "high" column. For the non-Mormons, the rate of negative feeling tends first to drop from the "zero" to the "medium" column, but then to rise somewhat in the "high" column. These rather peculiar statistical developments may be simply functions of the small, unstable sub-samples. On the other hand, they may be a reflection of differences in the circumstances under which Mormons and non-Mormons have been exposed to Negroes. In any case, the main import of the table is to be seen in the comparison between its two extreme columns.

The same import, and the same general statistical patterns, come across in Table 10, which shows us the effects of childhood exposure to Negroes upon social distance preferences toward the various ethnic groups. Here again, the differences between Mormons and non-Mormons tend either to disappear or to reverse themselves at the "high" level of childhood exposure to Negroes. The main exceptions are with regard to the fictitious "ethnic" groups. Even in the "zero" column, the scores for Mormons and non-Mormons are very similar. Again, as in Table

TABLE 10: DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL DISTANCE PREFERENCES TOWARD CERTAIN ETHNIC GROUPS, BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, WITH CHILDHOOD EXPOSURE TO NEGROES CONTROLLED

(Figures are mean scores from a range 1 to 7 on the Bogardus Social Distance Scale)

Rank on Scale of Childhood Exposure to Negroes	<u>Zero</u>		<u>Low</u>		<u>Medium</u>		<u>High</u>		
	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS	LDS	Non-LDS	
Selected Ethnic Groups									
1. Chinese	2.6	2.5	2.3	1.9	N O C A S E S	2.0	1.9	1.6	
2. "Grenovians"	2.8	2.7	3.8	1.5		2.0	2.7	2.4	
3. American Indians	2.2	2.2	2.0	1.6		1.7	1.7	1.7	
4. Japanese	2.4	2.1	2.1	1.8		1.9	2.0	1.5	
5. Jews	2.2	1.9	2.0	1.6		1.7	1.6	1.6	
6. "Jacobins"	3.0	2.9	4.7	1.5		2.2	2.7	2.8	
7. Mexicans	2.3	2.9	2.8	1.6		1.9	1.6	2.0	
8. Negroes	3.2	3.1	3.5	1.8		2.3	2.0	2.3	
9. "Rovenians"	2.9	2.6	5.3	1.5		2.2	2.5	2.0	
N's (100%) =	297	13	18	55	0	26	19	24	

9, there is some tendency for the two different curvilinear patterns we observed, but not so much so.

Considering Tables 9 and 10 together, although the small and statistically unstable sub-samples require us to be cautious, there does seem to be clear evidence that the secular factor (namely, childhood exposure to Negroes) is this time more important than the religious one. Indeed, among those whose childhood exposure to Negroes has been high, religious affiliation makes no consistent difference at all. Our small sub-samples did not allow us to control for the other religious factor of strong belief vs. doubt among the Mormons, as we were able to do previously. However, we did determine that the overwhelming majority of the Mormon sub-samples in all categories of childhood exposure were strong believers in the Church's Negro policy, so it is unlikely that controlling for this other religious factor would have made much change in the general purport of Tables 9 or 10.³⁵

³⁵One might understandably wonder about the procedure, reflected in Tables 9 and 10, of using childhood exposure toward Negroes in particular as a determinant of attitudes toward other ethnic groups in general. The rationale here derives from the work of Allport and others who see prejudice as a generalized personality trait, rather than a group-specific one. Furthermore, it might be reasoned in a kind of a fortiori way that feeling toward Negroes is likely to represent the extreme of prejudice for most white Americans.

CONCLUSIONS

We have considered the probable importance of three kinds of independent variables as determinants of attitudes toward Negroes and other ethnic groups. One of these consisted of the religious factors of affiliation and belief in the LDS doctrine and policy about Negroes. The other two variables were secular ones: degree of presumptive secularization, and degree of childhood exposure to Negroes. Our findings were somewhat in contrast to those reported by Mauss in an earlier study, which had found that such secularizing factors as education and urban origin intervened to reduce or eliminate the differences between orthodox Mormons and others in attitudes toward Negroes.³⁶ In the present study, on the other hand, these secular factors seemed to have no independent effect, for the differences between strongly believing Mormons and others remained great at all levels of our Scale of Presumptive Secularization.

At the same time, however, this study identified another important secular determinant of race attitudes that had been overlooked in the previous study: namely, the degree of childhood exposure to Negroes. This factor had the same kind of effect in the present study that education and urban origin had had in the earlier study, which was virtually to eliminate religious factors as explanations of the differences between Mormons and non-Mormons in their attitudes toward ethnic minority groups. Such a finding is very much in accord with the other studies

³⁶cf. footnote 30.

which have examined exposure to Negroes as a depressant of ethnic prejudice. J. Milton Yinger, in particular, has developed what he calls "the contact hypothesis" out of his work in this area.³⁷ The importance, indeed, of this factor of exposure to ethnic groups might help us explain the rather surprising fact that in our LDS sample, advanced education seemed to have no effect on ethnic prejudice. It is probably reasonable to suppose that the great majority of highly educated Logan residents, at least those with degrees beyond the Bachelor's, are faculty members at Utah State University. If this is the case, then a look at the faculty roster in the back of the 1968-69 USU General Catalog has some highly relevant information for us: of the approximately 800 faculty members listed there, a third took one of their degrees (usually the Bachelor's) at either Utah State or another Utah institution. Another third took two or more of their degrees in Utah. Two-thirds, then, of perhaps the most highly educated people in Logan probably received all of their education up through college in a locale which allowed them virtually no exposure to Negroes or other exotic ethnic groups. This observation suggests a new hypothesis for investigation regarding the importance of education in the formation of race attitudes: namely, that it is not education per se which reduces the tendency toward prejudice, but only education in heterogeneous cultural and ethnic settings.

In reflecting upon the implications of these findings for the hypotheses advanced on page 10 herein, one could say that all of the

³⁷J. Milton Yinger, "Beyond Legal Equality: The Contact Hypothesis," in A Minority Group in American Society (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1965), p. 119; see also the citations in footnotes 17 through 25, herein.

hypotheses have been at least partially confirmed by this study. As per hypothesis No. 1, secular factors such as education and place of origin did have the predicted effect, although much less so for Mormons than for non-Mormons. The second hypothesis, too, was borne out through most of the study; the religious factors of Mormon affiliation and strong belief in the Mormon policy on Negroes remained positively related to race prejudice even with controls for the secular influences mentioned in the first hypothesis. However, the third hypothesis, regarding the effects of early exposure to Negroes, was also borne out, so strongly, in fact, as to practically eliminate the independent influence of the religious factors.

As for policy implications, the results of this study would seem to argue strongly for a deliberate program, sponsored by the political, business, civic, and religious leaders of Logan, to encourage the influx of middle-class Negro families into the community. There is no way that the critical depressant of race prejudice uncovered in this study, namely childhood exposure to Negroes, can be operative otherwise.

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APPENDIX

Dear Friend:

We in the Sociology Department at USU are frequently asked how we think the people of Logan feel about certain social and political questions, including the question of their feelings toward people of various racial and national groups. There is much speculation about Logan people in these regards, particularly among foreign students and other visitors to the city. We tend to feel that everyone is entitled to believe as he wishes on these matters, but we don't really know how our community feels on many questions.

In an effort to compile accurate statistics about local beliefs and attitudes, we have prepared the attached questionnaire and have selected a random sample of people to answer it. It can be completed in half an hour or less. If our findings are to be scientifically sound and to reflect accurately the real feelings of the community in general, we will have to have all the questionnaires completed and returned, so we earnestly hope you will be kind enough to cooperate with us; for your opinions (no matter what they are) are just as valuable as anyone else's to us. You will notice that you are not asked to identify yourself by name or in any other way, so that you can be assured of complete privacy. We are not interested in knowing which person answered a question in which way; we want only statistics. If you should object to answering any question, you may feel free to skip it and go on, but we hope you will do your best to give a frank and complete answer to each question.

Most of the questions can be answered with a check mark (✓), an 'x', or a circled number, but you may feel free to elaborate upon any answer by writing in the margins. When you have finished filling out the questionnaire, please enclose it in the accompanying post-paid envelope and mail it back to us. Please do not put your name on the envelope or otherwise identify it. Separately, you should also mail back the little post card, which will tell us only that you have returned the questionnaire. This will help us to know which persons to send reminders to later on.

We feel sure that a study of this kind will be a great help to us in advising and informing our students and visitors, and we hope that you will cooperate with us in our search for accurate information and understanding.

Sincerely,

Armand L. Mauss
Associate Professor of Sociology
Project Director

I. AS A RESULT OF EXPERIENCES AND IMPRESSIONS THAT WE HAVE HAD REGARDING VARIOUS NATIONAL AND RACIAL GROUPS, MOST OF US HAVE COME TO FEEL CLOSER AND MORE FRIENDLY TOWARD SOME GROUPS THAN TOWARD OTHERS. WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE SOME IDEA HOW CLOSE YOU FEEL TOWARD THE GROUPS LISTED BELOW ON THE LEFT. ACROSS THE TOP ARE LISTED SEVEN KINDS OF SOCIAL CONTACTS. PLEASE CIRCLE ALL THE NUMBERS INDICATING WHICH SOCIAL CONTACTS YOU ARE WILLING TO HAVE WITH EACH GROUP. FOR SOME GROUPS YOU MAY WANT TO CIRCLE ONLY ONE NUMBER, BUT FOR OTHER GROUPS SEVERAL NUMBERS. PLEASE INDICATE YOUR FIRST FEELING REACTIONS IN EACH CASE, AND GIVE YOUR REACTIONS TO EACH RACE AS A GROUP, RATHER THAN TO THE BEST OR WORST MEMBERS OF IT THAT YOU MAY HAVE KNOWN.

		Would marry into this group	Would have as close friends	Would have as next door neigh- bors	Would work in same office or room	Would have only as speaking acquaint- ances	Would have only as visitors to my nation	Would debar from my nation
Armenians	(1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Americans (U.S. whites)	(2)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Chinese	(3)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Czechs	(4)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	(5)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Filipinos	(6)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
French	(7)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Germans	(8)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Greeks	(9)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Grenovians	(10)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Indians (American)	(11)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Indians (of India)	(12)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Italians	(13)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Japanese	(14)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Jews	(15)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Jacobins	(16)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mexicans	(17)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Negroes	(18)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Poles	(19)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Rovenians	(20)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Russians	(21)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Turks	(22)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

II. AS A CHILD OR YOUTH, DID YOU EVER PLAY WITH ANY YOUNGSTERS FROM ANY OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS? IF SO, HOW OFTEN? PLEASE INDICATE BY CIRCLING THE ONE APPROPRIATE NUMBER FOR EACH GROUP.

		<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Occasionally</u>	<u>Rarely</u>	<u>Never</u>
Orientals (Japanese, Chinese, Korean, etc.)	(23)	1	2	3	4
Jews	(24)	1	2	3	4
American Indians	(25)	1	2	3	4
Negroes	(26)	1	2	3	4
Mexicans	(27)	1	2	3	4
Arabs	(28)	1	2	3	4
East Indians	(29)	1	2	3	4
Others? (Please specify: (30)		1	2	3	4
(31) _____)					

III. WHILE YOU WERE GROWING UP, AMONG WHICH OF THESE GROUPS, IF ANY, DID YOU HAVE ANY CLOSE FRIENDS OR NEIGHBORS? CIRCLE ONE NUMBER IN EACH CASE.

		PEOPLE FROM THESE GROUPS WERE AMONG MY:			
		<u>Neighbors</u>	<u>Close Friends</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Neither</u>
Orientals	(32)	1	2	3	4
Jews	(33)	1	2	3	4
American Indians	(34)	1	2	3	4
Negroes	(35)	1	2	3	4
Mexicans	(36)	1	2	3	4
Arabs	(37)	1	2	3	4
East Indians	(38)	1	2	3	4
Others? (Please specify: (39)		1	2	3	4
(40) _____)					

IV. A. SUPPOSE YOU OWNED YOUR OWN HOME AND SEVERAL NEGRO FAMILIES MOVED INTO YOUR BLOCK. FRANKLY, WOULD YOU BE APT TO MOVE ELSEWHERE IF YOU COULD GET A FAIR PRICE FOR YOUR HOUSE?

- (41) 1. ___ would almost certainly move
 2. ___ would probably move
 3. ___ probably would not move
 4. ___ almost certainly would not move

B. WHAT IF SEVERAL ORIENTAL FAMILIES MOVED IN?

- (42) 1. ___ would almost certainly move
 2. ___ would probably move
 3. ___ probably would not move
 4. ___ almost certainly would not move

C. WHAT IF SEVERAL AMERICAN INDIAN FAMILIES MOVED IN?

- (43) 1. ___ would almost certainly move
 2. ___ would probably move
 3. ___ probably would not move
 4. ___ almost certainly would not move

D. WHAT IF SEVERAL MEXICAN FAMILIES MOVED IN?

- (44) 1. ___ would almost certainly move
 2. ___ would probably move
 3. ___ probably would not move
 4. ___ almost certainly would not move

E. HAVE YOU TRAVELED OR LIVED IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY? IF SO, UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES?

- (45) 1. ___ military
 2. ___ missionary
 3. ___ tourist
 4. ___ other
 5. ___ no, I've never been to a foreign country

V. AS YOU UNDOUBTEDLY KNOW, RACE RELATIONS BETWEEN NEGROES AND WHITES HAVE BEEN VERY MUCH IN THE NEWS OF LATE. BELOW ARE SEVERAL STATEMENTS WHICH PEOPLE HAVE MADE REGARDING RACE RELATIONS. PLEASE READ EACH ONE AND CIRCLE THE ONE NUMBER WHICH INDICATES TO WHAT EXTENT YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH IT.

	<u>Agree</u> <u>strongly</u>	<u>Agree</u> <u>some-</u> <u>what</u>	<u>Disagree</u> <u>some-</u> <u>what</u>	<u>Disagree</u> <u>strongly</u>	<u>No</u> <u>opinion</u>
(46) It's too bad, but in general Negroes seem to have inferior intelligence when compared to whites	1	2	3	4	5
(47) Negroes ought to have the same rights and opportunities as others in society	1	2	3	4	5
(48) Negroes should have the same chance in this town as white people to get a good education	1	2	3	4	5
(49) Negro schools and colleges are generally inferior to white schools and colleges in this country	1	2	3	4	5
(50) IQ may more generally reflect a child's environment than his native ability	1	2	3	4	5
(51) It would probably be better for whites and Negroes in each denomination to attend separate churches or wards	1	2	3	4	5
(52) Most Negro neighborhoods are run down because Negroes simply don't take care of property	1	2	3	4	5
(53) I wish that Negroes could be given the Priesthood in the LDS Church .	1	2	3	4	5
(54) Negroes have made notable contributions to the growth and progress of this country	1	2	3	4	5
(55) I would be glad to have a Negro for dinner in my home	1	2	3	4	5
(56) A lot of Negroes blame white people for their position in life, but the main problem is that the average Negro doesn't work hard enough in school and in his job	1	2	3	4	5
(57) Such non-violent measures as sit-ins and picketing have helped the Negro's cause	1	2	3	4	5

VI. SOMETIMES WHEN WE KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT A PERSON'S BASIC POLITICAL, SOCIAL, OR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, IT HELPS US TO UNDERSTAND BETTER HIS OUTLOOK ON OTHER RACIAL GROUPS. IN THIS PART OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, WE WILL ASK YOU ABOUT SOME OF THESE THINGS. REMEMBERING THAT YOUR PRIVACY AND IDENTITY ARE STRICTLY PROTECTED, PLEASE ANSWER THE QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION AS FRANKLY AND FULLY AS YOU CAN.

A. Politically speaking, in which of the following categories would you place yourself?

- (58) 1. ___ liberal Democrat 4. ___ liberal Republican
 2. ___ moderate Democrat 5. ___ moderate Republican
 3. ___ conservative Democrat 6. ___ conservative Republican
 7. ___ independent
 8. ___ other (please indicate: _____)

B. Now, for each of the following statements, please circle the one number that best indicates your degree of agreement or disagreement with it:

	Agree <u>strongly</u>	Agree some- <u>what</u>	Disagree some- <u>what</u>	Disagree <u>strongly</u>	No <u>opinion</u>
(59) The House Committee on Un-American Activities ought to be supported and encouraged in the work that it is doing	1	2	3	4	5
(60) It is only right and just for the government to provide medical care for the poor and aged	1	2	3	4	5
(61) In the past 25 years or so, this country has moved dangerously close to socialism	1	2	3	4	5
(62) As they are run now, labor unions probably do the country more harm than good	1	2	3	4	5
(63) Churches should stick to religion and not concern themselves with social or political issues like civil rights	1	2	3	4	5
(64) All things considered, the John Birch Society probably does more good than harm	1	2	3	4	5
(65) The best way to end the war in Viet-Nam is probably to apply enough military pressure to make the enemy give up, even if this means risking a bigger war	1	2	3	4	5

VII. NOW, JUST A FEW QUESTIONS ON YOUR RELIGIOUS CONNECTIONS AND OUTLOOKS:

A. Of which of the following denominations do you consider yourself a member?

- (66) 1. Baptist
 2. Lutheran
 3. Roman Catholic
 4. L.D.S. (Mormon)
 5. Jehovah's Witnesses
 6. Church of Christ
 7. Presbyterian
 8. Unitarian
 9. Episcopal
 10. Methodist
 11. Other (please specify: _____)
 12. No formal religious affiliation

B. About how often do you attend the Sunday services of your church?

- (67) 1. seldom
 2. regularly
 3. occasionally
 4. never or almost never

C. Do you hold any position, office, or responsibility in your church? Please indicate what, if any:

- (68) 1. Pastor (including bishop, minister, priest, or other clergy).
 2. Head or officer in a church auxiliary organization or church committee.
 3. Teacher in a Sunday School, youth organization, or other church organization.
 4. Choir member.
 5. Member of a church committee or staff of an auxiliary organization.
 6. Simply a church member--no special position.

D. We all know that different people have different beliefs about certain basic religious questions, and that these beliefs are sometimes related to feelings about other things in life. As you think, for example, about your beliefs toward Jesus, which of the following statements would come closest to expressing what you believe about him?

- (69) 1. Jesus is the Divine Son of God, born of a virgin, and I have no doubts about it.
 2. While I have some doubts, I feel basically that Jesus is Divine.
 3. I feel that Jesus was a great man and very holy, but I don't feel He is any more the Son of God than all of us are children of God.
 4. I think Jesus was only a man, although an extraordinary one.
 5. Frankly, I'm not quite sure what to believe about Jesus.
 6. None of the above represents what I believe: I believe: _____

(please write in briefly)

- G. What is the occupation of the head of your family (or of the "Breadwinner")? _____

Now looking at the list below, find the category which comes closest to fitting this occupation and check the appropriate item:

- (77) 1. ___ Clerical and related workers (such as bookkeepers, stenographers, cashiers, mail carriers, shipping clerks, secretaries, ticket agents, telephone operators, etc.)
2. ___ Craftsmen, foremen, and related workers (such as bakers, carpenters, masons, shoemakers, electricians, cement workers, mechanics).
3. ___ Laborers (construction, manufacturing, farm workers, and other industries).
4. ___ Operatives and related workers (such as delivery men, chauffeurs, laundry workers, factory workers, bus drivers, mine workers, motermen, meat cutters, etc.).
5. ___ Private household workers and domestics.
6. ___ Professional and kindred workers (such as teachers, editors, dentists, clergymen, professors, doctors, lawyers, nurses, librarians, social workers, etc.).
7. ___ Proprietors, managers and officials (such as public officials, buyers, floor managers, owners or operators, of small businesses, credit managers, etc.).
8. ___ Sales workers (such as salesmen, insurance agents, real estate agents, stock and bond salesmen, news vendors, etc.).
9. ___ Service workers (such as firemen, policemen, barbers, beauticians, custodians, waiters, ushers, practical nurses, cooks, bartenders and counter workers).
10. ___ Farmers and farm managers.
11. ___ Technical workers (electronics, data processing, dental hygiene, medical and engineering technicians, etc.).
12. ___ Others (please specify): _____

- H. What was the approximate size of the community in which you were raised?

- (78) 1. ___ raised on a farm
2. ___ a town of less than 2,500 persons (not a suburb of large city)
3. ___ a town of about 20,000 persons (not a suburb) (a place something like Logan)
4. ___ a town of up to 50,000 persons (not a suburb)
5. ___ a city of up to 100,000 persons
6. ___ a city of 100,000 to 300,000 persons
7. ___ a city of more than 300,000 but less than a million persons
8. ___ a city of a million or more persons
9. ___ a suburb of a city of up to about 300,000 persons
10. ___ a suburb of a city of more than 300,000 persons

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