

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Mar 20, 1950

Memo. for

Mr. Nash

Here is the confidential report of the survey of troop attitude toward integration.

Enjoyed our lunch today very much.

WTT

W. Thompson



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Report No. 101

Copy No. 67

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MORALE ATTITUDES OF ENLISTED MEN
May-June 1949

II. Attitude Toward Integration of Negro Soldiers in the Army.

This report was prepared from information obtained in a study requested by the Director, P&A Division, GSUSA

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INTRODUCTION

In a cross-section study of morale attitudes of white enlisted men in the Army, conducted by the Attitude Research Branch, Armed Forces Information and Education Division, Office of the Secretary of Defense in May-June 1949, a few questions were asked about their feelings toward the integration of Negro soldiers. The men queried in this study were selected by scientific principles as a representative sample of white enlisted men in the Army in the United States. This report is based upon the replies of 1151 of these men who enlisted for two years or more.

Since draftees and short-termers now constitute such a small portion of the Army, the number of such men in the sample queried was consequently too small for separate detailed analysis.

This is a report of men's preferences and not necessarily an estimation of how they actually would react if Negro soldiers were integrated into their units. The value of this analysis is the information which it furnishes concerning the initial amount of opposition to proposed Negro integration and the characteristics of men who constitute the opposing group. Attitudes expressed in this study can be used for comparison with future surveys to evaluate trends in this aspect of morale.

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MAIN FINDINGS

1. As might be expected, the region from which men come is closely related to their opposition to Negro integration. However, educational level is also related to these attitudes. The most opposed soldiers are men from the South who had no more than grade school education. High school graduates from the South are not markedly different in their opinions from men with similar education from some other regions of the country.
2. Men who say they have worked with Negro soldiers are less opposed to integration than those who say they never have worked with them.
3. Men who are relatively dissatisfied with messes, medical attention, and off-duty entertainment facilities are more opposed to Negro integration than those with more favorable opinions of these post facilities.
4. Quantitatively, the opposition to integration of Negro soldiers is as follows:



Definitely opposed to both complete and partial (separate messing and sleeping arrangements) integration	32%
Definitely opposed to complete integration, but not definitely opposed to partial integration	29%
Not definitely opposed to integration	<u>39%</u>
	100%

From the above percentages the following deductions may be made:

Definitely opposed to <u>complete</u> integration	61%
Not definitely opposed to <u>complete</u> integration	<u>39%</u>
	100%

Definitely opposed to <u>partial</u> integration	32%
Not definitely opposed to <u>partial</u> integration	<u>68%</u>

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THE CRITERIA OF OPPOSITION

Men were asked to express their feelings toward two situations involving integration of Negro soldiers into units.

Situation A - Complete Integration

"How would you feel about serving in the same company with Negro soldiers, in other words, working and training together, sleeping in the same barracks and eating in the same mess halls?

- I would dislike it very much
- I would rather not but it would not matter too much
- It would make no difference to me
- I would like it"

Situation B - Partial Integration

"Suppose a company has four units. Two units are white soldiers only and two units have Negro soldiers only. All the units work together but do not sleep in the same barracks or eat in the same mess halls.

"How would you feel about being assigned to one of the white units in such a company?


- I would dislike it very much
- I would rather not but it would not matter too much
- It would make no difference to me
- I would like it"

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On the basis of their responses to these two questions, men were classified into the following three categories:

Category I — Definitely Opposed to Any Integration


When a man answered, "I would dislike it very much" to both situations he was considered to be definitely opposed to both partial and complete integration. This category is represented in the charts of this report by this shading: 



Category II — Definitely Opposed Only to Complete Integration

If the answer was "I would dislike it very much" to complete integration and any other reply to partial integration, he was considered to be definitely opposed to complete integration, but not definitely opposed to partial integration. This group is represented in the charts by this shading: 

Category III — Not Definitely Opposed to Integration

All other combinations of replies were considered as not definitely opposed to integration which is represented as follows: 

Combinations of Categories

The percentage definitely opposed to complete integration would be the combination of Categories I and II. The percentage not definitely opposed to complete integration would be Category III. The percentage

definitely opposed to partial integration would be Category I. The percentage not definitely opposed to partial integration would be the combination of Categories II and III.

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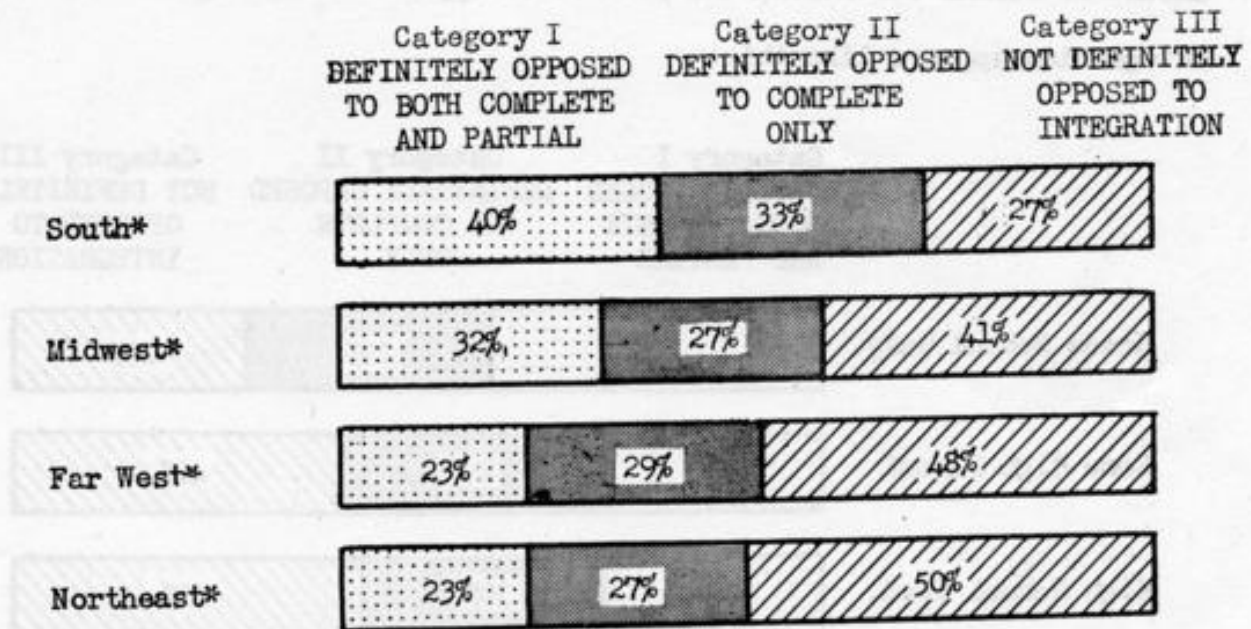
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DETAILED FINDINGS



Region is Related to Opposition

The region in which men spent the greatest part of the five years previous to their enlistment is related to their opinions.



As might be expected, the men from the South are most opposed; while those from the Northeast are least opposed.

Almost half of the men from regions other than the South, and slightly more than one-quarter of the men from the South are not definitely opposed to Negro integration.

* States included in each region were:

South: Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Alabama,

South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, and District of Columbia.

Midwest: Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.

Far West: Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming, California, Oregon, Washington.

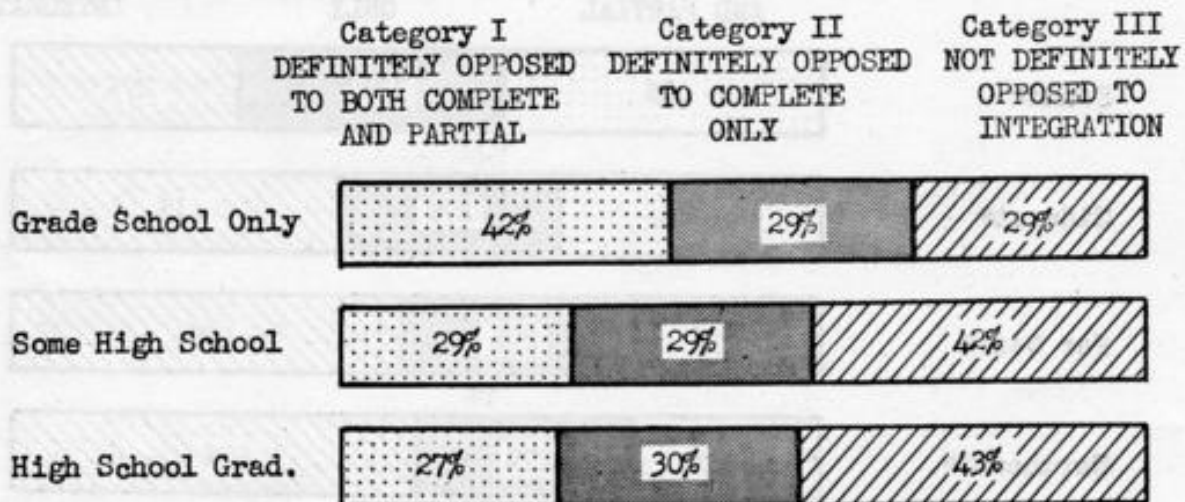
Northeast: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania.

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Education is Inversely Related to Opposition

When men from all regions of the country are grouped together by amount of formal education, the picture of opposition to Negro integration appears like this:



Men who had not gone beyond grade school were more likely to be opposed to Negro integration than were men with more education.

Since soldiers' education varies considerably with region of origin, these groups were analyzed by region to allow more detailed comparison.

The chart showing breakdown by region and education is on the following page.

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Region and Education



	Category I DEFINITELY OPPOSED TO BOTH COMPLETE AND PARTIAL	Category II DEFINITELY OPPOSED TO COMPLETE ONLY	Category III NOT DEFINITELY OPPOSED TO INTEGRATION
<u>SOUTH</u>			
Grade School Only	51%	30%	19%
Some High School	35%	35%	30%
High School Grad.	30%	35%	35%
<u>MIDWEST</u>			
Grade School Only	37%	22%	41%
Some High School	30%	31%	39%
High School Grad.	33%	25%	42%
<u>FAR WEST</u>			
Grade School Only	25%	40%	35%
Some High School	20%	25%	55%
High School Grad.	29%	29%	42%
<u>NORTHEAST</u>			
Grade School Only	28%	30%	42%
Some High School	25%	22%	53%

High School Grad.



The most striking effect of education seems to be among men from the South: those who are high school graduates are not significantly different in opposition from high school graduates in the Midwest and Far West.

Education among men from the Midwest and Far West does not show a consistent relationship with the amount of opposition.

Among the men from the Northeast, the greater the formal education, the less the opposition.

Since both education and region are related to attitudes toward Negro integration, the variables which follow will be studied by comparing the South with all other parts of the country in three education groups.

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Experience is Inversely Related to Opposition

White soldiers who say they have worked with Negro soldiers are less opposed to integration than those who say they have not.

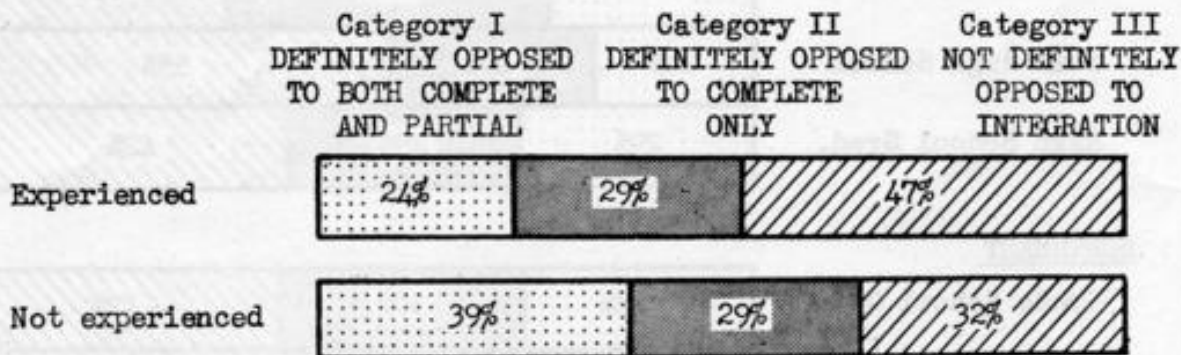
The question asked was:

"Have you ever worked or trained with Negro soldiers?"

- Yes, I am working or training with Negro soldiers now
- Yes, I have worked or trained with Negro soldiers, but I am not now
- No, I never worked or trained with Negro soldiers"

Those who answered either "Yes, I am working or training with Negro soldiers now" or "Yes, I have worked or trained with Negro soldiers ..." were considered to have had experience with Negro soldiers.*

The attitudes toward integration of those who said they had experience with Negro soldiers and those who said they had not are compared in the chart below:



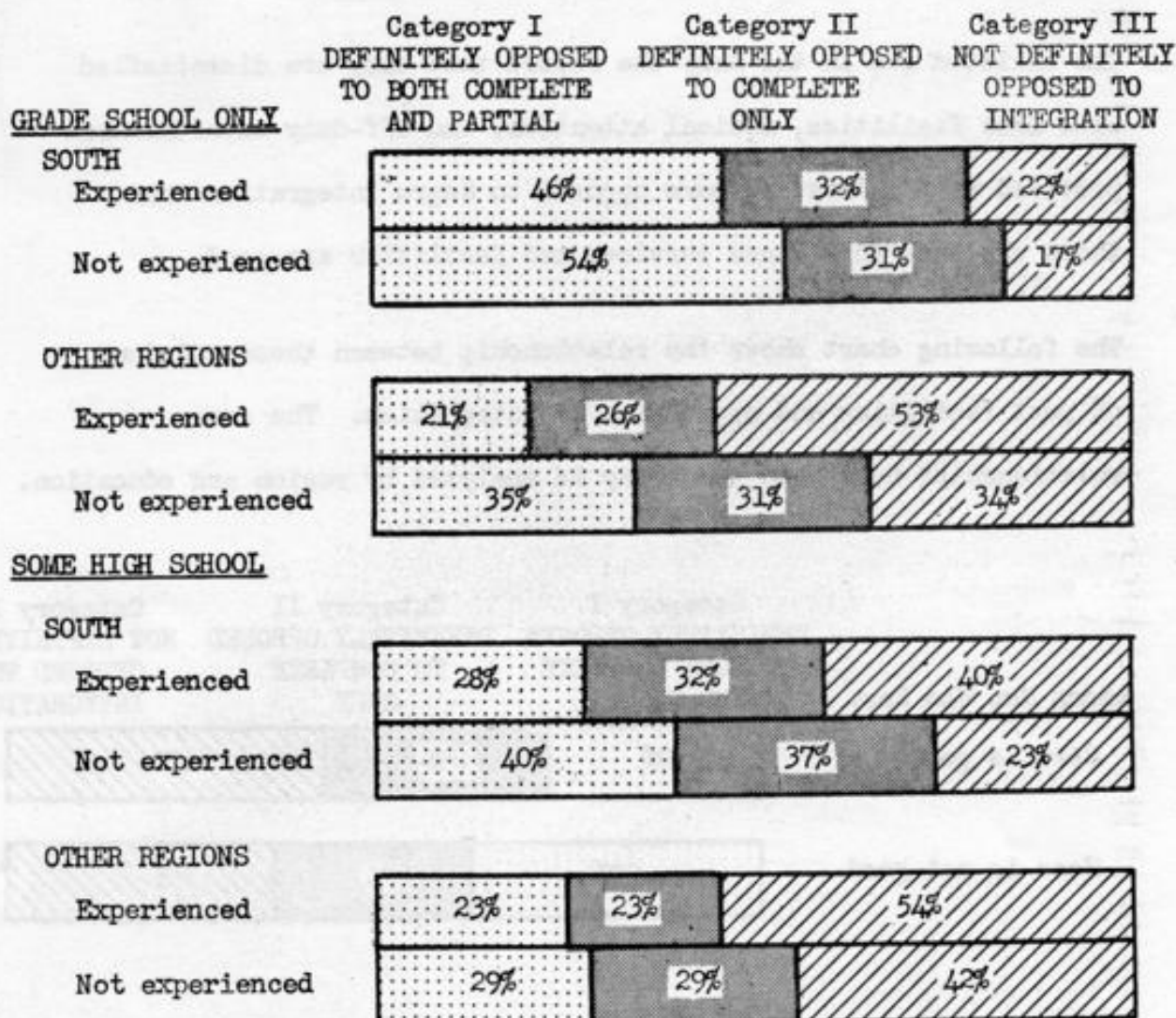
When the group is analyzed by region and education, the relationship between experience and opposition holds up. Regardless of region or education those who say they have worked with Negro soldiers are less opposed than those who say they have not.

*In some cases a man's attitude toward Negroes may influence his answer to this question. For example, a white soldier works in a maintenance shop which services trucks driven by Negro soldiers of another unit: if the white soldier is favorable toward working with Negro soldiers, he may be inclined to report that he is working with them; on the other hand, if the white soldier is vigorously opposed to working with Negro soldiers, he may be inclined to report that he is not working with them. By examining the replies of men within the same unit, there appears to be evidence that reported experiences is in some cases conditioned by attitudes toward Negroes. By and large, however, men's report of their experience seems to have a predominantly factual basis.

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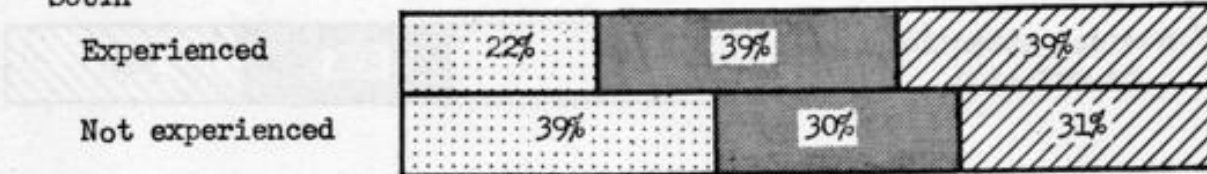
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Opposition to Integration in Relation to Experience, Education, and Region

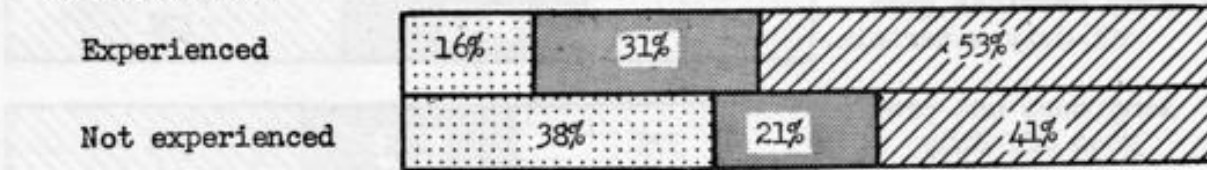


HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

SOUTH



OTHER REGIONS



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Personal Esprit is Inversely Related to Opposition

The men were asked:

"In general, how would you say you feel most of the time, in good or in low spirits?"

- _____ I am usually in good spirits
- _____ I am in good spirits some of the time and in low spirits some of the time
- _____ I am usually in low spirits."

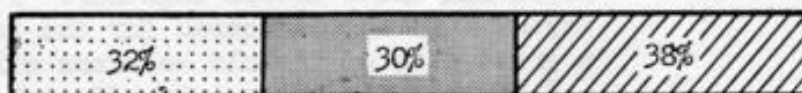
Those who reported that they were usually in good spirits were less opposed to Negro integration than the group who were usually in low spirits.

Category I DEFINITELY OPPOSED TO BOTH COMPLETE AND PARTIAL	Category II DEFINITELY OPPOSED TO COMPLETE ONLY	Category III NOT DEFINITELY OPPOSED TO INTEGRATION
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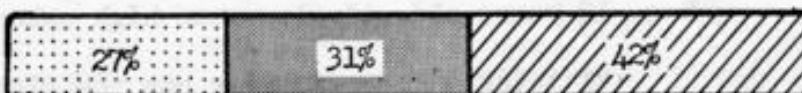
Usually in low
spirits



Low spirits some
of the time;
good spirits some
of the time



Usually in good
spirits



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Variables Which Show no Relationship to Opposition to Integration

The following items showed no consistent relationship to opposition to the integration of Negro soldiers:

- Present reenlistment plans
- Job satisfaction
- Attitude toward the promotion policy
- Pride in outfit
- Attitude toward officers and noncoms

Intensity of Feeling on Integration of Negro Soldiers as Shown by Free Comment

Although comments on integration were not specifically requested, a small number of the men who used a space provided for additional remarks at the end of the questionnaire stated their feelings about mixing Negro and white soldiers. These varied from very mild theoretical considerations to violent emotional outbursts. Some

Cpl. 20 years old, single, some high school, New York City.

"I think the Army is making a mistake about assigning Negro and white troops together. I haven't talked with anyone (white) that cared for the idea and in my opinion a great deal of the old soldiers will not stay in after and if that plan goes into effect."

Rct. 18 years old, single, some high school, Kentucky.

"I think a Negro soldier has the right to rate the same as any other no matter what."

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M/Sgt., 30-34 years old, high school graduate, North Carolina.

"I will probably change my mind about the Army as a career if forced to associate with Negroes. Negro outfits should be maintained separately. To do otherwise is to invite trouble and many complications. The equal rights plan should not be forced on the Army as an example to civilians."

Pfc., 20 years old, grade school education, State not given.

"About Negroes, they are human and can't be taken off the face of the earth. But they shouldn't be together with white soldiers because some of them, the bestest percent, are still like Head Hunters. They have bad blood, some of them are like animals. And if you give them a finger they take an arm and anyway this is unnecessary. They just shouldn't have them live with white men, for sure all the G.I.'s will quit the Army or buck like hell to get out."

M/Sgt., 25-29 years old, married, high school graduate, New Jersey.

"The Negro problem is small compared to the problem of housing suitable to accomodate the quality of men the Services seem to be after."

Sgt., 25-29 years old, married, high school graduate, Virginia.

"I feel that the white race and Negro race should not be mixed in the service. Why should the Army be a guinea pig for a race problem. The segregation exists in civilian life. I would if ordered into a unit with Negroes, do my best, however, to get along with everyone and soldier to the

best, however, to get along with everyone and endeavor to do
best of my ability. I would be just to white and Negro alike.
Nevertheless, I would rather not be confronted with the
problem."

Pfc., 19 years old, single, high school graduate, Ohio.

"I do not think the Negro troops and the white troops should be
mixed. I think and I have heard others of the same opinion upon
this subject, I would go AWOL if I was ever put in with Negro
troops. The Negro is all right if he stays in his place, but
the whites should not go out of their way to make trouble for
them. If the Negro and the whites were mixed there would be
Civil War among the troops. There would be a lot of useless
bloodshed if this ever happens."

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... I do not think the Negro troops and the white troops should be
... I think we have heard enough of the case against you
... I would rather not be associated with the
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Files of Philco Nash: - 28
Folder: "Committee on Equality of Treatment
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