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.

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

This report was prepared from information obtained in a study requested by the Director, PRB Division, G-8USA.
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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 1131 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.
1. As might be expected, the region from which men came 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definitely opposed to both complete and partial (separate seating and sleeping arrangements) integration</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely opposed to complete integration, but not definitely opposed to partial integration</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not definitely opposed to integration</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above percentages the following deductions may be made:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definitely opposed to complete integration</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not definitely opposed to complete integration</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely opposed to partial integration</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not definitely opposed to partial integration</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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*
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.

- J -
Region is Related to Opposihion

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Category I Definitely Opposed to Both Complete and Partial</th>
<th>Category II Definitely Opposed to Complete Only</th>
<th>Category III Not Definitely Opposed to Integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwest</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far West</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, 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.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Category I</th>
<th>Category II</th>
<th>Category III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEFINITELY OPPOSED</td>
<td>DEFINITELY OPPOSED</td>
<td>NOT DEFINITELY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TO COMPLETE AND PARTIAL</td>
<td>TO COMPLETE ONLY</td>
<td>OPPOSED TO INTEGRATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade School Only</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High School</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Grad.</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
### Region and Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Category I: Definitively Opposed to Both Complete and Partial</th>
<th>Category II: Definitely Opposed to Complete Only</th>
<th>Category III: Not Definitely Opposed to Integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades School Only</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High School</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Grad.</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDWEST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades School Only</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High School</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Grad.</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAR WEST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades School Only</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High School</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Grad.</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTHEAST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades School Only</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High School</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Grad.</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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
  - No
  - 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Category I</th>
<th>Category II</th>
<th>Category III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEFINITELY OPPOSED</td>
<td>DEFINITELY OPPOSED</td>
<td>NOT DEFINITELY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TO BOTH COMPLETE</td>
<td>AND PARTIAL</td>
<td>OPPOSED TO</td>
<td>ONLY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPERIENCED</td>
<td></td>
<td>INFORMATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOT EXPERIENCED</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 who is a maintenance man will be inclined toward working with Negro soldiers. He may go on record to report that he is working with them; on the other hand, if the white soldier is especially opposed to working with Negroes, he may go on record not to have worked with them. By analyzing the records of men within the same unit, there appears to be evidence that reported experience 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."
### Opposition to Integration in Relation to Experiences, Education, and Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Grade School Only</th>
<th>Other Regions</th>
<th>Some High School</th>
<th>Other Regions</th>
<th>High School Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Experienced</td>
<td>Not Experienced</td>
<td>Experienced</td>
<td>Not Experienced</td>
<td>Experienced</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Grade School Only
- **South**
  - Experienced: 466, 325, 125
  - Not experienced: 256, 125, 125
- **Other Regions**
  - Experienced: 225, 125, 125
  - Not experienced: 256, 125, 125

#### Some High School
- **South**
  - Experienced: 325, 475, 125
  - Not experienced: 456, 125, 125
- **Other Regions**
  - Experienced: 225, 125, 125
  - Not experienced: 256, 125, 125

#### High School Graduates
- **South**
  - Experienced: 325, 475, 125
  - Not experienced: 325, 125, 125
- **Other Regions**
  - Experienced: 125, 125, 125
  - Not experienced: 325, 125, 125
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
___ I am usually in low spirits
___ I am in low spirits some of the time

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category I</th>
<th>Category II</th>
<th>Category III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Opposed To Complete and Partial</td>
<td>Not Opposed To Complete Only</td>
<td>Not Opposed To Integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usually in low spirits</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low spirits some of the time; good spirits some of the time</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usually in good spirits</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Feelings 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 of these comments are reproduced below:

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."

Capt. 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."
M/Sgt., 30-31 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 Hottentots. They have no blood, none 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 more 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 accommodate 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 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."