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The Class Structure of a Minority Group in a Valley City

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THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF A MINORITY GROUP ²
IN A VALLEY CITY

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Sociology
College of the Pacific

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Marcus Asie Williams
June 1956

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

There is an accepted principle amongst Sociologists that all communities have some pattern of stratification.¹ Since the Valley City Negroes, the minority group selected for this research, represent a community structure, some pattern of stratification is present. At the time of this study the specific nature of the class structure for this community had not been identified.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. It was the purpose of this study (1) to delineate the social class structure of the Negro community of the Valley City metropolitan area in the year 1950-1951; (2) to show the relationships of membership in associations to class placement; (3) to show the relationship of membership in associations and of class placement to such factors as length of residence, education, occupation, and home ownership.

Importance of the study. The Valley City metropolitan area had, in March, 1948, a total of 15 per cent of its total

¹ N. P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, Urban Society (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1949), p. 288.

population classified as "other than white," of which one-third were Negro.² The 1950 Census listed the number as 6,677 Negroes.³ In certain areas the ethnic groups of Negro and Mexican residents are in the majority. A more thorough knowledge of the class structure and concomitant information of the associations serving these Negro people will facilitate better integration of this minority group into the total community structure. This knowledge will be useful to various municipal agencies as well as to sociologists.

II. DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

Class. In the comprehensive work of Warner and Lunt's Yankee City Series, a definition of class evolved which they feel has "withstood the later test of a vast collection of data and of subsequent rigorous analysis."⁴ As it is a simple, workable definition, the writer presents it for use in this thesis:

² Valley City Occupational Survey. March 15, 1948.

³ Valley City: Data taken from photostatic copies of 1950 Census Bureau Machine Sheets for Valley City Metropolitan Area.

⁴ W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 82.

By class is meant two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions.⁵

The term as used herein refers to the rank order in the gradations of inferior to superior. These gradations vary from one community to another, and while Warner and Lunt found six distinct classes in Yankee City,⁶ only analysis of research findings can discover the class structure of the Negro community in Valley City.

Valley City. This is a fictitious name adopted to disguise the true name of the city studied. Very briefly, it is an agricultural community in California approximately a century old, populated by 100,000 people, of whom 6,667 are Negro.⁷

Association. In keeping with the pattern of non-identification of the actual community studied, the names of associations that would reveal the locality will be disguised. The term as used in this study refers to any group having some degree of formal existence with officers, meeting-place, and some regulations regarding membership. It is a very

⁵ Ibid., p. 82.

⁶ Ibid., p. 88.

⁷ Op. cit., Valley City 1950 census.

...the formal association is defined as a mechanism which helps place the members of a society in a class hierarchy. It is a type of grouping highly favored in our society, and arranged individuals in an organization which characteristically includes some and excludes others.⁸

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

This chapter will present an overall view of the methodology utilized in the total study. The remainder of the thesis will include four areas: a review of the previous literature and its relationship to the present study, methods used in this study which indicate how the information obtained was utilized, significant interpretations of the data gathered, and summary of the study with final conclusions made as a result of the total research.

Choice of an adequate technique for determining the presence or the absence of social classes within the Negro populace was made on the basis of research by such students as Warner and Lunt,⁹ Warner, Meeker and Mells,¹⁰ Davis,

⁸ Warner and Lunt, op. cit., p. 301.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ W. Lloyd Warner, Marjorie Meeker, Kenneth Mells, Social Class in America (Science Research Associates, Inc., Chicago, 1949), 274 pp.

Gardner and Gardner,¹¹ and Drake and Cayton.¹² All of these studies pointed to the interaction of members in different associations, or to lack of membership within an organization, as being indicative of general placement within the three major stratifications of society. To quote briefly from each of the above studies:

The study of the association's place and function in Yankee City society led to further developments in using the association for measuring class position . . . an analysis of the membership of certain types of associations soon demonstrated that certain of these organizations functioned in this manner in the total community.¹³

A man's membership in his family, clique, associations, and church are evaluated, and such participation, when evaluated and rated by his fellows, contributes to, and largely establishes, his social-class position in his community.¹⁴

In the sense in which a social class is here conceived, therefore, its membership can be identified empirically upon the basis of either of two types of information: (1) by records of common participation of individuals in non-economic groups, such as in churches, associations, and clubs . . . and (2) by the verbal expression by individuals of their willingness to associate with other persons in these social relationships.¹⁵

¹¹ Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press), 1941.

¹² St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1945) 809 pp.

¹³ Warner and Lunt, op. cit., p. 116.

¹⁴ Warner, Meeker and Eells, op. cit., p. 83.

¹⁵ Davis, Gardner and Gardner, op. cit., p. 238.

More important, however, in placing people are their social relationships Occupation, income, education, standard of living, and public behavior ultimately find their reflection in social groupings Far more important in "placing" people than their family connections are their clique affiliations. The rough rule that "birds of a feather flock together" is used to stratify people in Bronzeville.¹⁶

To make use of this technique, information regarding associations, their membership and the interaction of their members, was obtained. Each organization was classified as to function, type, membership served, and the status of the organization. The members were asked to report such items as place of residence, length of residence, number of years in school, occupation, age, marital status, sex, and organizations to which they belonged. Schedules filled in by individual Negroes served as a source of the statistical data and were useful in gathering data on persons not belonging to organizations. The schedules were used to construct a sociogram and a chart depicting the social classes of the Valley City Negro.

The writer, after many meetings in clubs, churches, and homes, was accepted by many of the Negro people, and was introduced by the mother of one to a group of her friends as "my white son." Such acceptance enabled the investigator to receive reliable information depicting the feelings and the attitudes of various group members toward out-groups. It

¹⁶ Drake and Cayton, op. cit., p. 520.

is this knowledge of feeling-tones that prompted Davis, Gardner and Gardner to write:

Not only did language and etiquette of either a deferential or a condescending type reveal these differences in rank, but in situations of emotional stress individuals from any of the classes were apt to express antagonisms toward the other classes.¹⁷

It frequently becomes difficult to know how much of the personal material revealed under intimate circumstances should be included in the findings. As a matter of ethics, some material has been left out or modified. It was with some degree of relief that the writer observed other researchers have faced this same problem and resolved it in much the same way. As John Dollard put it:

In order to get the knowledge in the first place, one must participate significantly in the collective life. This means that one must come into human contact with people and this in turn means intimacy, sharing, and mutual identification. Since most intimacies carry an explicit or implicit confidential sign and are to be revealed by the researcher only with due care for the effect on the informant, he is limited in all manner of subtle ways in respect to using specific bits of material This dilemma of research has been long familiar in the study of the individual; it is not so well known, but equally valid, in studying a community. It is a great limitation to genuine objectivity and adequacy of social science reporting.¹⁸

¹⁷ Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, op. cit., p. 230.

¹⁸ John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 29.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF PREVIOUS LITERATURE

This chapter is a survey of literature having a related bearing to the actual study, either in terms of methodology or pertinent information regarding the Valley City Negro. The literature surveyed is divided into two categories: the study of techniques and conclusions of studies by recognized social anthropologists, and the papers presented to the Sociology Department of the major college of Valley City pertaining to some phase of the Negro populace of Valley City.

Literature on techniques and conclusions of Sociologists and Social Anthropologists. One of the earliest studies of a Negro community was made by Dr. DuBois for the University of Pennsylvania.¹⁹ To compile his findings, he interviewed 9,675 Negroes during a fifteen-month period. While his essential purpose was not to define the class structure, but to "lay before the public such a body of information as may be a safe guide for all efforts toward the solution of many Negro problems of a great American city,"²⁰ he nevertheless was able to distinguish four distinct classes:

¹⁹ W. E. Burghardt DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro (Tremont Place, Boston, Mass: Ginn and Company, 1899).

²⁰ Ibid., p. 1.

Grade 1. Families of undoubted respectability earning sufficient income to live well; not engaged in menial service of any kind; the wife engaged in no occupation save that of housewife, except in a few cases where she had special employment at home. The children not compelled to be bread-winners, but found in school; the family living in a well-kept home.

Grade 2. The respectable working-class; in comfortable circumstances, with a good home, and having steady remunerative work. The younger children in school.

Grade 3. The poor; persons not earning enough to keep them at all times above want; honest, although not always energetic or thrifty, and with no touch of gross immorality or crime. Including the very poor, and the poor.

Grade 4. The lowest class of criminals, prostitutes and loafers; the "submerged tenth."²¹

In Warner and Lunt's study of The Social Life of a Modern Community, six classes were distinguished: upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower.²² In discussing how they placed members of Yankee City in one of these six classes, they write:

. . . With the use of all structural participation, and with the aid of such additional testimony as the area lived in, the type of house, kind of education, manners, and other symbols of class, it was possible to determine very quickly the approximate place of any individual in the society. In the final analysis, however, individuals were placed by the evaluations of the members of Yankee City itself, e.g., by such explicit statements as "she does not belong" or "they belong to our club."²³

²¹ Ibid., pp. 310-311.

²² Warner and Lunt, op. cit., p. 98.

²³ Ibid., p. 90.

A later research of Warner, Meeker and Mells, refined methods of determining social class.²⁴ Two main approaches were defined: the Index of Status Characteristics (hereinafter referred to as I.S.C.) used such items as house, occupation, income, and neighborhood for class placement; and the Evaluated Participated (E.P.), which analyzed social participation. The merits of each approach were discussed in the following quotations:

The E.P. identifies the social-class group with which the individual actually is found to participate in community living, whereas the I.S.C. rates certain socioeconomic characteristics which it is thought, (1) play a part in determining what that social-class participation will be and at what level it will occur and (2) are in part themselves determined by the level of social participation.

Of the two methods, the E.P. is the more basic if social-class analysis is desired, since it is based upon an actual analysis of the social participation and social reputation of individuals in the community. The chief value of the I.S.C. for social-class purposes, is that it can be used to predict with a rather high degree of accuracy what the probable social-class participation (on an E.P. basis) will be and that it can be secured with less expenditure of time and money and with less highly trained personnel than is required for the E.P. process.²⁵

To compile research data for Deep South, Davis, Gardner and Gardner lived in the community for a period of two years.²⁶ The area was in the heart of the deep South, and was over one-

²⁴ Warner, Meeker and Mells, op. cit.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 42.

²⁶ Davis, Gardner and Gardner, op. cit.

half Negro. Two investigators lived in the white section, and the Negro researchers lived in the Negro area. They found that social class in either a white or Negro community could be defined as:

. . . The largest group of people whose members have intimate access to one another. A class is composed of families and social cliques. The interrelationships between these families and cliques. . . constitutes the structure of a social class. A person is a member of that social class with which most of his participations, of this intimate kind, occur.²⁷

The work of St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton utilized the experiences gained from association with Dr. Warner, and the field work of the study Deep South, to delineate the social structure of the Negro in the Black Belt of Chicago. They compiled their findings and conclusions in Black Metropolis.²⁸ This study has value for the Valley City study because it was based on the Negro populace primarily, and the whites were considered only as they had direct relationship to the Negro. Thus the class stratification is that of the Negro rather than a total mixed community. A summary of their findings, in many ways similar to those of the present study, is noted:

The process of differentiation among Negroes in Bronzeville has given rise to a loose system of social classes which allows for mobility upward and downward. This class structure operates as a system of social controls by which the higher-status groups "protect" their way of life,

²⁷ Ibid., p. 59.

²⁸ Drake and Cayton, op. cit.

but admit "strainers" and "strivers" who can make the grade. Individuals and organizations on the higher-status levels become models for imitation and also serve as an incentive toward social mobility.

.....

Class lines are drawn most sharply between upper-class "Society," and middle-class "Society," and the disorganized segment of the lower-class. The church and civic organizations throw some lower-class people into contact with the middle class and make it possible for them to rise through a display of talent, "decorum" and acceptance, ultimately becoming middle-class. Middle-class people may rise through talent, race leadership, and the acquisition of education, and then move "across" to social acceptance. Within the middle-class world itself there are no sharp breaks between church people and others, although in the lower-class the line is sharp. "Shadies" can become "respectable" if they acquire middle-class public behavior and show an interest in racial advancement.²⁹

Robert Sutherland prepared a useful study for the American Youth Commission.³⁰ In this research he is not primarily concerned with the delineation of class itself, but rather with the effect of class on the personality development of Negro youth. He observes:

Although the studies of the American Youth Commission have shown that every Negro community is to some extent stratified--that there are middle-class and upper-class patterns of conduct as well as the more commonly recognized lower-class living--they have also presented the reasons why the thrust upward has affected so few individuals and why the pull downward has kept such a high proportion of Negro youth in their traditional place.³¹

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 710-711.

³⁰ Robert L. Sutherland, Color, Class and Personality (Washington D.C., American Council on Education, 1942).

³¹ Ibid., p. 20.

The case history method was used by John Dollard in his study, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, originally published in 1937. In his second edition, published in 1949, he admits that "if I were trying to do this job over, I would unscramble the caste and class picture after the manner of W. L. Warner and his group."³² In Dollard's study, about sixty informants were interviewed three or four times, and another 150 more briefly. He found that not only do people place others in class status by personal observations, but that persons also respond according to the demands of "his concrete social position."³³

Literature containing information about the Valley City Negro Community. In 1949 a brief study was made by Irene Helgeson and Alice Gemmell as a project in a college undergraduate course. Their paper, "Negro Churches of Valley City, California--A Survey," has value for the present study in that it attempts to identify the churches by such broad categories as conservatives, in-between, pentecostal, and inter-racial.³⁴

³² John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (second edition, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p.XIii.

³³ Ibid., p. 18.

³⁴ Irene Helgeson and Alice Gemmell, "Negro Churches of Valley City, California" (a survey), p. 3.

The historical data presented and partially documented has served to identify certain organizations and their membership with gradations of placement in the class structure.

A study made in 1946 by Frances Colville revealed original grants to three churches rather than to the two popularly thought to be the only old timers.³⁵ Another contribution of this paper was the indication of the probable number of Negro people in Valley City before World War II, the number being ". . . well below 1,000 according to the estimates of local citizens."³⁶ In recalling the figures obtained through the 1950 census previously cited as 6,667, this represents a gain of approximately 700 per cent population growth during and after the war.

Another undergraduate student, Jeanne Drew, presented her study, "Is There a Social Class Structure in Valley City's Negro Community?" to a sociology seminar in 1942.³⁷ Miss Drew's paper was based on interviews with forty-three Negro people plus the limited use of a questionnaire. Her

³⁵ Frances Colville, A General Survey of the Negro in the Community of Valley City, 1946, p. 10.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

³⁷ Jeanne Drew, Is There a Social Class Structure in Valley City's Negro Community? 1942, p. 16.

study indicated the possible use of organizational membership and interaction as a method of determining class lines. She concluded that there was a social organization present, although the pattern had not crystallized, and that status was based on such items as church membership, type of employment, length of time in Valley City, education, and housing.

The studies of these various college students were helpful in obtaining background material for the present research although each was limited in scope. Colville's study covered a broad general area of information, but it was not the intent of the paper to analyze the community structure as to class lines. Helgeson and Gemmell's study was limited to the area of the churches and was more subjective than objective in information. Drew's study was limited in its approach to the question, and the small number of people interviewed made the findings less valid than desired. It did contribute to the present study the possible use of personal interviews for information, the use of membership in associations as a criterion for delineating class structure, and the stimulation to delve into the methodology of the major studies for more accurate means of measuring the class structure of the Negro community. Careful research into possible methods found to be successful by professional workers in the field made it appear that a complete and valid study could be made for this community.

CHAPTER III

THE TECHNIQUES USED

This chapter is devoted to a more complete presentation of methodology and an indication of the use of the information obtained.

After reviewing all of the available literature pertaining to the Valley City Negro and studying the methodology and results obtained from the studies Deep South, The Social Life of a Modern Community, Social Class in America, Black Metropolis, and Caste and Class in a Southern Town, the writer decided to approach this study with three primary techniques: a questionnaire, personal interviews, and a study of associations.

The questionnaire. The writer was, prior to this study, a member of the Valley City branch of The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (to be called the N.A.A.C.P. for the rest of this study). This served as an excellent point of departure for investigation, because, according to Drake and Cayton, this organization is primarily concerned with race advancement and includes membership from all classes.³⁸ It can be of assistance in determining leaders and

³⁸ Drake and Cayton, op. cit., p. 711.

followers. Beginning the study with this organization proved to be a wise approach as the Negro leaders were desirous of obtaining for their own needs much of the information that was needed for this survey. To better aid their people, job opportunities, educational status, eligibility to vote in Valley City, associational membership, and information concerning the immunization of children, were among the items that the N.A.A.C.P. wanted to know. To this end, they appointed the writer to the position of Chairman of their Committee on Education. Cooperation of the membership of the local group was obtained, and through them, of many other associations, in answering questionnaires. (See Appendix for the questionnaire.)

The data obtained from the schedules were used to formulate the various sociograms and charts indicating relationships between organizational membership and other factors pertinent to class status; inter-action of members in various associations; relationship of such factors as length of residence, home ownership, occupation and education to the class status of the general group being served by the organization. Consideration was given to the relationship pattern of those who were members of organized groups.

Consideration must be given to the general sampling obtained through the questionnaires. These were distributed to every organization, but not all returned them. Some associations completed the schedules in a group meeting, and

hence are represented in a numerically larger percentage. A total of 172 usable questionnaires were secured. At the same time information was obtained about each of the twenty-eight associations.

Personal interviews. To validate some of the material, and to gain information from groups or individuals not represented by the questionnaires, the writer interviewed fifty-four persons as informants. It was felt in this way all classes would be represented in the total study. Informants ranged from "skid-row" habitues selected at random, to professional people recognized as race leaders by others in the community.

The interviews, discussions, friendly chats, observed behavior, chance remarks, attitudes toward others or toward associations, were noted in relationship to the group to which they pertain. These oral expressions were of great value in placing associations on the inferiority-superiority scale of social status.

These interviews do not indicate a scientific sampling of the Negro people. They were on a chance basis for the most part, with the exception of those persons interviewed for information that had not been secured by the questionnaires. These interviews served as a valuable source of information from many persons who would not fill in the schedules. The

technique was used in the same way anthropologists acquire information from their informants and is recognized as a valid technique for acquiring data.

The study of associations. The associations were studied from various approaches: visits to their meetings, compilation of information obtained through the questionnaires, interviews with informants, and study of the interaction with members in other associations.

The next step was evaluation of each association to ascertain its place in the social strata and to identify the general characteristics of its membership. To accomplish this, Warner's I.S.C. scale was adapted to the local situation of the Valley City Negro community. The following weights and factors were used:

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Weight</u> ³⁹
Residence in Valley City prior to 1942	4
Home ownership	3
College education	4
High school education	2
Elementary school education	1
Professional and/or skilled occupation	4
Semi-skilled occupation	2
Housewife	2
Laborer	1

The results of this survey are presented in Chapter IV.

³⁹ These weights were determined subjectively in a similar manner as in the study of Warner, Meeker and Ellis.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this chapter is to integrate the material obtained through the questionnaires, the personal interviews, and the related studies; then, on the basis of the compilation, to analyze (1) the churches serving the Valley City Negro, (2) the associations, other than the church, (3) the general characteristics of persons who are not affiliated with associations, and (4) the interactions of members of different churches and other associations.

Classification of churches serving the Valley City Negro.

Ten churches were studied during the year 1950-1951. They were grouped into three broad classes, indicative of the type of church service associated with each. For ease of identification, the church types were described as Conservative, Intermediate and Holiness.

The Conservative churches traditionally have college educated ministers who carefully prepare the sermon, use adequate notes, and have a congregation that refrains from emotional outbursts. The service, on the whole, is formal.

The Holiness churches seem to be almost opposite to the Conservative ones. They are of the pentecostal type and are very emotional. The ministers do not have a college

education, and usually have other employment during the week to support themselves. They do not use "prepared sermons" in the formal connotation of the phrase, and digress readily from what they had planned. There is enthusiastic participation on the part of the congregation with spontaneous shouts of "amen," "halleluiah," "that's right, brother," "praise the Lord," and frequent displays of sorrow or happiness in accord with the mood being created by the minister.

The Intermediate churches have characteristics of both the Conservative and the Holiness churches. The ministers generally have some college education. They preach from a prepared manuscript, but are able to meet the needs of the congregation if some require a display of emotion. A church worship bulletin is provided, but the minister is flexible in his use of it.

The churches serving the Valley City Negro. There were four Conservative churches. Two had all-Negro congregations and were identified as Conservative Church No. 1 and Conservative Church No. 2; the other two in this category were inter-racial churches--one Protestant and the other Roman Catholic. There were two churches in the Intermediate category, identified as Intermediate Church numbers 1 and 2. The four Holiness Churches were identified by numbers 1 through 4.

The Conservative churches were all founded prior to 1942. As indicated in Colville's study,⁴⁰ the two all-Negro Conservative churches were among the three granted original land charters. This placed them in the Valley City area in the 1800's. It was the general feeling of the people, as expressed by various Negro informants, that the members of the Conservative churches think of themselves as "upper class." Mrs. W., a Negro of upper-middle class status in a discussion about her church made reference to the Conservative church in relation to her own Intermediate church, when she said:

We try in our church to make everyone feel welcome. Why Rev. _____ even baptized a white man a year or so ago and he came to church every Sunday until he moved from town; but those people over there are the _____ Conservative church number 1; just because they were here first, they act as if we have no business here at all!

Another informant of lower-class status, suggested that the two Negro Conservative churches were most unfriendly, as was the rest of the community so far as she was concerned. She stated indignantly:

I have never lived in such an unfriendly town. I have been here two years now and the old-timers are as bad as the whites for being just plain mean. I even tried a couple of different churches, but they are all the same. Unless you have lived here all your life, you are out. As soon as I get some money saved, I am going back home to Texas.

⁴⁰ Supra, page 14.

Thus, while it would seem desirable to be accepted by the old Conservative churches, it was a difficult task for many of the newcomers. Mrs. D. (middle-class) felt that some of the most capable leadership in the Negro group had deserted their own people by joining a Conservative inter-racial Protestant church. Her feeling was expressed by the following statement:

We will never get anywhere that way when our own churches need all the leadership we can get. Why, those people act as if they weren't even colored, but it's as plain as the nose on their face!

Another informant of middle-class status, discussing her reason for affiliating with the Conservative inter-racial Catholic church, indicated a desire to be aloof from other Negro people and implied her acceptance by white people. She emphasized her desire to be set apart from other Negroes by saying:

I became Catholic because the worship service is so dignified and impersonal in contrast to the emotional preaching heard so frequently in the Negro churches. I don't want to be associated with those kind of people.

Table I on page 24 lists the churches in rank order, according to the total I.S.C. scores of members, divided by the number of informants in each individual church.

The Conservative inter-racial Protestant church had a total score of 9.25, placing it at the top of the I.S.C. scale. This placement was comparable with the general status

TABLE I

CHURCHES LISTED IN RANK ORDER ACCORDING TO THEIR
I.S.C. SCORE PLACEMENT. ADAPTED FROM TABLE XII.

CHURCH	SCORE
Conservative, inter-racial, Protestant	9.85
Conservative Church No. 2	6.95
Conservative Church No. 1	6.70
Conservative, inter-racial, Roman Catholic	5.00
Intermediate Church No. 2	5.00
Intermediate Church No. 1	4.97
Holiness Church No. 2	3.70
Holiness Church No. 3	3.13
Holiness Church No. 1	2.89
Holiness Church No. 4	2.17

given it by the informants. Several members of this church who did not fill in the schedules would come very high in the I.S.C. classification as adapted to the Valley City Negro. Their residence prior to 1942 (4 points), college education (4 points), home ownership (3 points), professional or semi-skilled occupation (4 or 3 points) gave total possible scores between 11 and 15. This would be a high rating, the highest possible score being 15.

The next two in rank order would be the Conservative Church Number 2 with an I.S.C. average score of 6.93, and the Conservative Church Number 1 with an I.S.C. average score of 6.70.

The Conservative inter-racial Roman Catholic church, fourth in rank order, had a score of 8.00. It might be mentioned here that in relation to this church, the four respondents who filled in the questionnaires were apparently the only Negroes in the church at that time. They had a definite feeling that they were upper-class, but did not have all of the upper-class characteristics. Reference to Table IV, page indicates that they had not lived in Valley City prior to 1942, and were not home owners. Two did have a college education; the other two had attended high school. As for occupation, one was professional, one semi-skilled, and two were laborers.

According to Colville's study previously referred to, Intermediate Church No. 1 was granted one of the original land grants. This placed it in the old church category, yet the membership had not the same status as the Conservative churches. Table I, page 24, indicated that this church had an I.S.C. average score of 4.97. Intermediate Church No. 2, I.S.C. average score of 5.00, came into existence about the time of the close of World War II. Table I (I.S.C. group scores) and Table II (I.S.C. individual scores) place these two churches in the lower-middle classification.

The Holiness churches reflected low status characteristics in all areas. The rank order as shown on Table I, page 24, gave Holiness churches I.S.C. group scores ranging from 3.70 to a low of 2.17. This placement at the lower range of the I.S.C. rating is supported by informants. In discussing a Holiness church with one of the informants (upper class status), the following history was revealed. The minister purchased a city block, built the church, and then surrounded it with "chicken shacks" that he rented to his congregation. When they "got wise" to him, they quit coming. He asked a mortician to conduct a mock funeral for "dead" members. The informant suggested that members of this church had very little education and were in a low economic bracket. Another informant, middle-class status, in discussing this same church, stated that only a lower-class person would attend there.

The foregoing information was based on Table I, page 24, which analyzed the group I.S.C. scores. Table II, page 28, is an analysis of the individual I.S.C. scores. A study of Table II shows that there are logical lines of division based on the average I.S.C. scores between the Conservative inter-racial church, Protestant, and the Conservative Churches Numbers 1 and 2, with another division separating them from the Conservative inter-racial church, Roman Catholic, and the Intermediate Churches Numbers 1 and 2, with a final division separating the Holiness churches from the others.

For ease of understanding without presenting numerical indications of class placement, these general divisions will be referred to as upper-division, upper-middle, lower-middle and lower-division, in reference to the rank order.

Other associations serving the Negroes of Valley City.

Masonic Lodge No. 2 was highest on both the rank order lists for the individual I.S.C. ratings in Table II, page 28, and the group I.S.C. scores as indicated in Table I, page 24. The respective scores were 8-11-11 and 10.00. There were several persons known by the writer to be members of this association who would not answer the questionnaire. These men were professional persons with college educations who owned their homes and were recognized race leaders. One of them had lived in Valley City prior to 1942. This gave them

TABLE II

CHURCHES AND ASSOCIATIONS LISTED IN RANK ORDER AS INDICATED
BY THE LOW-MEDIAN-HIGH SCORES OF THEIR MEMBERS BASED ON THE
APPLICATION OF A WEIGHTED SCORE TO THE I.S.C. FACTORS.

ASSOCIATION	LOW	SCORES MEDIAN	HIGH
<u>Division 1</u>			
Masonic Lodge No. 2	8	11	11
Valley City Council Civic Unity	6	11	11
Conservative, inter-racial, Prot.	4	11	11
<u>Division 2</u>			
Community Guild	6	7	9
Unified Women's Club	3	7	11
Excelsior Club	3	7	11
Eastern Star No. 2 (only 2 resp.)	4	4-7	7
Conservative Church No. 2	2	6	13
Conservative Church No. 1	3	6	11
S. J. Club	3	6	11
<u>Division 3</u>			
Intermediate Church No. 1	2	6	11
N.A.A.C.P.	2	6	11
Knights & Daughters of Taber	4	6	9
Eastern Star No. 1	2	4-7	11
Intermediate Church No. 2	2	4	11
Daughters of Carnation Temple	2	4	10
Independent Club	4	4	7
Fair Employment Practice Assoc.	3	4-6	7
Smart Set Club	3	4	7
Masonic Lodge No. 1	2	3	13
Conservative, inter-racial, R. Cath.	3	3-6	8
<u>Division 4</u>			
Holiness Church No. 2	2	3	7
Holiness Church No. 3	2	3	6
Elks	2	2	5
Optimistic Club	3	3	4
Holiness Church No. 1	2	3	4
Holiness Church No. 4	2	2-3	3

NOTE: Refer to page 19 for weight assignments.

individual I.S.C. scores ranging from 11 to 15. Three men listed membership in this organization on the questionnaires. One of them (upper-class status) said in a later conversation that he wouldn't "be caught dead" belonging to the other lodge (Masonic Lodge No. 1), and that even in his home town in the East, his lodge had been known to be socially superior to the other. This informant was a member of Conservative Church No. 1, a self-employed professional person who owned his own home, had a college education, was a recognized race leader in the N.A.A.C.P., and was a member of the Valley City Council for Civic Unity. His individual I.S.C. score was 11 only because he had not been a resident prior to 1942. Another informant (upper-class) in discussing Masonic Lodge No. 1, named several members who were ministers, one from the Holiness, and several from the Intermediate and Conservative churches. In the discussion of Masonic Lodge No. 1, page 31, it will be noted that many of its members are from the Holiness and Intermediate churches. It would seem that there is a separation between the two Masonic lodges on the basis of professional status and education.

The I.S.C. scores as given in Tables I and II, place the Masonic Lodge No. 2, the Valley City Council for Civic Unity and the Conservative Protestant inter-racial Church, in the same general status category--the upper-division section of the rank order scale.

The next natural division based on both individual and group I.S.C. scores, the upper-middle grouped, the Community Guild, Unified Women's Club, Excelsior Club, Eastern Star No. 2, S. J. Club, and the Conservative Churches Numbers 1 and 2. The range indicated was from 6.67 to 7.20 on the group I.S.C. rating, and on the individual score it varied from 2 to 6 on the low range, medians from 4 to 7, and high scores from 7 to 13. This demonstrated in these organizations that are of a social-charitable nature, as are the various women's clubs, there is a wide range of membership from the lower end of the I.S.C. scale to the upper. The membership in the associations listed in this division, however, fell primarily in the range from 6-11.

A third division, the lower-middle of the rank order scale, grouped the following associations: Intermediate Churches Numbers 1 and 2; the Conservative inter-racial Roman Catholic Church; the N.A.A.C.P.; The Knights and Daughters of Tabor; Eastern Star No. 1, Daughters of Carnation Temple; the Independent Club; the Fair Employment Practice Association; the Smart Set Club; and the Masonic Lodge No. 1. The group I.S.C. scores ranged from 4.00 to 6.50. The median individual I.S.C. scores ranged from 3 to 6. These associations have a large range of membership, but the majority were in the lower-middle division. Members of Masonic Lodge No. 1 completed

a total of 42 questionnaires, a proportionately larger number than any other association. Analysis of Table IV (Appendix), indicates that a large number (34 of the 42) of the respondents were laborers. Six were semi-skilled, and two were professional persons. Only three of the members had resided in Valley City prior to 1942. Two had college educations, nineteen had high school educations, and the rest had elementary school education. The low score of 4.00 on the group I.S.C. score and the median score of 3 on the individual I.S.C. scores indicates that the majority of the membership was from the lower division of the rank order scale. Analysis of Table III, page 32, revealed that many of the members who were church affiliated belonged to the Holiness or Intermediate churches. As indicated on page 29, these scores verify the theory that there was a separation of the two Masonic lodges on the basis of professional status and educational achievement.

The N.A.A.C.P., also in this lower-middle division, had in its membership representatives from all of the associations with the exception of the Conservative inter-racial Roman Catholic Church. While there are a substantial number of members from the Holiness churches, which are in the lower rank order division, it is not the intent of the members that persons would be solicited from the lower class slum area

TABLE III

ASSOCIATIONS TO WHICH CHURCH MEMBERS BELONG
VALLEY CITY NEGRO, 1950-1951

CHURCH	ASSOCIATIONS										
	Masonic Lodge No. 2	Council, Civic Unity	Community Guild	Unified Women's Club	Excelsior Club	Eastern Star No. 2	S. J. Club	N.A.A.C.P.	Knights & Daughters of Tabor	Eastern Star No. 1	Daughters of Carnation Temple
											Independent Club
											Fair Employment Practice Association
											Smart Set Club
											Masonic Lodge No. 1
											Elks
											Optimistic Club
Conservative, inter-racial Protestant	- 1	- - - -	- 3	1	- -	- - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Conservative No. 1	12	2 - 5 - 1	8	22	2 12	42	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Conservative No. 2	- - - -	- 11 - 1	5	- -	2 - -	22	- 2	- -	- -	- -	- -
Intermediate No. 1	1 - -	6 - 11	11	- 2	- - -	110	1 1	- -	- -	- -	- -
Intermediate No. 2	1 1 1	5 - 11	8	12	1 1 1	- 8	1 1	- -	- -	- -	- -
Conservative, inter-racial Roman Catholic	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
Holiness No. 1	- - - -	- - - -	1 - -	- - - -	- - - -	3 - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Holiness No. 2	- - - -	- 1 - 1	5 - -	- - - -	- - - -	5 2 1	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Holiness No. 3	- - - -	- - - -	1 - -	- - - -	- - - -	4 1 -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Holiness No. 4	- - - -	- - - -	1 - -	- - - -	- - - -	1 2 -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Non-church	- 2 2	- - - 3	8 1	- -	- 1 1	- 7 1	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -

group. Indeed, it was the opinion expressed by one N.A.A.C.P. member, middle-class status, in an open meeting of that group and with no voiced objection that:

We are not going out to get new members, but rather to try to bring in those who have been backsliders. We will not, under any circumstance, go to the slums for new members.

Thus, for total group membership, the N.A.A.C.P. seems to solicit from all levels of the class structure with the exception of the one represented by the slum area.

The fourth division, the lower rank status, according to Table I, page 24, and Table II, page 28, included the four Holiness churches, the Elks, and the Optimistic Club. There were so few respondents in the Elks that it is doubtful if an accurate class placement can be indicated; however, the individual members responding were in this lower-rank order division. One member of the Optimistic Club gave the impression that this social charitable club was of a higher class status when she suggested that they vote on prospective members, saying: "Certain people just wouldn't be acceptable." Analysis of the Optimistic Club questionnaires revealed that their status was low on the I.S.C. scale. Several members were laborers, none had residence prior to 1942, none owned his own home, and none were in the professional or skilled group categories.

No one club seemed to draw its membership exclusively from members of any Holiness church or from those listed as non-church people. Members of these two groups interacted with members of the Elks, Masonic Lodge No. 1, Eastern Star No. 1, and Daughters of Carnation Temple.

General characteristics of individuals not affiliated with an association. This total study was mainly a survey of associations whose members were interacting and thus delineating class structure. The total findings would be less valid if consideration had not been given to persons not affiliated with organizations in order to have some basis for comparison.

Mr. and Mrs. L. had lived in Valley City five and three years respectively, rented their living quarters in a public housing district within the city limits and had elementary schooling. Mrs. L. was a housewife and Mr. L. worked at common labor employment. They seemed to be accepted by their neighbors, but had not become members in any association. Aside from the lack of identification with an organization, they had characteristics found within the membership range of the Holiness church groups--low income, low education, low home ownership, fairly new to Valley City. This gave an approximate I.S.C. rating of 2 for Mr. L. and 3 for Mrs. L., which compared to the lower-rank order division of the associations as indicated in Table I.

Random interviewing of five skid-row habitues gave a general pattern of response--they were unmarried or separated, either unemployed or doing odd jobs, and were transient or recent arrivals in Valley City. All lived in rooming houses. They claimed an elementary school education, but refused to fill in the questionnaire. No interest was evinced in joining any association. Several others refused to cooperate in any form of interview. They were low in all factors considered important for achieving upper or middle-class status. Their I.S.C. ratings were either 1 or 2, which placed them at the very bottom of the I.S.C. scale.

The writer attended an informal meeting of recognized race leaders among the Negro people, at which time they discussed various individuals who could be helpful as race leaders. Several were mentioned as potential leaders, but were rejected by the group because of the expressed feeling that, "They are too high-class and wouldn't be willing to help us."

Mr. and Mrs. A. owned their home, lived in Valley City several years, but were not residents prior to 1942. Both were high school graduates. Mrs. A. owned and operated her own beauty parlor. Mr. A. had a steady job working for the federal government as a semi-skilled worker. This couple were still friendly with a few of the other Negroes, but did not go to church. At one time they were in the N.A.A.C.P.

but dropped their membership. The I.S.C. scores for Mr. A. were 7 and 9 for Mrs. A. This score would place them in the upper-middle rank order division.

At an informal meeting, the name of a Mr. X. was mentioned. Mr. X. was on the Valley City police force and was in a position to help the members of his race yet he apparently refused to do so. "He and his wife definitely will not associate with the Negro element," one informant said, a man of middle-class status. Mr. and Mrs. X. were home owners, lived in Valley City prior to 1942, had professional and semi-skilled occupations, were college educated, and yet did not choose to belong to the Negro associations. Their I.S.C. scores of 13 and 15 placed them in the upper-division of the rank order scale. This was further verified by the inference of the group that Mr. and Mrs. X. were in the upper-class.

Interaction of members of different associations.

Figure 1, page 37, is based on Table III, page 32. This Table was compiled from the work sheets and was a summary of the additional associations to which church members belonged. There were 26 respondents to the questionnaires who were not members of any church. The other associations to which some of them belonged are included under the category of "non-church." The non-membership group does not represent homogeneous class grouping.

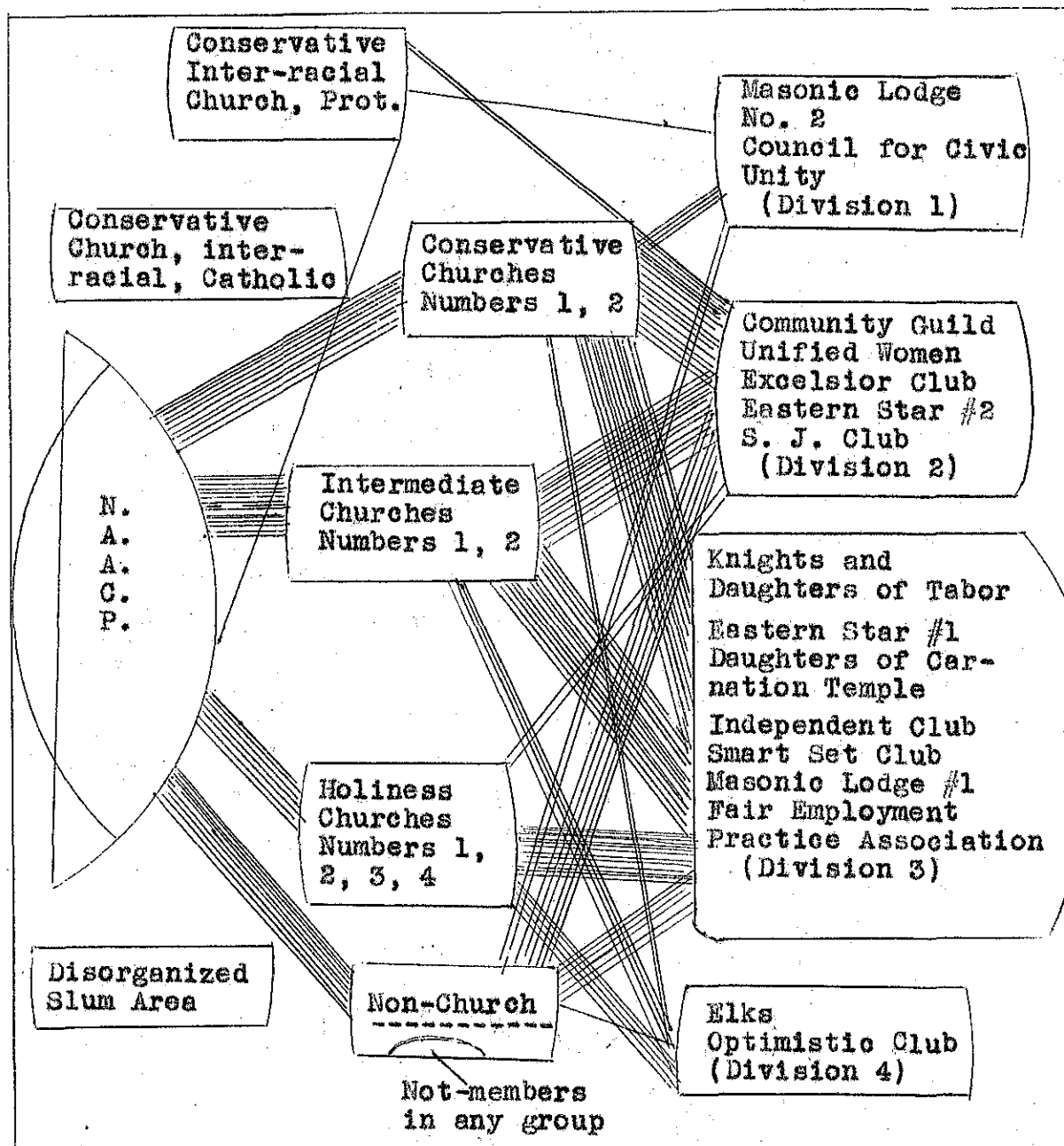


FIGURE 1

SOCIOGRAM SHOWING INTERACTION OF ASSOCIATION
MEMBERS IN VALLEY CITY NEGRO COMMUNITY

Figure 1, page 37, shows that there was some degree of interaction possible between most of the associations. It is noteworthy that the members of the Conservative inter-racial Catholic Church did not interact with any other group. The Conservative inter-racial Protestant Church had members in the S. J. Club and the Valley City Council for Civic Unity, both associations being in the higher range of rank order of I.S.C. scores.

It was possible for members of the Conservative Churches Numbers 1 and 2 to interact in all four divisions of rank order, but the bulk of their members tended to affiliate with associations in Divisions 2 and 3, with a majority in Division 2.

The members of the Intermediate Churches, Numbers 1 and 2, were able to affiliate with all other divisions, but confined most of their activity to the associations in Divisions 2 and 3, with the majority in Division 3. They had more members in group 4 than any of the Conservative churches.

The Holiness Churches Numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4, had members in Divisions 2, 3, and 4. None of their membership was represented in Division 1. The majority of their affiliation was in Division 3, although they contributed more members to Division 4 than any other church.

Persons who were members of associations other than churches were affiliates of all divisions. There was a

preponderance of membership in the Division 3 due to the large number of respondents from the Masonic Lodge No. 1.

The N.A.A.C.P. had members from all of the churches with the exception of the Conservative inter-racial Roman Catholic Church. They also had members who were not church affiliated. The majority from any one group was from the Intermediate churches.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A summary of the findings of this study is important to facilitate the reader's understanding of the social class structure of the Valley City Negro community. This chapter presents such a summary, and, on the basis of the research indicates the social class structure for the Negro community in Valley City.

Summary. It was apparent from analysis of the studies of recognized sociologists and social anthropologists that all communities have some form of social class structure, and that certain factors were important in the delineation of this structure. The Index of Status Characteristics scale suggested by Warner, Meeker, and Mells was adapted to the local situation. In addition, certain Evaluated Participation factors were included. The revised I.S.C. scale used in this study, and assigned certain weights, included the following factors: residence in Valley City prior to 1942, home ownership, education, and occupation. The E. P. factors included were the church and other associational membership, with a presentation of the interaction of these members.

There were no adequate studies pertaining to the Valley City Negro, although three unrelated papers pointed to the

possibility of a comprehensive study.

Three techniques for obtaining the required information were selected: the questionnaire, personal interviews, and the study of associations.

Analysis of the information obtained from the questionnaires utilizing the weighted I.S.C. factors made it possible to list all associations in rank order according to the low, median, and high modified I.S.C. scores of the individual members. There were four logical divisions in this rank order listing. Table II, page 28, lists these associations. The churches were also analyzed by applying the revised I.S.C. scale to the members of each church, dividing it by the number of members, and listing the churches in rank order according to the scores. They were found to be in the same logical divisions as found in Table II. Results of this analysis are found in Table I, page 24.

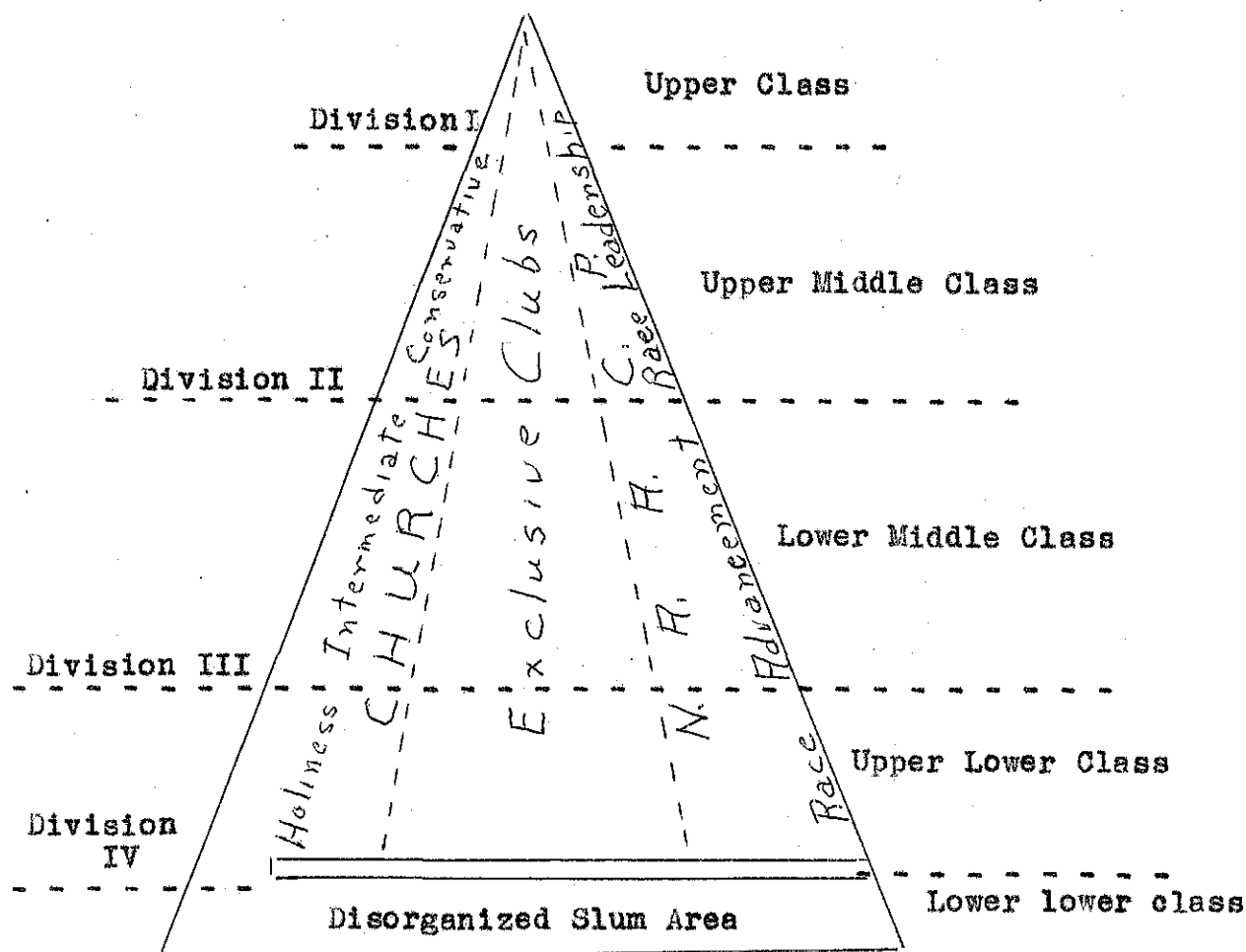
Various informants volunteered information that indicated the opinion of the people in placing associations and individuals in various class categories. These opinions were considered in evaluating the associations.

A sociogram constructed from information summarized in Table III, page 32, showed the interaction of members of the associations. It was noted that it was possible for members of an association to interact with members from any other association. Only one association--the Conservative inter-

racial Roman Catholic Church was a complete isolate. The members of the Conservative inter-racial Protestant Church, tended to affiliate with associations in Divisions 1 and 2. The bulk of the members of the Conservative Churches 1 and 2 interacted with members of associations in Divisions 2 and 3, although there was some movement between members of Divisions 1 and 4. The majority of the interaction between members of the two Intermediate churches and other associations was in Division 3. Holiness church members did not indicate that any of their group was interacting with members in Division 1, although they were represented in the other three divisions. The majority of their affiliations were in Divisions 3 and 4. Persons who were members of associations other than churches were affiliates of all divisions.

The persons representing the disorganized slum area did not affiliate with any association.

Conclusions. Figure 2, page 43, represents a pyramid of social class structure in the Negro community of Valley City. The associations were placed in this pyramidal figure according to the division acquired from the I.S.C. scores and were listed in rank order. The associations in Division 1 were placed near the peak, Division 2 slightly lower, and so on until the broad base of the pyramid, representing the lowest class placement, was representative of the members of the disorganized slum area.



The wide spaces indicates absence of "social participation between individuals in the adjacent segments. Broken lines indicate some "social contact" between the groups.

FIGURE 2

SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE CLASS SYSTEM
AS IT OPERATED IN VALLEY CITY, 1950

It is noteworthy that interaction of members could take place readily between each division. There was overlapping in each division with the exception of the disorganized slum area. The fringe area for each division seemed to be fuzzy. Strainers for a higher social position could acquire that status through joining associations in a higher class division.

The N.A.A.C.P. had a clearly defined line of membership from the pyramidal peak to the fringe of the lower-lower class division. Recognized race leaders, and those individuals recognized by virtue of their position and influence as being upper-class were placed in the upper division of the pyramid.

Thus it has been demonstrated that there are five main strata of class structure for the Valley City Negro community: the upper-class, the upper-middle class, the lower-middle class, the upper-lower class, and the lower-lower class. There are avenues of movement within these strata, either up or down, but they are recognizable. As one of the race leaders, recognized as upper-class, expressed it, "This is strictly on the Q.T., but few of us admit that we have any kind of a class system. We need to present a united front to get anywhere, but you know Marc, that white or black we're all human."

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APPENDIX

TABLE IV

SUMMARY OF WORK-SHEET INFORMATION AND APPLICATION OF WEIGHTED FACTORS FOR DETERMINATION OF CLASS PLACEMENTS FOR ASSOCIATIONS OF THE VALLEY CITY NEGRO, 1950-51

		Masonic Lodge #2	Conservative Church inter-racial, Protestant	Valley City Council for Civic Unity	Community Guild	Excelsior Club	Conservative Church #2	Conservative Church #1	S. J. Club	Knights & Daughters of Tabor	Unified Women's Club	N. A. A. C. P.	Eastern Star #1	Eastern Star #2	Daughters of Carnation Temple	Intermediate Church #2	Conservative Church, inter-racial, Catholic	Fair Employment Practice Assoc.	Intermediate Church #1	Independent Club	Smart Set Club	Masonic Lodge #1	Holiness Church #2	Optimistic Club	Holiness Church #3	Holiness Church #1	Elks	Holiness Church #4
	FACTOR	Wt.																										
Residence prior to 1942	4	0	12	4	4	20	36	24	12	12	4	32	4	0	4	16	0	0	8	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
Home ownership	3	6	9	15	15	30	30	33	15	3	24	76	9	3	6	30	0	6	36	3	3	36	9	0	3	0	3	0
College Education	4	12	0	8	0	8	12	12	0	0	4	32	4	0	0	4	8	0	16	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
High School Education	2	0	8	4	6	26	30	32	14	2	16	50	4	4	4	26	4	6	28	8	16	38	8	8	8	10	2	4
Elementary School Ed.	1	0	0	1	1	2	9	2	2	2	2	14	2	0	3	10	0	1	11	0	0	20	6	1	4	4	7	2
Professional & skilled occupation	4	12	0	8	0	4	4	12	0	0	0	24	4	0	0	4	4	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Semi-skilled occupation	2	0	2	2	8	0	6	8	0	2	2	20	0	0	0	2	2	6	8	2	2	12	2	0	2	0	0	0
Laborer occupation	1	0	0	1	0	0	8	3	1	1	2	18	1	0	1	13	2	1	14	0	1	34	6	2	6	6	8	5
Housewife occupation	2	0	6	2	2	32	32	28	16	4	16	30	8	4	8	20	0	0	20	6	12	0	6	6	2	6	0	2
Totals		30	37	45	36	122	167	154	60	26	70	298	36	11	26	125	20	20	149	19	34	168	37	17	25	26	20	13
No. in group		3	4	5	5	17	27	23	9	4	11	49	6	2	5	25	4	4	30	4	8	42	10	5	8	9	8	6
Total + No. in group =		10.00	9.25	9.00	7.20	7.18	6.93	6.70	6.67	6.50	6.36	6.08	6.00	5.50	5.20	5.00	5.00	5.00	4.97	4.75	4.25	4.00	3.70	3.40	3.13	2.89	2.50	2.17

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN VALLEY CITY STUDY

Name Sex Age . .
 Address In City Limits? Phone . . .
 Own Home? . . . Rent Home? . . . Make and Year of Car . . .

How long have you lived in Valley City?
 Where did you live before? State of Birth
 Are you registered to vote?

Married . . Single . . . Number of Children
 Are children under six years of age examined annually by a
 doctor? . . . Have the children been immunized?

What kind of work do you do?
 What trade are you trained to follow?
 If you are a Union member, give name of Union

EDUCATION: Check which one you attended:

Grammar School . . . High School . . . College . . Other. .
 Would you be interested in attending a night class?
 What subjects would you like to study?

Name of Church you attend
 Office held in the Church, if any

CHECK From the list below any Clubs to which you belong, or to
 which you go. Indicate if you hold office. List any other
 associations to which you belong or attend.

ASSOCIATION

OFFICE

N.A.A.C.P.
 ELKS
 DAUGHTERS OF CARMATION TEMPLE
 MASONIC LODGE NO. 2
 EASTERN STAR NO. 2
 MASONIC LODGE NO. 1
 EASTERN STAR NO. 1
 KNIGHTS AND DAUGHTERS OF TABOR
 COMMUNITY GUILD
 EXCELSION CLUB
 OPTIMISTIC CLUB
 PAID EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE ASSOCIATION
 INDEPENDENT CLUB
 SMART SET CLUB
 UNIFIED WOMEN'S CLUB
 S. J. CLUB
 PARENT TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
 VALLEY CITY COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY