TUCKER, RICHARD DENNIS. Connotations of Color Names Among Negroes and Caucasians: A Replication and an Extension. (1969) Directed by: Dr. Frances Dunham. pp. 66.

The primary purpose of this study was to replicate the work of Williams (1964) to determine if the connotation of color names, particularly Black and White, had changed since 1964 among Negro and Caucasian college students. The predicted changes in White-Black color connotation for the Negro subjects were hypothesized as being related to the black separatist movement and its reinforcement of sub-cultural conditioning toward racial awareness.

Semantic differential rating scales on three factors (Evaluation, Activity, and Potency) for five "race-related" and five control colors were administered in a non-racial context to 208 Negro college students and compared with new data already collected on a population of 99 Caucasian college students. Data related to Ideological Commitment to Black Separatism also were collected from the Negro Ss and were compared with the color meaning scale values.

The results showed that the connotative meanings of Black and White were significantly different between the original and the new Negro populations as well as between the new Caucasian and Negro populations on the Evaluation and Activity dimensions, with the new Negro sample rating Black as more "good" and more "active," and White as less "good" and more "passive" than had the 1964 Negro sample or than did the 1969 Caucasian sample. There were no differences in either of these group comparisons on the Potency factor. Fewer differences existed between these same comparison groups on the

control colors. No differences were found on any factor for either set of color names in a comparison of the 1964 and 1969 Caucasian samples, giving support to the hypothesis that the change in color connotations was a sub-cultural phenomenon.

The results for the new sample of the Negro Ss on the relationship between ideological commitment to black separatism and color meaning further confirmed the hypothesis of a cultural reinforcement. Highly significant differences between the low separatist and high separatist groups were found in the mean scale values given the color names Black and White. Black was rated as more "active" and White as less "good," more "weak," and less "active" by the high separatists. There were no differences between the groups on any dimension for the control colors.

A comparison of the low separatist group with the 1964 Negro sample revealed significant differences with the low separatists rating Black as more "good" and White as less "active." A comparison of the high separatist group with the original Negro population showed a highly significant difference with the high separatists rating Black as more "good" and more "active" and rating White as less "active" and more "weak." These comparisons were made to establish more clearly that while color connotation was related to ideological commitment, as evidenced by the differences between high separatists and low separatists, color connotations had also changed within both separatist elements of the sub-culture when compared to the original 1964 Negro data.

# CONNOTATIONS OF COLOR NAMES AMONG NEGROES AND CAUCASIANS: A REPLICATION AND AN EXTENSION

by

Richard Dennis Tucker

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Approved by

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APPROVAL SHEET

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Finally, but, of course, not least, I wish to acknowledge, in this public way, the support of my wife, Beverly, who knows better than anyone else, that this common acknowledgment is no cliché.

Richard Dennis Tucker

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# INTRODUCTION

What shall I tell my children who are black?
Of what it means to be captive in this dark skin.
What shall I tell my dear ones, fruit of my womb
Of how beautiful they are when everywhere they turn
They are faced with abhorence of everything that is
black?
The night is black and so is the boogeyman.
Villains are black with black hearts.
A black cow gives no milk, a black hen lays no eggs.
Bad news comes bordered in black, mourning clothes
are black,
Storm clouds, black, black is evil,
And evil is black and devils food is black....

What shall I tell my dear ones raised in a white
world,
A place where white has been made to represent
All that is good and pure and fine and decent?
Where clouds are white and dolls and heaven
Surely is a white, white place with angels
Robed in white, and cotton candy and ice cream
And milk and ruffled Sunday dresses
And dream houses and long sleek Cadillacs
And angel's food is white....all, all....white.

Thus a young Negro writer (Coker, 1968) begins his expression of the dilemma facing a group of people who have historically been called "Black," but who live in a culture conditioned to a negative connotation of the color Black and a positive connotation of the color White.

This differential connotation has been objectively substantiated in a series of studies by Williams (1964, 1966). The initial study, using the semantic differential rating techniques developed by Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957), showed that when the color names Black and White were presented in a non-racial context, randomly distributed among

eight other color names, both Caucasian[1] and Negro Ss rated the color name White as "good," "weak," and "active" and the color name Black as relatively "bad," "strong," and "passive."

Expanding on this connotative meaning base, Williams (1966) studied the relationship between color name, color person, and the actual racial designation normally associated with a particular ethnic group. Results for the Caucasian Ss across geographical lines revealed that, particularly along the evaluative dimension, connotative color meanings were fairly consistent with the racial designations given ethnic groups according to the color-coding custom.

Negro Ss saw Black and Black-person as related on the negative dimension, but the racial concept Negro was viewed as positive. For the Negro Ss, the direction of difference from the color name White to White-person, however, was very negative, with a close relationship between the concept White-person and the racial designation Caucasian.

Thus, the study seemed to indicate that cultural conditioning of color names generalized to racial concepts among the majority population and perhaps reinforced racial attitudes. Among the Negro Ss, however, this generalization apparently did not occur, or at least, did not occur in the same way.

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[1] In keeping with the usage of the original Williams' study (1964), the term "Caucasian" is used in its popular meaning of "white person" rather than in any technical ethnological sense.

However, there is evidence, both objective and anecdotal, which indicates that the Negro is indeed affected by cultural conditioning towards black and white and that he unconsciously generalizes these differential connotations to his own self-image.

For example, Coles (1967) in his case-study of Southern children, found consistent discrepancies between the way Negro children represented themselves and the way they represented Caucasian children in the same drawing. Generally, the well-detailed Caucasian figure would be physically dominant in the picture and the Negro figure would be not only smaller, but physically (anatomically) incomplete. Coles also noticed the children's reluctance to use the colors brown or black in their drawings.

An earlier but more intensive and systematic psychosocial study was conducted by Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) on a mixed volunteer and paid sample of 25 adult Negroes; from it emerged some theories of the American Negro personality. One of the recurrent themes, among both the male and female subjects (expressed both in the Rorschach protocols and the personal interviews) was a strong color-consciousness. Specifically, this consciousness manifested itself as a rejection of personal symbols of blackness -- dark skin, kinky hair, broad nose and thick lips -- and a variously expressed feeling that whiteness is the cure for all troubles. Kardiner and Ovesey (1951, p. 190) summarized this

rejection dilemma as being stranded between two objects, neither of which can be accepted, and thus, the Negro is left with nothing that can be loved. The resultant self-hatred is what Kardiner and Ovesey label as the "mark of oppression."

If the connotative meaning of these color names is so distinctive, and if this connotation generalizes from object to person, there would appear to be two alternatives in changing the negative effects of color-coding. Williams (1966) suggests that one way is to deliberately reshape language habits so that groups of persons are not designated by color names. Thus, agents of cultural conditioning, such as the mass media, should refrain from using color-coding designations. Williams, however, acknowledges the resistance that would likely come from the Caucasian population reluctant to divest itself of its positive symbolism.

Another alternative which has gained momentum in the Negro community since 1964 is an equally deliberate effort at sub-cultural counter-conditioning where the traditional symbolism of white and black, when applied to people, is reversed. Whereas the first alternative is an attack on the generalization from object-to-person perception, this second alternative deals directly with the person perception. The idea is that sufficient reinforcement will generalize to the object, and in that way, weaken the existing object-to-person generalization.

Starting with the primarily religious focus of the Black Muslims in the early 1960s (Lincoln, 1961), the movement to reject the conditioning of the majority culture gained a broader base through the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and their call for "Black Power" (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967). In this context, not only was black viewed as good, it was also perceived as powerful, a concept which connotes both strength and activity -- the latter element countering the cultural conditioning of black as passive.

This new position emphasized the need for the Negro community to assert its own individuality, to look to its own sources of strength and beauty for self-fulfillment. The advocates of this new philosophy saw integration simply as a futile effort on the part of Negroes to become "white", this futility being reinforced by the larger society's refusal to let the Negro achieve his own identity. Thus, within the new movement, emphasis was placed on those symbols of blackness that had been neglected, namely, the natural, kinky hair and the rich darkness of the skin. In the imagery of Frantz Fanon (1967), the Negro was urged to throw off his "white mask" and assert his true blackness, to assert that "Black is Beautiful."

Several questions arise from the events and the articulations which have occurred since 1964. To what extent has this sub-cultural conditioning been significant for the Negro population? Has it generalized from person to object -- specifically, to the color names Black and White presented

in a non-racial context? Has this sub-cultural phenomenon affected the perceptions of both Negro and Caucasian populations?

The present study is a replication of parts of the Williams (1964) study to test whether or not there has been a change in color connotation, and an extension of his work to determine whether separatist philosophy is related to the connotation of race-related colors in a Negro population. Since the original study involved pre-1964 data, a comparison of these data with newly collected data from similar population samples would provide a timely measure of any changes in racial awareness which have taken place since 1964. Furthermore, it is reasonable to assume that the effects of sub-cultural conditioning would be influenced by the degree to which Ss identified with the sub-culture. This identification was measured in the present study by the degree to which Negro Ss endorsed the separatist philosophy.

Based on anecdotal observations since 1964, it was predicted that a replication of the original Williams study with a group of Negro college students would show that there have been significant changes in the connotation of the color names Black and White for Negro Ss overall, and that the changes are related to the degree to which the S is willing to be separate from the larger culture.

## METHOD

### Subjects

Ss were drawn in March, 1969, from a population of 463 students enrolled in 12 sections of Humanities classes at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University (A&T). Ss were informed by their instructors one class meeting prior to the testing date that they had been selected to participate in a "national opinion survey" and their co-operation was requested. These classes were used because Humanities was a required subject for all students above the freshman level and a cross-section of the non-freshman student population could be sampled. Data were collected from 257 students[1] (146 males, 111 females) from which 18 Ss (11 males, 7 females) were eliminated for unscoreable data and 31 males were subtracted, in an unbiased manner, to balance the sex distribution. The resulting population of 208 Ss was comprised entirely of Negro students, all of whom were classified above the freshman level.

Data were made available by Williams[2] for a current

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[1] While the 257 Ss comprise only 56% of the potential population, the Humanities instructors indicated that due to non-compulsory class attendance, normal class attendance was 50-60%. Thus, the sample may be representative of non-freshman students at this school who attend class.

[2] Personal communication, May, 1969.

Caucasian population tested in November, 1968. These Ss were drawn from introductory psychology classes at Wake Forest University and consisted of 49 males and 50 females.

The original population (Williams, 1964) consisted of 116 Caucasians and 110 Negroes, both groups equally divided by sex.

Measures

Semantic Differential - The connotative meanings of color names were measured through a procedure developed by Williams (1964) as a modification of the semantic differential procedures of Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957). The measure consists of 12 7-point, bipolar, paired-adjective scales; three of the scales (4, 8, and 10) representing an Activity factor (A), three scales (2, 6, and 12) representing a Potency factor (P), and six scales (1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11) representing an Evaluation factor (E). (See Appendix A for a copy of the measures.) Williams (1964) used twice as many E-loading scales because of the Evlauation factor's relation to attitude, as demonstrated earlier by Osgood et al. (1957). Each of the ten mimeographed pages of 12 scales was headed by a different color name; the color names consisting of five "race-related" colors - black, brown, red, white, and yellow - and five control colors - blue, gray, green, orange, and purple. The order of presentation of the color names was randomized from test booklet to booklet.

Ideological Commitment to Black Separatism - A form was used which contained, in alphabetical order, the names of each of six national organizations concerned with civil rights for Negroes and of the person who either directs the organization or is most closely associated with that organization. (See Appendix B.) The organizations and identificands were: Black Panther Party - Eldridge Cleaver; CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) - Floyd McKissick; NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) - Roy Wilkins; SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) - Ralph Abernathy; SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) - Rap Brown; and Urban League - Whitney Young. The six organizations were judged to vary in their commitment to the integration of the Negro into the white community, with the range extending from complete social and economic integration, as represented by the Urban League, to complete separatism, as represented by the Black Panther Party. The NAACP, SCLC, CORE, and SNCC rank, in that order, between the two extremes of integration and separatism. The rank order of the organizations was determined independently by ten Negro students and staff members at North Carolina A&T State University, with 100% agreement among the raters.

Procedure

Ss were tested in their regular Humanities class sections by two Negro Es, both advanced social science students at the same institution. Each of the Es tested six sections after a

professor in the Education Department described the study to each section as a two-part "opinion survey" and then introduced the Es as his assistants. Uniform, written procedural instructions were used by both Es. (See Appendix C.)

To reduce the probability of a racial set in the color rating, the semantic differential was presented first following cover sheet instructions used by Williams (1964). (See Appendix D.) To further encourage a neutral (i.e., non-race-related) response set, as well as to reduce confusion concerning the task, the specific procedures were repeated verbally at the end of the written instructions, using the neutral color, turquoise, as an example. Each booklet was coded with a six-digit number; no other identifying information was requested for this initial procedure.

Ss were instructed to place their booklets beneath their chairs to indicate that they had completed the task. When all Ss had finished, Es proceeded immediately with what was announced as Part Two of the opinion survey. This second part consisted of a face sheet, an attitude survey, and the Ideological Commitment to Black Separatism form. Ss were also asked to copy on the face sheet their code number from the first booklet.

The survey, a modified version of the Stenfors and Woodmansee (1968) Black Power Scale, asked S to respond "Yes" or "No" to 26 statements dealing with Negro attitudes toward integration and civil rights. (See Appendix E.)

These data were collected for validation by a colleague in a separate study, using the Ideological Commitment to Black Separatism scores as the validating criterion, and were not analyzed for purposes of the present study. However, the procedure is noted for its roll in the present study of sensitizing the Ss, immediately prior to their exposure to the Ideological Commitment form, to specific factors involved in the racial integration-separatism issue.

Ss proceeded without interruption and, thus, without verbal instructions, to the second page of the "opinion inventory." This second page contained the Ideological Commitment to Black Separatism form. The written instructions asked the S to indicate his choice of the organizations to which he would like to belong because of his agreement with the organizational philosophy. Ss were instructed to mark a first choice and, if desired, a second and third choice. Ss were further instructed that they were not being asked about organizations in which they actually held membership, but rather those to which they would like to belong. Boxes were provided to the left of the organizational names for Ss to record their choices. At the bottom of the page, after the organizational names, were written instructions to draw a line through the name of that organization which S felt that he definitely could not join because of its basic philosophy.

At the termination of this task, Es collected together both the semantic differential booklet and the "opinion

survey" to enable verification of the second code number. Before the Ss were dismissed, they were informed of the purpose of the study and their cooperation was requested in not revealing this to the other students yet to be tested. After the first sections, Ss were asked to place a check mark next to their code number if they had been informed by another student of the nature of the study. Five of the eighteen subjects eliminated for unscoreable data had checked their booklets.

# RESULTS

## Semantic Differential

Color connotation scores were obtained for each color by assigning numbers one through seven for each segment on the 7-point scale, adding the scale values of all the scales of a given factor, and then dividing by the number of scales contributing to that factor. Low scores indicated the "good" end of the Evaluation factor, the "weak" end of the Potency factor, and the "passive" end of the Activity factor. The original placement of the low end of the dimension to the right or left side of each of the 12 scales was determined randomly.

Table 1 lists the mean semantic differential scores for each of the three factors for the four comparison groups on the two sets of five colors.

For each comparison of two groups, separate Lindquist (1953) Type I (two-factor, mixed-design) analyses of variance were conducted for each factor, Evaluation (E), Potency (P), and Activity (A). The race-related and the non-race-related, or control, colors were analyzed separately in this fashion. In these analyses, the five different colors represented the within-subjects dimension and the comparison groups represented the between-subjects dimension. Thus, for these analyses a significant interaction

TABLE 1

MEAN SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCORES FOR 10 COLOR NAMES ON THREE FACTORS BY CAUCASIANS (1964) (N=116), CAUCASIANS (1969) (N=99), NEGROES (1964) (N=110), AND NEGROES (1969) (N=208)[a]

| COLOR NAMES | EVALUATION | | | | ACTIVITY | | | | POTENCY | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cauc 1964 | Cauc 1969 | Negro 1964 | Negro 1969 | Cauc 1964 | Cauc 1969 | Negro 1964 | Negro 1969 | Cauc 1964 | Cauc 1969 | Negro 1964 | Negro 1969 |
| RACE-RELATED | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Black | 5.09 | 5.36 | 4.11 | 3.38 | 3.31 | 3.38 | 3.63 | 4.37 | 5.98 | 6.05 | 5.70 | 5.84 |
| White | 1.79 | 1.83 | 2.05 | 2.71 | 4.75 | 4.56 | 5.10 | 4.23 | 3.60 | 3.19 | 3.52 | 3.11 |
| Red | 3.18 | 3.27 | 3.08 | 3.52 | 6.23 | 6.24 | 5.77 | 5.89 | 5.58 | 5.63 | 5.19 | 5.25 |
| Brown | 4.45 | 4.72 | 3.82 | 3.48 | 2.74 | 2.78 | 3.51 | 3.49 | 4.95 | 5.10 | 4.92 | 4.98 |
| Yellow | 2.82 | 2.58 | 2.52 | 2.47 | 4.99 | 4.96 | 5.00 | 4.71 | 3.21 | 3.07 | 3.24 | 3.13 |
| CONTROL | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Blue | 2.12 | 2.18 | 2.28 | 2.22 | 4.50 | 4.66 | 4.76 | 4.86 | 4.05 | 4.20 | 4.33 | 4.46 |
| Gray | 4.50 | 4.80 | 4.23 | 3.99 | 2.43 | 2.63 | 3.00 | 2.78 | 3.68 | 4.11 | 3.90 | 3.51 |
| Green | 2.33 | 2.40 | 2.78 | 2.60 | 5.00 | 4.82 | 4.62 | 4.87 | 4.56 | 4.45 | 4.39 | 4.42 |
| Orange | 3.29 | 3.08 | 3.05 | 2.91 | 5.16 | 5.60 | 4.79 | 5.35 | 4.51 | 4.72 | 4.11 | 4.37 |
| Purple | 3.17 | 3.41 | 4.00 | 3.58 | 3.97 | 4.25 | 3.43 | 4.20 | 4.95 | 5.22 | 4.87 | 4.80 |

[a] Color name data for both of the 1964 samples are from Williams (1964); color name data for the 1969 Caucasian sample are from Williams (personal communication).

would signify that the two groups differed in their connotation of the separate colors.

Sub-analyses of the significant main effects and significant interactions were conducted using the critical difference method outlined by Lindquist (1953, p. 93). This method is based on the t-test but establishes a single critical difference for a given significance level. Any difference between two mean scores which is equal to or greater than the determined critical difference is considered to be significant at the designated level. This method thus eliminates the need to perform separate t-tests for each pair of scores. Throughout the analyses, results were not considered significant unless they reached or exceeded the .01 level of confidence.

Graphical representations of the scale values for each color are provided in Figures 1-7. In each case, the figures represent a comparison between two different populations on each of the three factors.

Table 2 summarizes the significant group effects and interactions occurring between the 1969 and 1964 Negro and Caucasian comparison groups for both race-related and control color names. Main effects of color for each group are not presented since in all cases this was significant at less than the .001 level of confidence. In other words, the five colors comprising the within-groups measures for each analysis were always rated as being different within each group.

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS FOR MAIN EFFECTS OF GROUP AND FOR INTERACTIONS ON SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCORES FOR 1964 AND 1969 GROUP ON THE THREE FACTORS FOR BOTH RACE-RELATED (R-R) AND CONTROL (CON) COLOR NAMES[a]

| GROUPS COMPARED | EVALUATION | | | | ACTIVITY | | | | POTENCY | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | GROUP | | INTERACTION | | GROUP | | INTERACTION | | GROUP | | INTERACTION | |
| | R-R | CON | R-R | CON | R-R | CON | R-R | CON | R-R | CON | R-R | CON |
| 1964-1969 NEGRO | N.S.[b] | <.01 | <.001 | N.S. | N.S. | <.01 | <.001 | <.01 | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. |
| 1964-1969 CAUCASIAN | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | <.01 | N.S. | N.S. |
| 1969 NEGRO-CAUC. | <.001 | N.S. | <.001 | <.001 | N.S. | N.S. | .001 | N.S. | N.S. | <.01 | N.S. | <.01 |

[a] All 1964 data are from Williams (1964); 1969 Caucasian data are from Williams (personal communication).

[b] N.S. = Not significant at the .01 level of confidence.

Comparison of Caucasian Groups

Analysis of the scores displayed in Figure 1 for the 1964 and 1969 Caucasian samples revealed no significant interactions for any of the three factors on either the race-related or the control colors. Within each factor, the two groups ranked the race-related colors in the same manner. For the control colors, there was a significant group effect on the P factor which was due to an over-all more potent rating of the color names by the 1969 group. However, the interaction was not significant.

In summary, there was no difference in color connotation between the 1964 and 1969 Caucasian groups which was relevant for the hypotheses of this study.

Comparison of Negro Groups

Race-Related Color Names - The E, A, and P score means of the 1964 and 1969 Negro samples for the five race-related colors are presented in the left portion of Figure 2. Analysis of the E factor revealed a highly significant interaction ($p<.001$). Further analyses indicated that the interaction was produced principally by significantly higher (less "good") scores on White and lower (more "good") scores on Black for the 1969 Negro group. Differences in the rating of the other color names was not significant. While the mean scale values of White and Black had changed for the 1969 group, there was still a significant difference between the

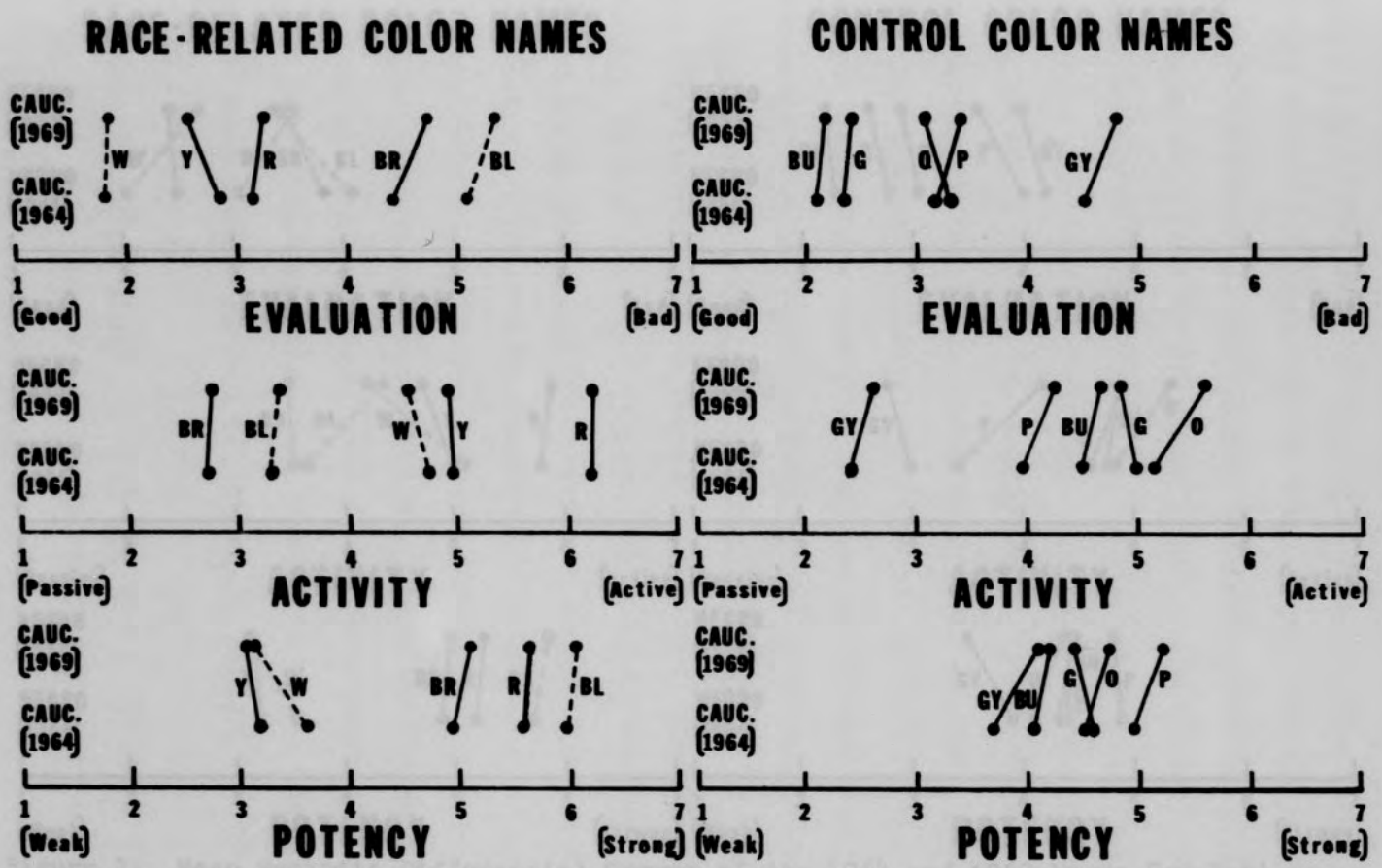


Figure 1. Mean Semantic Differential Scores of the 1964 and 1969 Caucasians for the Race-Related Color Names: Black (BL), Brown (BR), Red (R), White (W), and Yellow (Y); and the Control Color Names: Blue (BU), Gray (GY), Green (G), Orange (O), and Purple (P).

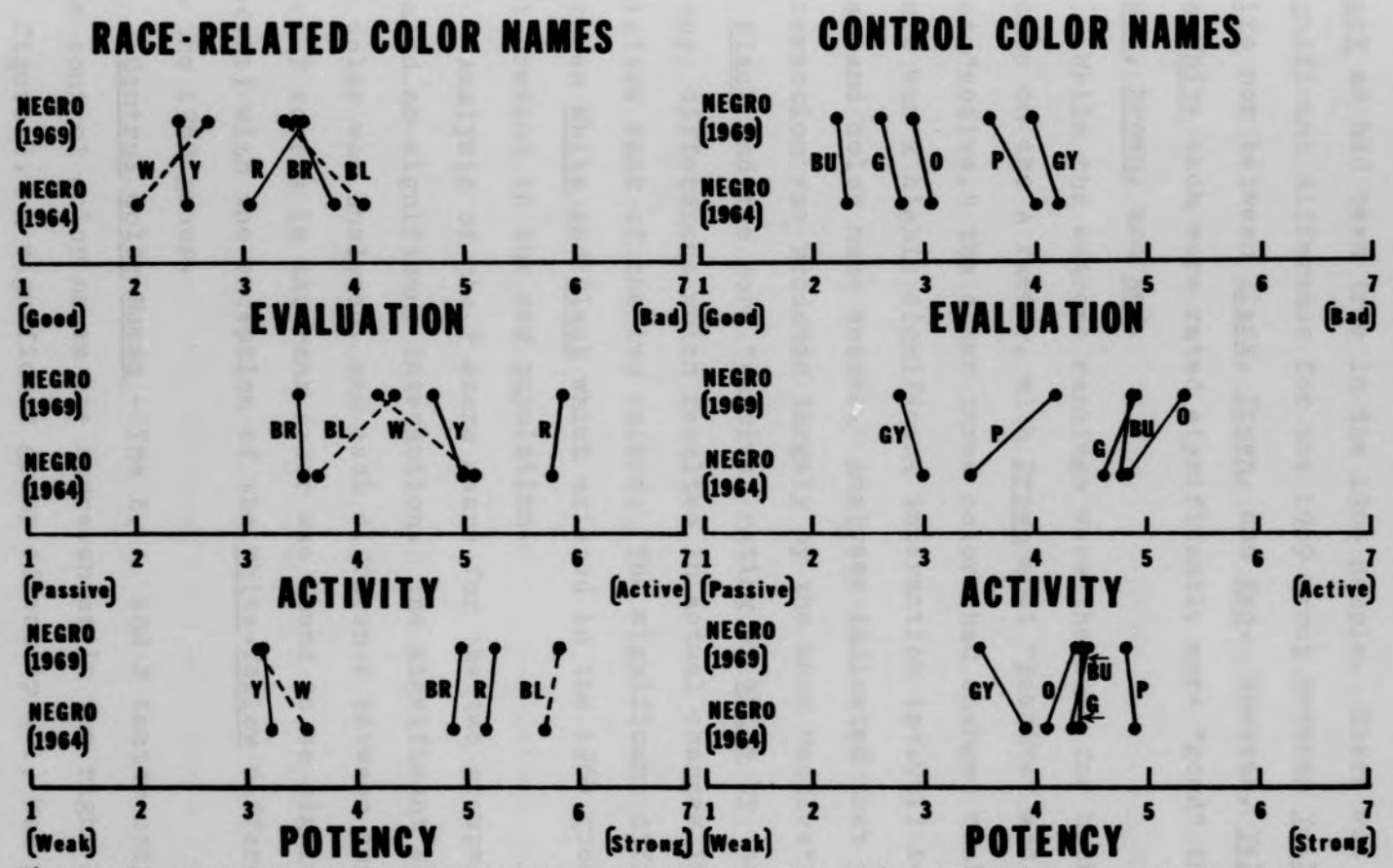


Figure 2. Mean Semantic Differential Scores of the 1964 and 1969 Negro Populations for the Race-Related Color Names: Black (BL), Brown (BR), Red (R), White (W), and Yellow (Y); and the Control Color Names: Blue (BU), Gray (GY), Green (G), Orange (O), and Purple (P).

scale values with White being rated lower (more "good") than Black as had been true in the 1964 sample. There was not a significant difference for the 1969 group between Yellow and White nor between Black, Brown, and Red. However, Yellow and White each were rated significantly more "good" than Black, Brown, and Red.

While the extreme rankings were the same for both groups on the A factor, with Brown most "passive" and Red most "active," the other three colors had changed rank orders. There was a highly significant interaction ($p<.001$) between year and color name scores. Analyses indicated that the interaction was produced largely by the more "active" rating of Black and the more "passive" rating of White by the 1969 group, differences which resulted in actual changes in the relative rank of the two colors. The significant difference between White and Black which existed in the 1964 group was not present in the new population.

Analysis of the P score means for the two groups revealed no significant interaction. The significant effect of color was analyzed, and each difference between successive P scores in the rank order was found to be significant ($p<.01$) with the exception of the White-Yellow difference in the 1969 group.

Control Color Names - The E, A, and P factor scores for the control color names are represented in the right half of Figure 2. A significant group effect ($p<.01$) was found

for the E factor, but there was no significant interaction. More detailed analyses indicated that the lower (more "good") ratings on each color by the 1969 group accounted for the group effect. The rank order of colors on Evaluation was the same for both groups and further analyses indicated that each successive difference in the rank order for each group was significant ($p < .01$).

For control colors on the A factor, there was a significant group effect as well as a significant interaction ($p < .01$). The group effect was due to the more "active" rating of all the colors except Gray by the 1969 group. The critical difference analysis revealed that the new sample gave a significantly more "active" rating to Orange and Purple than did the 1964 group.

Potency score means revealed no significant group effect or interaction.

In summary, the findings which are relevant for the hypotheses of this study are: In comparison to the 1964 Negro sample, the 1969 Negro sample rated (1) White as less "good" and Black as more "good" (although White was still rated as more "good" than Black); (2) Black as more "active" and White as more "passive" with no difference in the rating of the two, whereas there had been a difference in the 1964 group with White being seen as more "active".

Comparison of 1969 Caucasian and Negro Groups

Race-Related Color Names - Evaluation, Activity, and Potency scores are presented in the left portion of Figure 3 for the race-related colors. There were significant differences in the perception of the colors on the E factor by the two groups as revealed by the highly significant interaction ($p<.001$). This difference was largely due to the Negroes' lower (more "good") rating of Brown and Black and higher (less "good") rating of White. There was also a clear difference between the two groups in the rank ordering of the colors. While there were significant differences in each successive step in the scale values for the Caucasian Ss, the only differences for the Negro Ss were between White and each color of the Black-Brown-Red "cluster", and between Yellow and each color of the Black-Brown-Red "cluster".

A significant interaction ($p<.001$) was also found for the A factor scores on race-related colors. Critical difference analysis indicated that the differences were due primarily to the more "active" rating of Brown and Black by the Negro group. The differences in the ratings of White, Red, and Yellow were not significant. The rank order for the two groups was similar with one exception: the exchange in the ranking of Black and White. All successive differences in scale values were significant for both groups with the exception of the Black-White difference for the Negro population.

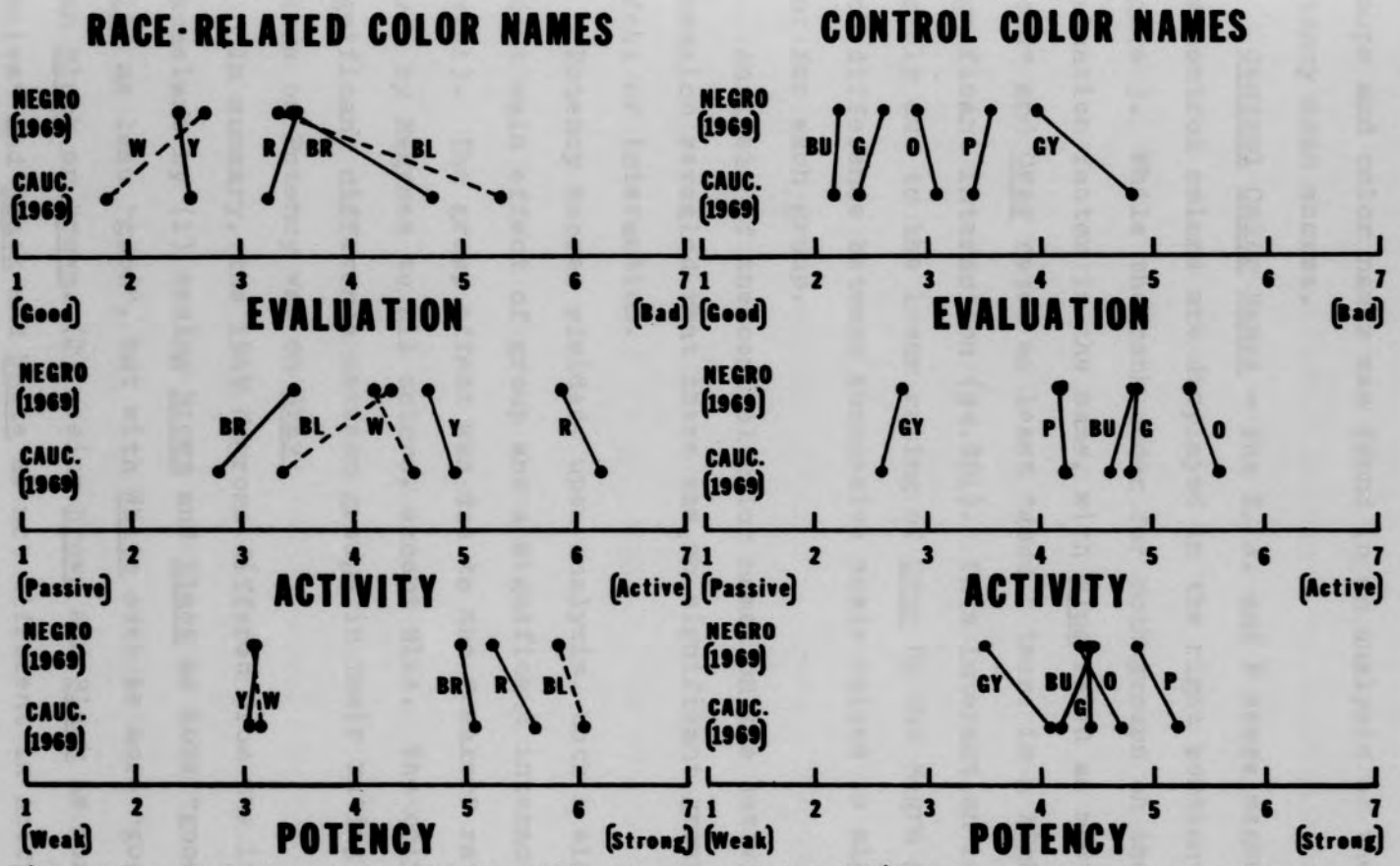


Figure 3. Mean Semantic Differential Scores of the 1969 Negro and Caucasian Groups for the Race-Related Color Names: Black (BL), Brown (BR), Red (R), White (W), and Yellow (Y); and the Control Color Names: Blue (BU), Gray (GY), Green (G), Orange (O), and Purple (P).

No significant group effect or interaction between groups and color names was found in an analysis of the Potency mean scores.

Control Color Names - The E, A, and P score means for the control colors are displayed in the right portion of Figure 3. While the rank order for both groups on the Evaluation factor in the same, with Blue rated as most "good" and Gray rated as least "good," there is a highly significant interaction ($p<.001$). This interaction is largely due to the lower rating of Gray by the Negro group. Each difference between successive scale values is significant for each group.

Analysis of the control color names on the Activity dimension revealed that there was no significant group effect or interaction.

Potency scores yielded, upon analysis, both a significant main effect of group and a significant interaction ($p<.01$). The group effect was due to the "weaker" ratings given by Negroes to all colors, except Blue. The only significant difference between groups in their rating of colors on Potency was on Gray.

In summary, the 1969 Negroes differed from the 1969 Caucasians by (1) seeing Brown and Black as more "good" and White as less "good", but with White seen as more "good" than Black or Brown; (2) seeing Brown and Black as more "active" and Black and White as not different in Activity.

Ideological Commitment to Black Separatism

Since the six civil rights organizations listed on the choice form could be ranked according to their commitment to black separatism, it was possible to develop a scoring system that gave differential weights to each organization according to its rank order. Also considered in the development of the scoring system was the need to distinguish between Ss who listed only a first choice and those who indicated an additional choice. No attempt was made to give special weighting to the second choice other than to determine if it was above or below the first choice in terms of the previously determined rank order. Thus, a scoring system was devised which gave a specific weighting to the first choice, but provided sufficient unit weightings between the organizations to record the direction of the second choice.

The six organizations were assigned specific weights beginning with "1" for Urban League, the least separatist organization, and advancing four units to the next organization, etc., up to the Black Panther Party, the most separatist organization, which had a weighting of "21". The Ss who indicated a second choice higher (more separatist) in the rank order than the first choice were assigned a score one unit above the first choice unit weight; the unit below the organizational weight recorded a second choice lower (less separatist) in the rank order. The unit weight representing the mid-point between the two specific

organizational weights was to record an S's response if he simply checked two consecutively ranked organizations but did not indicate which was his first or second choice. Within this system, the weights of checked, but non-ranked, organizations which were not consecutively ranked could also be averaged.

Table 3 displays the distribution of choice scores for the total scoreable 1969 population of Negro males and females (N=239). The mean of the distribution for the male Ss was 10.96 and the mean choice score for the female Ss was 9.44. The difference between the means was tested and not found to be significant at the .01 level. The modal organization choice for both males and females was NAACP as first choice with a second choice of an organization ranked higher (more separatist) than NAACP.

The scoring procedure described for the choice scores was used also as the basis for scoring rejection responses. Specifically, the organizations were given the same unit weightings as the choice scores, although there was no need for the intermediate units between the organizations except to record the averaged response of an S who crossed out (rejected) more than one organization. In addition to the unit listing, "1" to "21," another response category, "no rejection," was included to record those Ss who elected not to cross out any organizational name.

The rejection scores are displayed in Table 4. Clearly,

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CHOICE SCORES FOR NEGRO MALES (N=135) AND FEMALES (N=104) ON THE IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENT TO BLACK SEPARATISM FORM

| ORGANIZATION | WEIGHTING | SEX | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | MALE | FEMALE |
| URBAN LEAGUE | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | 4 | 5 | 2 |
| NAACP | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| | 6 | 37 | 34 |
| | 7 | 1 | 0 |
| | 8 | 15 | 12 |
| SCLC | 9 | 1 | 4 |
| | 10 | 13 | 10 |
| | 11 | 1 | 1 |
| | 12 | 9 | 10 |
| CORE | 13 | 2 | 3 |
| | 14 | 2 | 2 |
| | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| | 16 | 15 | 11 |
| SNCC | 17 | 1 | 2 |
| | 18 | 9 | 0 |
| | 19 | 1 | 0 |
| | 20 | 16 | 3 |
| BLACK PANTHER PARTY | 21 | 1 | 2 |

TABLE 4

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF REJECTION SCORES FOR NEGRO MALES (N=135) AND FEMALES (N=104) ON THE IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENT TO BLACK SEPARATISM FORM

| ORGANIZATION | WEIGHTING | SEX | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | MALE | FEMALE |
| URBAN LEAGUE | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| NAACP | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| SCLC | 9 | 10 | 5 |
| | 10 | 1 | 0 |
| | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| | 12 | 1 | 0 |
| CORE | 13 | 4 | 0 |
| | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| | 15 | 1 | 0 |
| | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| SNCC | 17 | 5 | 4 |
| | 18 | 0 | 0 |
| | 19 | 4 | 7 |
| | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| BLACK PANTHER PARTY | 21 | 54 | 53 |
| NO REJECTION | -- | 45 | 27 |

there was not the same distribution of scores as with the choice measure. A large number of Ss (33% of the males and 26% of the females) did not cross out any organizational name. Furthermore, a larger number of Ss rejected the extreme separatist group than had accepted the extreme non-separatist group. It seems clear that the Ss' tendency to reject one of these organizations was not simply a mirror-image of their tendency to accept one.

Because of the extremely skewed distribution of rejection scores plus the large number of both male and female Ss who did not indicate any rejection, no attempt was made to relate these data to the choice data or to the later analysis of the relationship between the ideological commitment to black separatism and color connotation.

## Comparison of Separatism Choice Scores and Color Connotation

The subjects were grouped according to their choice scores prior to the comparison with color connotation scores. The rationale for this grouping was to make groups sufficiently large for analysis by combining those groups which were most nearly similar in their approach to the separatist issue. On this basis, Urban League and NAACP choice scores were combined as were the choices of SNCC and Black Panther Party. SCLC and CORE choice scores were combined, but the combination was confined at the upper limit to first choice CORE responses combined with a lower ranking second choice.

The remaining choices involving CORE were combined with the SNCC-Black Panther Party group. Thus, the final grouping consisted of Group I - "low" separatist (unit weightings 1 - 6); Group II - "moderate" separatist (unit weightings 7 - 12); and Group III - "high" separatist (unit weightings 13 - 21). After the groupings were completed, in order to more evenly balance the sex distribution within each group, the choice scores of 23 males were randomly eliminated only from Group III, leaving a total population of 216 Ss.*

Table 5 represents the mean race-related and control color connotation scores for each choice group on each of the three factors. Lindquist Type I analyses of variance on these scores on each of the three factors for race-related and control color names revealed significant interactions between choice group and colors on all factors for the race-related colors only.

An initial sub-analysis to determine the nature of the interaction involved a comparison of Groups I and II. Analyses of variance for these two groups revealed no significant interactions or group effects on the Evaluation,

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* Note: While the 216 Ss were drawn from the same population described earlier, due to the grouping and the sex distribution within each group, both the total number of Ss (216) and the actual subjects comprise a slightly different sample from the 208 Ss analyzed in the previous section. For these reasons, and also because the hypothesis of the study is directed towards the special relationship between commitment to separatist ideology and color connotation, completely separate analyses were performed in the next two sections.

TABLE 5

MEAN SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCORES FOR 10 COLOR NAMES ON THREE FACTORS BY CHOICE GROUPS GROUP I (N=92), GROUP II (N=77), AND GROUP III (N=47)

| COLOR NAMES | EVALUATION | | | ACTIVITY | | | POTENCY | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Group I | Group II | Group III | Group I | Group II | Group III | Group I | Group II | Group III |
| RACE-RELATED | | | | | | | | | |
| Black | 3.50 | 3.43 | 3.17 | 4.08 | 4.18 | 5.14 | 5.74 | 5.89 | 6.09 |
| White | 2.59 | 2.40 | 3.41 | 4.27 | 4.54 | 3.64 | 3.09 | 3.34 | 2.68 |
| Red | 3.57 | 3.49 | 3.74 | 5.76 | 5.91 | 6.00 | 5.34 | 5.27 | 5.26 |
| Brown | 3.57 | 3.71 | 3.34 | 3.44 | 3.33 | 3.71 | 5.03 | 4.80 | 5.35 |
| Yellow | 2.41 | 2.36 | 2.84 | 4.75 | 4.93 | 4.41 | 3.14 | 3.31 | 2.87 |
| CONTROL | | | | | | | | | |
| Blue | 2.19 | 2.23 | 2.23 | 4.94 | 4.87 | 4.78 | 4.40 | 4.51 | 4.49 |
| Gray | 3.94 | 3.94 | 4.19 | 2.63 | 2.90 | 3.00 | 3.47 | 3.67 | 3.87 |
| Green | 2.63 | 2.66 | 2.71 | 4.92 | 4.86 | 4.60 | 4.50 | 4.37 | 4.41 |
| Orange | 2.93 | 2.80 | 3.23 | 5.37 | 5.30 | 5.24 | 4.53 | 4.35 | 4.29 |
| Purple | 3.64 | 3.72 | 3.39 | 4.00 | 4.09 | 4.51 | 4.91 | 4.68 | 4.81 |

Activity, or Potency factors for either race-related or non-race-related (control) colors. (See Figure 4.)

Since this analysis revealed no significant differences on any of the factors between Groups I and II, the two groups were combined for a comparison with Group III. The combined Groups I and II were labeled "low" separatist for identification purposes.

Race-Related Color Names - Evaluation, Activity, and Potency scores for the five race-related color names are presented in the left portion of Figure 5. Analysis of the E scores revealed a highly significant interaction ($p<.001$). Inspection of the graph indicates that the interaction apparently involves all the colors with the high separatist group rating Black and Brown more positively and the other three colors more negatively than did the low separatist group. Further analysis by the critical difference procedure revealed only one significant difference between groups: White, with Group III giving it a more negative rating. The rank ordering of the scale values was completely dissimilar with the exception of the most "good" rating by both groups of the color name Yellow. Differences in the successive scale values were significant only between White and Black for the low separatist group and between Yellow and Black for the high separatist group.

Analysis of the Activity scores also revealed a significant interaction ($p<.001$) with a more "passive" rating of

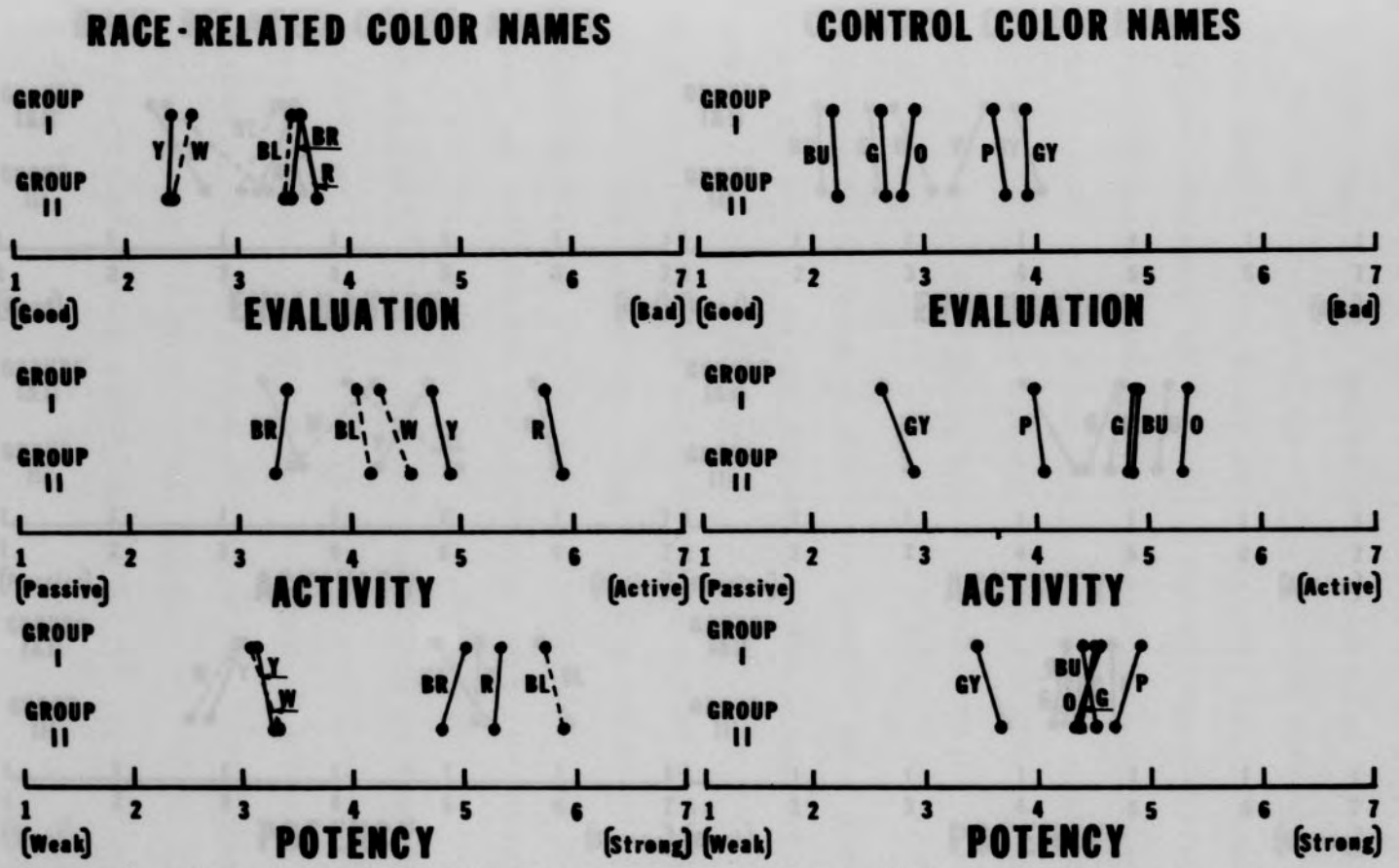


Figure 4. Mean Semantic Differential Scores of Separatist Choice Groups I and II for the Race-Related Color Names: Black (BL), Brown (BR), Red (R), White (W), and Yellow (Y); and the Control Color Names: Blue (BU), Gray (GY), Green (G), Orange (O), and Purple (P).

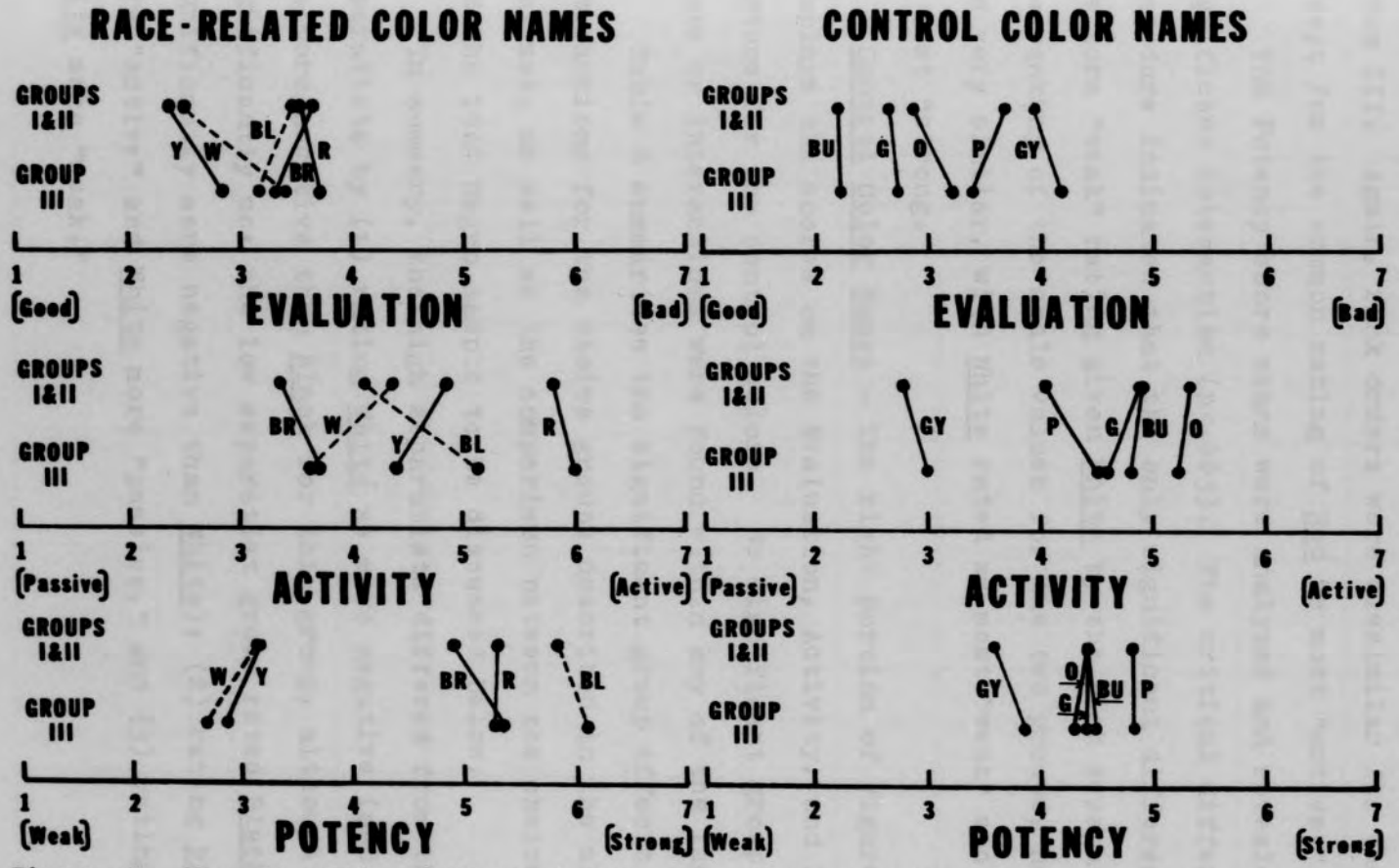


Figure 5. Mean Semantic Differential Scores of the Combined Separatist Choice Groups I and II and Choice Group III for the Race-Related Color Names: Black (BL), Brown (BR), Red (R), White (W), and Yellow (Y); and the Control Color Names: Blue (BU), Gray (GY), Green (G), Orange (O), and Purple (P).

the color White and a more "active" rating of Black given by Group III. Again, rank orders were dissimilar for the groups except for the common rating of Red as most "active."

The Potency score means were analyzed and revealed a significant interaction ($p<.005$). The critical difference procedure indicated that the only significant difference was the more "weak" rating given White by the high separatists. The ranking of the scale values for the two groups, however, was very similar, with White rated as most "weak" and Black as most "strong."

Control Color Names - The right portion of Figure 5 displays the scores on the Evaluation, Activity, and Potency factors for the control colors. No significant group effects or interactions were found within any of the factors.

Table 6 summarizes the significant group effects and interactions for the choice groups described in the above analyses, as well as the comparison between the choice groups and the 1964 Negro sample to be discussed below.

In summary, the high separatists differed from the low separatists by (1) rating White as more negative (and White was more negative than Black for this group, although not significantly so; the low separatist group rated Black as significantly more negative than White); (2) rating Black more "active" and White more "passive," and (3) rating White more "weak."

TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS FOR MAIN EFFECTS OF GROUP AND FOR INTERACTIONS ON SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCORES FOR THE SEPARATIST CHOICE GROUPS ON THE THREE FACTORS FOR BOTH RACE-RELATED (R-R) AND CONTROL (CON) COLOR NAMES[a]

| GROUPS COMPARED | EVALUATION | | | | ACTIVITY | | | | POTENCY | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | GROUP | | INTERACTION | | GROUP | | INTERACTION | | GROUP | | INTERACTION | |
| | R-R | CON | R-R | CON | R-R | CON | R-R | CON | R-R | CON | R-R | CON |
| GROUPS I, II, III | N.S.[b] | N.S. | <.001 | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | <.001 | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | <.005 | N.S. |
| GROUP I VS. GROUP II | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. |
| GROUPS I&II VS. GROUP III | N.S. | N.S. | <.001 | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | <.001 | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | <.005 | N.S. |
| GROUPS I&II VS. 1964 NEGRO | N.S. | <.01 | <.001 | N.S. | N.S. | <.005 | <.001 | <.001 | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. |
| GROUP III VS. 1964 NEGRO | N.S. | N.S. | <.001 | N.S. | N.S. | N.S. | <.001 | <.01 | N.S. | N.S. | <.001 | N.S. |

[a] 1964 Negro data are from Williams (1964).
[b] N.S. = Not significant at the .01 level of confidence.

Comparison of the Choice Groups with the 1964 Negro Population

For the final comparison, color connotations were compared on each of the three factors between the combined Choice Groups I and II and the 1964 Negro data and also between Choice Group III and the 1964 Negro data. Separate Lindquist Type I analyses of variance were performed in light of the differences between this 1969 sample and the 1969 sample to which the 1964 Negro group was compared earlier. (See pp. 17-21.)

Choice Groups I and II - 1964 Negro Data

Race-Related Color Names - Figure 6 displays the Evaluation, Activity, and Potency mean scores on race-related colors for the combined Groups I and II and the 1964 Negro sample. An analysis of variance of the E scores revealed a highly significant interaction ($p<.001$). The test of critical differences revealed only one significant difference: Black was given a more positive rating by the 1969 low separatists.

Analysis of the Activity mean scores also revealed a highly significant interaction ($p<.001$). White was given a significantly more passive rating by the 1969 low separatists. The ranking of the race-related scale values for the two comparison groups, however, is highly similar, with the reversal in rank order of White and Yellow the only exception. The difference between the mean scale values of Black and White, while significant for the 1964 Negro group,

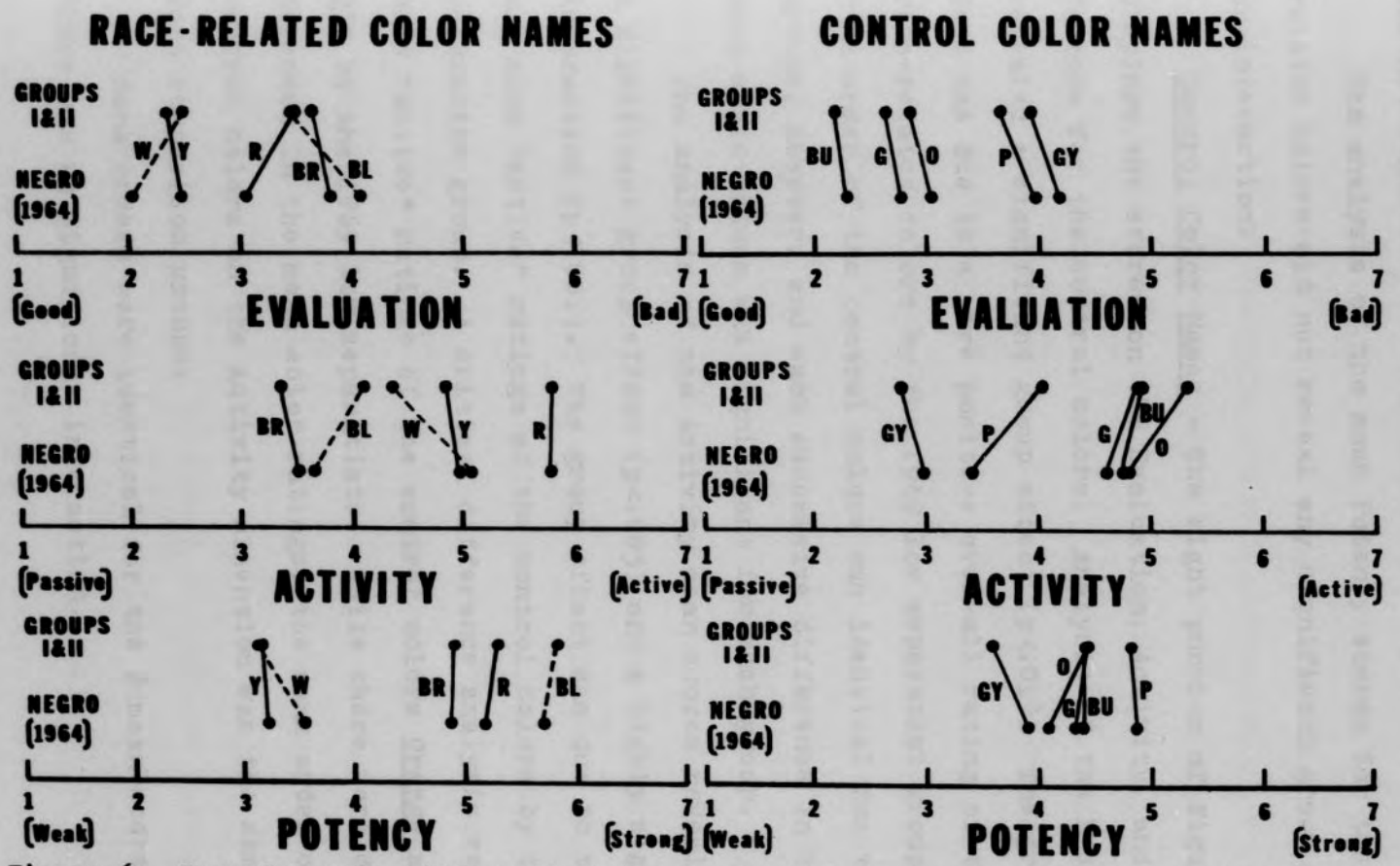


Figure 6. Mean Semantic Differential Scores for the Combined Separatist Choice Groups I and II and the 1964 Negro Population for the Race-Related Color Names: Black (BL), Brown (BR), Red (R), White (W), and Yellow (Y); and the Control Color Names: Blue (BU), Gray (GY), Green (G), Orange (O), and Purple (P).

was not significant for the 1969 low separatists.

The analysis of the mean Potency scores for the race-related colors did not reveal any significant group effect or interaction.

Control Color Names - The right portion of Figure 6 displays the scores on the Evaluation, Activity, and Potency factors for the control colors. Analysis of the E scores revealed a significant group effect ($p<.01$). The group effect was due to a more positive over-all rating of the non-race-related colors by the 1969 low separatist group. The rank order of the control colors was identical for the two groups, however, and each successive difference in the mean scale values was significant for each group.

The analysis of the Activity mean scores revealed both a significant group effect ($p<.005$) and a highly significant interaction ($p<.001$). The group effect was due to the over-all more "active" ratings of the control colors by the low separatist group. A critical difference analysis revealed more "active" ratings of the control colors Orange and Purple by the 1969 low separatists. While there were differences in the mean color ratings, the rank order of the control colors on the Activity dimension was the same for both comparison groups.

Rank orders were identical for the P mean scores and there was no significant interaction.

Choice Group III - 1964 Negro Data

Race-Related Color Names - The race-related color names for the E, A, and P factors are represented in the left half of Figure 7. An analysis of the E scores revealed a highly significant interaction ($p<.001$). Further analyses indicated that the significantly more negative rating of White and the more positive rating of Black by the 1969 high separatists largely accounted for the interaction. None of the other observed differences were significant. Rank ordering of the colors for the two groups are completely dissimilar. Where White and Black were given the extreme positive and negative ratings, respectively, for the original Negro group, Black is rated as more positive than White by Group III, although the difference was not significant.

Mean A scores also show a very dissimilar rank order of the race-related colors between the two comparison groups. An analysis of variance revealed another highly significant interaction ($p<.001$), and again, the critical difference procedure traced the difference primarily to the more "active" rating of Black and more "passive" rating of White by the 1969 high separatists, with almost an exact exchange of rank orders for the two colors.

Potency mean scores indicated a different perception of the color names by the two comparison groups. This observed difference was confirmed, upon analysis, by another significant interaction ($p<.001$). Further analysis by the

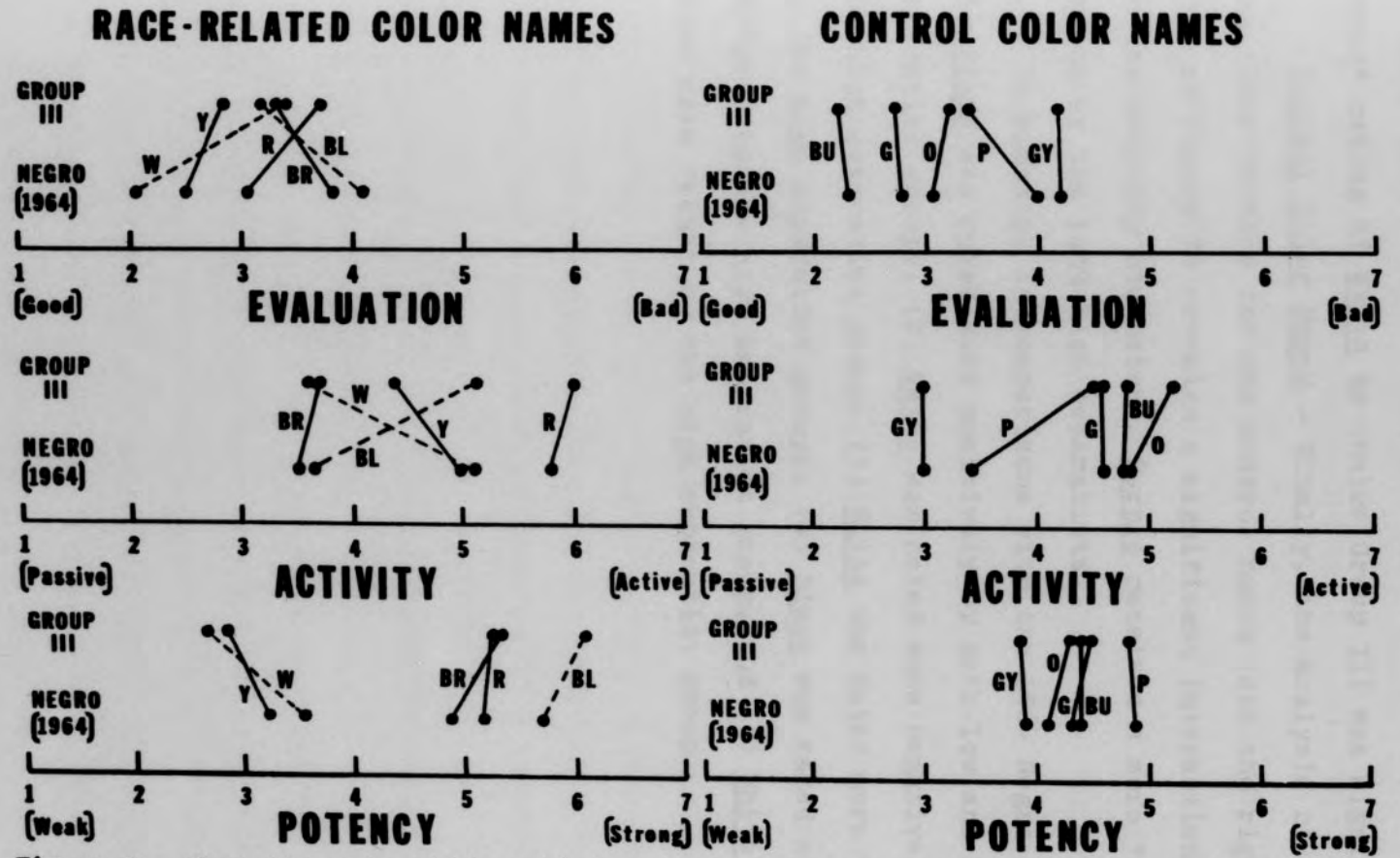


Figure 7. Mean Semantic Differential Scores of Separatist Choice Group III and the 1964 Negro Population for the Race-Related Color Names: Black (BL), Brown (BR), Red (R), White (W), and Yellow (Y); and the Control Color Names: Blue (BU), Gray (GY), Green (G), Orange (O), and Purple (P).

critical difference procedure revealed that only the more "weak" rating of White by Choice Group III was significant.

Control Color Names - Finally, the analysis of each of the three factors for the control names (see the right portion of Figure 7) revealed a significant interaction only on the Activity dimension. Purple received a more "active" rating by the 1969 high separatists.

In summary, in comparisons with the 1964 Negro group: (1) Black was rated more positively by both low and high separatist groups; (2) White was rated more negatively by the high separatist group; (3) White was rated more "passive" by the high separatist groups; (4) Black was rated more "active" by the high separatist group; and (5) White was rated more "weak" by the high separatist group.

## DISCUSSION

The results of the study clearly confirm the hypothesis that distinct differences have developed among Negroes since 1964 in the connotative meanings of Black and White. While Black was rated on the Evaluation dimension as least "good" by the 1964 Negro sample, the 1969 Negro group rated Black not only as significantly more positive, but its mean scale value was no longer ranked as least "good." This positive shift in the evaluative connotation of Black for the new sample was coupled with a significantly negative shift in the mean scale value of White. This shift, in turn, changed the former ranking of White as most "good." These two shifts in the rank-order of the mean scale values caused the two values Black and White now to occupy adjacent ranks. White, however, was still significantly more positive than Black, although the size of the difference between their means had diminished since 1964 in terms of Negroes' perceptions of these color names.

Similar changes in the perception of Black and White on the Activity dimension were also noted in comparing the original and the current Negro populations. On this dimension not only was Black rated as more "active" and White less "active," but here again, the two shifts have resulted in the adjacent ranking of Black and White, and on this

dimension, there were no differences between their mean scale values.

It should be noted also that while there was no significant change on the Potency dimension in the mean scale value of Black, this color already was rated by the 1964 Negro group as most "strong." The only significant differences between the 1964 and 1969 Negroes on the Potency factor was the weaker rating of White by the new group.

With the hypothesis regarding the change in color connotation for the new Negro population confirmed, the next task is to account for the factors influencing the phenomenon. The second hypothesis was that the predicted change was due to sub-cultural conditioning countering the effects of the larger culture and than an index of the sub-cultural reinforcement, namely, one's ideological commitment to black separatism, would be related to color connotation. Before this hypothesis is explored, however, it is necessary to consider some alternative explanations which could account for the observed changes in color connotation.

The first logical alternative is that the changes are due simply to over-all changes in color connotation, not limited to Black and White. Re-examination of the data, however, indicates that the mean scale values of the other race-related colors have not changed significantly from the 1964 Negro ratings on any of the three factors. In other words, all significant differences between groups on each

factor were limited to the color names Black and White.

An examination of the control colors, where a systematic change had not been predicted, revealed only two significant differences in the mean scale values between the 1964 and 1969 populations. The color names Purple and Orange were rated more "active" by the 1969 Negroes. Thus, only two of the 15 possible differences between mean scale values were significant for the control colors, while five of 15 were significant for the race-related colors. This difference is emphasized by the fact that all five were on Black or White; five of the six possible Black-White comparisons revealed significant differences. It seems unlikely, then, that the changes are due to a different connotative perception of many colors.

The second alternative is that changes are due not to sub-cultural differences, but rather to changes in the culture as a whole which have occurred since 1964 and which affect all members of that culture. In looking at the analysis of the Caucasian data only, however, no significant differences were noted in mean scale values for any of the three factors on either the race-related or control colors. Clearly, changes in the connotation of Black and White are not finding expression in the majority culture. Further, when a comparison is made between the 1969 Caucasian and Negro samples, highly significant differences exist between the mean scale value of the two groups on the race-related

colors, seeming to indicate little similarity in color connotation.

A third alternative explanation for the change in connotation is that the measure itself is not reliable or valid. Looking again at the 1964 and 1969 Caucasian data, a very high degree of consistency is seen between the two groups -- the groups in which least change, if any, would be predicted. Thus, it can be said that the instrument is stable in recording similar responses for predictably similar populations, but is also valid in measuring predicted change.

Having examined these alternatives, let us now re-examine the rationale for hypothesizing that the observed change in the connotative color meaning for the 1969 Negro subjects was due to sub-cultural conditioning.

It was stated earlier, in the introduction, that since 1964 there has been developing within the Negro community a widely based ideology that has been labeled "Black Power". It should be noted again that the concept was an attempt to articulate the urgent need for the Negro to achieve some sense of personal pride and, from this base, to assert himself as an individual. A major part of the movement involved a complete re-examination of the cultural conditioning of the Negro by the majority culture and a willingness to reject that conditioning, that stereotyping, if necessary. One of the first attacks on the cultural conditioning was a re-assessment of the color terms Black and White. Just as the Negro writer (Coker, 1968) articulated the dilemma in

his poem, so have increasing numbers of the Negro community, particularly the young people, begun to attack the negative connotations of Black. Thus, instead of trying to deny or avoid the issue of being "Black," the fact of their historical "Blackness" was affirmed, and affirmed with enthusiasm. To summarize the "Black Power" concept, then, it implies self-assertion, and successful self-assertion would necessarily involve first, a sense of personal worth; secondly, the perception that one has the strength to be forceful; and, finally, that the assertions can be actively pursued.

It would appear, then, that the particular factors involved in color connotation have direct relevance to this ideology. Thus, the connotation of Black has become more positive and more active, to combine with the perception of strength which existed already. These connotations, then, do not appear to be so arbitrary within the sub-culture, but instead they directly reinforce, and are reinforced by, a dominant sub-cultural ideology.

The strength of this reinforcement to view the color name Black as a person term is illustrated more clearly in the comparison of the 1969 Negro sample according to its ideological commitment to black separatism. The mean scale values on the race-related colors revealed highly significant differences when the combined Choice Groups I and II (low separatist) were compared with Choice Group III (high separatist). The differences are due to the rating of White

as more "passive," more "weak," and less "good," plus the rating of Black as more "active" by the high separatists. While the difference in the mean Evaluation scale values between White and Black were significant for the low separatist group, with White being ranked more positive, there was no significant difference between the corresponding mean scale values among the high separatists, although the direction of the difference favors Black.

This comparison raises the question of whether the difference in color connotations between the 1964 and 1969 Negroes were due solely to the high separatists' comparatively extreme ratings of Black and White; the subsequent conclusion would be that the connotation changes are, therefore, limited to a small segment of the sub-culture. However, a comparison of just the combined Choice Groups I and II (low separatist) with the 1964 Negroes revealed highly significant differences between the mean scale values on both the Activity and Evaluation dimensions. These differences were due to the rating of White as less "active" and Black as more "good" by the low separatists. Thus even in this more conservative population, the connotations of Black and White are different from the 1964 Negro sample, affirming the likelihood of a wide base of sub-cultural reinforcement.

One final observation on this study is the need to obtain data similar to those collected by Williams (1966)

in his follow-up study. Specifically, it would be useful to obtain replicating measures in a single study of ratings on color names, color-person, and the actual racial designation normally associated with a particular ethnic group, and, thus, to determine more definitely the object-to-person relationships that have only been speculations in this study.

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# APPENDIX A

## Semantic Differential Scale for Color Names

(COLOR NAME)

unpleasant_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____pleasant

strong_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____weak

good_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____bad

slow_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____fast

foul_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____fragrant

small_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____large

clean_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____dirty

dull_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____sharp

nice_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____awful

active_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____passive

sacred_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____profane

heavy_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____light

# APPENDIX B

## Ideological Commitment to Black Separatism Form

Below you will find a number of national organizations listed alphabetically. Next to the name of the organization is the name of either the director or that person most normally associated with the group.

Indicate in the box to the left of the organizational name those organizations you would like to belong to because you agree with their basic philosophy. Think carefully about what you feel to be the differences between the organizations before you make your choice or choices. Indicate your first choice by "1"; second choice "2" and third choice "3". If you have a strong first choice but no real preference for a second or third choice, just list your first choice.

Note: You are <u>not</u> being asked what organizations you belong to now but rather what organizations <u>you would like to belong to</u> because you agree with their basic philosophy.

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☐ Black Panther Party - Eldridge Cleaver

☐ CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) - Floyd McKissick

☐ NAACP (Nat. Assoc. for Adv. of Colored People) - Roy Wilkins

☐ SCLC (Sou. Christian Leadership Conf.) - Ralph Abernathy

☐ SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Comm.) - Rap Brown

☐ Urban League - Whitney Young

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Now that you have indicated your choice or choices, draw a line through the name of that organization which you feel you definitely <u>could not</u> join because of their basic philosophy.

# APPENDIX C

## General Procedural Instructions

Professor: You have been asked to participate in a Two-Part Opinion Survey which is being conducted at a number of schools across the country. I have asked Mr. (name of administrator) to assist with the administration of these surveys and I will be in and out during the course of the period.

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Administrator: The first part of this survey involves some rating scales and detailed instructions for the use of these scales are listed on the cover sheet. I will pass out the survey materials at this time. You are asked not to open the survey booklet but to begin by reading the instructions on the front page. We can go over all the instructions together after I have finished passing out the material.

(PASS OUT MATERIAL)

The instructions read:

(Read from cover sheet - see Appendix D)

(When you get to the end of scale instructions - just before the section labeled "IMPORTANT", say, holding the instruction sheet and pointing to each scale illustration:)

For example, let's take the color concept "Turquoise". If the scale on which you were rating this had "fair" at one extreme and "unfair" at the other:

a) You would place a mark right next to "fair" or "unfair" if you felt Turquoise was very closely related to either extreme.

b) If you felt Turquoise was closely related to one end on the scale or the other, but not extremely close, you would place your mark in the second closest space.

c) If you felt the color concept Turquoise was only slightly related, you would place a mark to either the left or right side of center depending on the end of the scale you felt it was closely related to.

d) Finally, if you felt the color concept Turquoise was neutral or not related at all to the scale, you would place your mark right in the middle.

(Now go back to the instruction page starting with the word "IMPORTANT" and proceed until finish.)

(At end of printed instructions, say:)

When you finish with the Survey, turn the sheet over to the blank side and leave it on your chair arm so that I will know when you have finished. You should remain quiet until all have finished.

Does anyone need a pencil? Pens or pencils can be used.

(When this is settled, say:)

Okay, you can start now. If anyone has a question while taking this, simply raise your hand.

(Most everyone should finish in 15-20 min. When you think everyone has finished, say:)

If everyone has finished now, we'll go on to Part Two of the Opinion Survey. Do not open the survey booklet. When you receive it, the first thing you need to do is to place the code

number that appears in the right hand corner of the scale you have just completed in the right hand corner of this second form.

(Pass out forms)

The instructions for this are not complicated at all: (Read instructions.....After reading basic instructions, say:)

The only information that is needed is "Age", "Grade Level" and "Sex". For "Occupation", simply list "Student" - apparently that category is on there because this Inventory is given to non-student groups as well.

For "Sex", simply list "Male" or "Female"; not "Yes", "No" or "Occasionally".

When you get into this second inventory, you will find some additional instructions on the last page. They are pretty clear, but if anyone has a question, simply raise your hand when you get to that point.

You will see right away that the content of this second part is quite different from the first part. You will probably wonder how one part is related to the other. Dr. Gore will explain the purpose of these surveys when everyone has finished.

When you finish, turn the form over on the blank side to indicate that you have finished. Go ahead and start.
(When you see that everyone is finished, say:)

If everyone is finished, I'll collect the two forms now.

One last thing, though, before I collect the forms: If any of you were told before class by a fellow student that the color meaning survey you took first had anything to do with racial attitudes, simply put a check-mark next to the code number on the first survey form. Now, I'll collect the forms.

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Professor: I want to thank all of you for helping with this national survey. I'm sure you're wondering what one part has to do with the other. The purpose of the survey is to study the relationship between your feelings about certain colors and your feeling about the race situation. The color meaning survey was given to you first because they wanted a neutral measure of your feelings, without necessarily thinking about race.

The results of this survey should be available before the end of the semester and we will be happy to make them known to you at that time.

Because of the nature of this survey, and because additional classes will be taking the survey, we ask your cooperation in not saying anything about the nature of the survey to other students.

Thank you again for your cooperation, and unless there are some questions, you're free to go.

# APPENDIX D

## Instructions (Cover Sheet) for Semantic Differential Scales

The purpose of this study is to measure the meanings of certain things to various people by having them judge them against a series of descriptive scales. In taking this test, please make your judgments on the basis of what these things mean to you. On each page of this booklet you will find a different color concept to be judged and beneath it a set of scales. You are to rate the color concept on each of these scales in order.

Here is how you are to use these scales:

If you feel that the color concept at the top of the page is very closely related to one end of the scale, you should place your check-mark as follows:

fair __X__ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ unfair

OR

fair ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : X unfair

If you feel that the color concept is quite closely related to one or the other end of the scale (but not extremely), you should place your check-mark as follow:

strong ____ : X : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ weak

OR

strong ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : X : ____ weak

If the color concept seems only slightly related to one side as opposed to the other side (but is not really neutral), then you should check as follows:

active ____ : ____ : X : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ passive

OR

active ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ : X : ____ : ____ passive

The direction toward which you check, of course, depends upon which of the two ends of the scale seem most characteristic of the thing you're judging.

If you consider the color concept to be neutral on the scale, both sides of the scale equally associated with the color concept, or if the scale is completely irrelevant, unrelated to the color concept, then you should place your check-mark in the middle space:

safe ____:____:____:__X__:____:____:____ dangerous

IMPORTANT: (1) Place your check-marks in the middle of spaces, not on the boundaries:

THIS NOT THIS

____:____:____:__X__:____X____:____

(2) Be sure you check every scale for every color concept. Do not omit any.

(3) Never put more than one check-mark on a single space.

Please do not look back and forth through the items. Do not try to remember how you checked similar items earlier in the test. Make each item a separate and independent judgment. Work at fairly high speed through this test. Do not worry or puzzle over individual items. It is your first impressions, the immediate "feelings" about the items, that we want. On the other hand, please do not be careless, because we want your true impressions.

Note: All of the material shown in Appendix D was originally in elite type and covered a single page.

# APPENDIX E

## Modified Form of the Black Power Sentiment Scale

OPINION SURVEY

Here are some statements we are asking persons in different parts of the United States. Please give your own opinion.

This booklet contains numbered statements. Read each statement carefully. If you agree with it more than you disagree, circle "Yes". If you disagree with it more than you agree, circle "No".

Please answer every statement.

Age_____

Educational level - please circle last year completed.

a. Elementary - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

b. High School - 9 10 11 12

c. College - 1 2 3 4 Graduate School

Occupation_____

Sex_____

Circle "Yes" or "No"

Yes No 1. It is absolutely impossible for a white person to understand a Negro's feelings.

Yes No 2. It is good that the white man is scared of Black Power.

Yes No 3. White America owes a debt to the Negro.

Yes No 4. Negroes and whites must work out their problems together, not separately.

Yes No 5. White liberals should be allowed to be members of Negro civil rights groups.

Yes No 6. I would prefer to be employed by a Negro rather than a white.

Yes No 7. White businessmen are helping give Negroes economic independence.

Yes No 8. Public facilities should be racially integrated at all costs.

Yes No 9. I would be willing to join a revolution against the whites.

Yes No 10. There are other ways to advance the Negroes' cause besides forming power or pressure groups.

Yes No 11. The white power structure purposely prevents the Negro from getting any power of his own.

Yes No 12. It is too extreme to say that police are always oppressive and unfair.

Yes No 13. Black Studies programs at predominately white colleges should be open to white students.

Yes No 14. I don't like whites.

Yes No 15. When the white power structure keeps Negroes from getting power, then Negroes must resort to force.

Yes No 16. Only justifiable circumstances should Negroes seize by force things which they are denied by the whites.

Yes No 17. The only way to gain respect from a white person is by demanding it.

Yes No 18. A few whites treat Negroes more fairly today than ever before.

Yes No 19. Negro identity can be realized only through the creation of a separate Negro nation.

Yes No 20. Negro communities must have only Negro policemen.

Yes No 21. Some whites understand what gains the Negro is fighting for.

Yes No 22. I want both white and Negro friends rather than just Negro friends.

Yes No 23. Negroes should solve their own problems at all costs.

Yes No 24. Negroes are no better or no worse than whites; Negroes and whites are equal.

Yes No 25. Violence serves a useful purpose in promoting the Negro's cause.

Yes No 26. It is too extreme to demand that white businessmen leave Negro neighborhoods.

Note: The 26 questions originally were in elite type and appeared on a single page.