CONTINGENCY TABLE ANALYSIS:
PROPORTIONS AND FLOW GRAPHS

JAMES DAVIS

Department of Sociology, Harvard University and
NORC, University of Chicago, U.S.A.

Few percentage tables are famous, but Chart X, p. 554, in The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life (Stouffer et al., 1949) (reproduced overleaf as Table 1) surely belongs in the list of all-time favorites.

Since this all took place several wars ago, a few historical facts may be helpful. During World War II:

a) The US still had legal, overt racial discrimination (separate drinking fountains, segregated seats on public transport, etc.) in most parts of the South, but rarely in the North. In the South, away from their camps, Negroes were separate and unequal.

b) The Army attempted to follow a policy of separate but equal. In hindsight the policy may not seem avant garde, but by the standards of the times it was in advance of the position of the generality of the population. (A 1944 NORC survey showed about 58 percent of whites giving the less tolerant answer to "Do you think Negroes should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job, or do you think white people should have the first chance of any kind of job?" (See Schwartz, 1967, p. 73.) By 1963 that proportion had dropped to below .20 and currently the question is never asked since we are sure the intolerant proportion would be less than measurement error would produce.)

c) Army bases in the continental US were disproportionately concentrated in the South because that sunny region gives more months of the year for marching around out of doors.

The possibilities for serious trouble were obvious: How would Negro soldiers from the North react to the novelty of Southern folkways and mores?
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TABLE I
Comparison of Negro and White preferences as to camp location, March 1943

(Proportion ‘Preferring’ a Southern Camp)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home Region</th>
<th>Current Station</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>NEGRO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH</td>
<td>SOUTH</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1143)</td>
<td>(2718)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(360)</td>
<td>(871)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH</td>
<td>SOUTH</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1821)</td>
<td>(1390)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1470)</td>
<td>(516)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 10,289

From Chart X, p.554 in Stouffer (1949). The table may be read as follows: Among White Soldiers who lived in the North before entering service and who were stationed in a Northern camp, .35 (35 per cent) out of a total of 1470 cases indicated a preference for a Southern Camp.

Camp Preference is based on the questions, ‘If you could go to any Army camp you wanted to, would you rather stay here or would you rather go to some other camp ... I would rather stay here, I would rather go to some other camp, undecided?’ and ‘If you would like to go to some other camp in the United States, which one would you want to go to?’

Southern Preference =
1) Stationed in Southern camp and would rather stay
2) Stationed in Southern camp, prefers other camp, names one in South
3) Stationed in North, prefers other camp, names one in South

Cases scored as ‘Indeterminate’ are treated here as South. Thus, the actual dichotomy is non-North v. North.

Would the contrast between military "equality" and civilian segregation have an effect on the morale of Southern Negroes?

And what about whites; Southern-born whites now assigned to the shockingly progressive North, Northern whites shipped off to a distinctly different region?

Table 1 gives us some insight into these matters.

At first glance, the results seem obvious, even banal: When one compares column entries, in each case

a) the Negro proportion is smaller than the white