

RACIAL ATTITUDINAL CHANGES  
AND THEIR IMPACT ON AMERICAN POLITICS:  
REGIONAL CLEAVAGES 1960-1976

by

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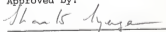
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-DEDICATION-

In loving memory of my mother,  
Lue Willie Travis Kincaide.

-May she rest in peace-

D. L. K.

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-AMEN-

## INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis is generally discussed only in resentful whispers, when it is discussed at all. It is the sort of subject that makes one look around him, and then, satisfied that the audience is "safe," and "the others" are out of earshot, begin to pour out the angry grievances and complaints that have resulted from pinned-up frustrations and disappointments within (few public officials would dare even listen to these grievances, yet all seem to include such problems during their campaigns).

Once these conversations begin, almost everyone in the group can relate similar experiences, with an equal sense of grim outrage, but rarely does the discussion venture any further. Having spontaneously surfaced for the moment, the resentments are again quickly submerged, and doggedly hidden from public view -- at least until the next opportunity arises when the subject can again be "safely" discussed.

In the belief that this subject must be brought out into the open -- dissected, analyzed and criticized, the writer is attempting this thesis.

The subject is racial attitudes, or "race relations," if you will. The writer is primarily concerned with how Americans of the two major races really feel about each other,



and how these feelings have changed over the past 20 years regionally in America. This period takes into account the "old racism" that is linked to every white man, woman and child in the country and to southern whites in particular, and the "new racism" that is linked to the Federal Government and the Black population of America brought on by the many changes in racial attitudes during the late 60's and early 70's. The racism that refuses to even acknowledge its name; the racism that can summon many of the most respected personages in America to swear that it is not really racism at all; the new racism that considers it the highest public good to seek and admit more and more Blacks to the "best" institutions of higher learning and employ more and more Blacks in the best companies, in most cases, just to comply with federal regulations. The new racism that gave Alan Bakke national attention. The new racism that can best be seen as a change from the traditional, "it's their fault, they just don't want to do any better," approach to the "reverse discrimination" philosophy.

## A. Historical Background of Racism in America

There is no question today in American politics more unsettled than the race question; nor has there been a time since the adoption of the Federal Constitution when this question has not, in one way or another, been a disturbing element, a deep rooted cancer, upon the body of the American society, frequently occupying public attention to the exclusion of all other questions. It appears to possess, as no other question, the elements of perennial vitality.

The introduction of African slaves into the colony of Virginia in August, 1619, was the beginning of an agitation, a problem, the solution of which no man, even at this late date, can predict, although many wise men have prophesied. This agitation has neither lessened nor weakened, but instead has grown in magnitude with phenomenal rapidity.

Over the past two decades race relations has emerged as a major area of social and political conflict. When the Supreme Court decided against school segregation in 1954, the conflict accelerated and the stage was set for phenomenal changes in the pattern of race relations nation-wide, particularly in the South.

Thirty-six years ago Negroes were for the first time casting their ballots in erswhile white primaries; there were no elected Negro officials anywhere in the South; the Ku Klux Klan showed formidable signs of reviving; lynchings appeared

to be on the increase amid post-war tensions; the Armed Forces were still segregated; white and Negro passengers were still rigidly separated on interstate coaches and dining cars; no Negro students attended any Southern state university, and inequality in the "dual school system" in the South was just beginning to be seriously challenged.

Then came the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision on the segregation issue, hailed by some as "another great milestone in the nation's quest for a democratic way of life... and the Negro's struggle to become a first-class citizen" (Southern Regional Council, 1955), and by others as "the beginning of the doctrine of compensation which implies that the vast majority of white Americans all but lie awake nights, thinking of new outrages to heap upon the Negro...thus, making this decision the most unjust in the history of the Supreme Court." (Lokos, 1971)

According to Raymond W. Mack:

"The history of America is in large part a story of social relations between races -- an account of the experiences shared by blacks and whites, of what they learned to believe about themselves and each other, and of the consequences of their beliefs and behaviors...Such an account encompasses the major events of American history from the early exploration of the continent through the development of a plantation economy, that economy's disruption by the processes of industrialization, and the massive dislocations of families and communities as the entire society has become urbanized. The constant reweaving of the fabric of American society can be understood largely in black and white terms."

(Raymond W. Mack, 1970)

The Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, freed all slaves in the states that were at war with the Union. But neither this act nor any legislation that followed, i.e., the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, can be given credit for eradicating the consequences of two decades of slavery, because the basic problem of inferiority vs. superiority still exists and may be even worse today on the national level. White Americans have learned through history and the socialization process to regard black Americans as an inferior and underclass. The legal awarding of freedom, jobs, housing integration or better schooling have not been sufficient tools for wiping out deeply ingrained attitudes and behavior patterns.

Blacks were slaves into the latter half of the nineteenth century. As such, they were assigned the very bottom of the American social structure. However, it is the opinion of this writer that it is not sociologically precise to say that black Americans have traditionally been "lower class" in the United States. It is more accurate to say that they have been "under class," or beneath the class structure.

"In the American society a lower-class person who achieves the requisite education, income, or occupational skills can work his way into the middle class. A middle-class white who fails to meet the educational, income, or occupational standards becomes lower class. But there is no such thing in American society as the Negro who excels in the achievement of education, income and occupational status and is therefore promoted to white. Nor

is it possible for a white person to fail so miserably that his fellow citizens "demote" him to a Negro."

(Mack, 1970)

## 1. The Formation of Racial Attitudes

The traditional role of race in the American social structure is an overriding factor in the relations between the citizens. Race has been considered so important a characteristic in defining one's position, that no amount of achievement can overcome its force.

Where an efficient segregation system minimizes one's exposure to members of minority groups who do not conform to the stereotype, a culture of discrimination can flourish. If most of the blacks with whom many white Americans deal conform to their stereotypes of Negroes, i.e., Negroes are poor, ignorant, and subservient, it is easy for white Americans to think of the term "Negro" as a synonym for poor, ignorant and subservient. If people are isolated from the mainstream of society, as many whites in the Southern and most rural areas have been, this "culture of discrimination" can become a norm in itself, further isolating its members from "outsiders" who do not share their belief in Negro inferiority, or do not share it with the same intensity and conviction. "When discrimination is basic to the culture, when it is part of a people's way of life, (Brown, 1973) it is easy for them to think of it as natural, or even as an inborn trait." Thus, people develop racial attitudes and learn to justify racial

discrimination as a consequence of the "natural human aversion" to differentness, rather than the learned behavior that it is.

#### Culturalization and Attitudes

Recently, it has become fashionable to substitute culture for biology in racist arguments. Educated people realize that all human beings belong to a single species. But today educated people know about socialization and culture. The chief argument by some educators is, "If they are brought up in those dreadful slums without a father in the home and with crime and drugs all around, you can't expect them to be like us, can you?" (Brown, 1973)

According to Raymond Mack, "Culture is a congenial explanatory variable; while it assigns the dominant white society a measure of guilt, the guilt is ancestral and hence bearable. At the same time it assures us that it's going to take at least a generation (newly socialized) to get us out of this, and hence racial justice is really our children's burden." (Mack, 1970)

As mentioned earlier, for more than three centuries black has been a synonym for underclass in the United States and many black and white Americans have grown up with the understanding that black means inferior. The extent to which this is true is evident in the following quote from Corrine Brown on the use of the word "exception" by white Americans when discussing Negroes.

"When an American white person protests that he would not want a Negro to buy the house next door, one might ask him why he would object to having a successful black businessman such as John Johnson or a Supreme Court Justice such as Thurgood Marshall for a next-door neighbor. His most likely reply to any of these suggestions is, 'but he's an exception.' He is obviously not an exception to being a Negro. What is meant is that he is an exception to what white Americans have been 'socialized' into seeing as a Negro; he is not a poor, uneducated citizen at the bottom of the social structure."

(Brown, 1973)

## 2. Regional Cleavages in Racial Attitudes

The majority of studies dealing with race relations tend to focus on the South as the area with the most serious racial problems and therefore present totally misleading results. These studies paint a picture of the Northern, Western and Eastern region residents as the liberal, fair-minded believers in equality and the inhabitants of the Southern region as being the slave-driving, red-necked plantation owners with black servants. This has brought on a rash of studies which deal with differences in opinion in the Northern and Southern regions.

In past years, the most important cleavages in American politics have been regional. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the division was largely on an East-West basis, pitting the developing frontier against the established, more urbanized coastal areas. However, with the growth of the controversy over the question of slavery, the cleavage became primarily one of North versus South which resulted

in a post-Civil War alignment of a Democratic "Solid South" and a less solidly Republican North. This North-South cleavage existed until the period of political change now in evidence, with occasional tendencies toward revival of an East-West, industrial-agrarian pattern, such as that during the Populist period in the 1890's. However, these cleavage patterns have never been limited to political partisanship; they have reflected more fundamental patterns of political culture. (Patterson, 1967) Since the most important regional cleavage today is that of South and non-South, this study is an attempt to focus on these regions in an effort to determine regional differences in racial attitudes and how these attitudes are changing.

### 3. Industrialization and Race Relations

The recent friction in American race relations stems less from black Americans being "kept in their place" than from the fact that urbanization and industrialization have enabled so many blacks in the present generation to work their way out of what has traditionally been "their place."

According to Guy Hunter,

"Before World War I, ninety percent of all black Americans still lived in the South, and most of them were farmers. During World War I, with foreign immigration out off and an intense demand for labor, over 500,000 Negroes moved North."

Many black families were exposed for the first time to participation in the industrial labor force.



World War II brought another great migration of blacks out of the South to meet the demand for factory labor. Since World War II the increasing "mechanization of agriculture has continued to provide an impetus for blacks to leave the South. Today the majority of black Americans live in the North and are highly concentrated in the cities." (Hunter, 1965)

The very fact that some black Americans have achieved so much in the past twenty years helps to account for the high level of dissatisfaction both among them and among their fellow black and white Americans who have not shared their gains.

The 1966 data of William Brink and Louis Harris, published in their book Black and White, indicate that black Americans recognized the improvements in their everyday lives, whether or not journalists and social scientists did. A set of questions were asked, all phrased, "Do you feel that you are better off today than you were three years ago, worse off, are about the same as you were then?" The individual items dealt with housing, pay, being able to live in neighborhoods with whites if you want to, and being able to have your children educated with white children. On all of the items except housing, more than 50%, or half, of the black respondents said they were better off. In no case was more than 10% or ten percent recorded as worse off. The summary question was: "All in all, compared with three years ago, do you think things for people such as yourself and your

family are better, worse or about the same?" Sixty-seven percent, 67%, said "better"; only five percent, 5%, said "worse." (Brink and Harris, 1968)

In short, by 1966 most black Americans were seeing change in socio-economic patterns as a result of racial integrationist activities. Today most black Americans identify themselves as middle class. But most black Americans also identify themselves as "blacks." Which brings us to the question of whether white Americans in the Northern and Southern regions have, or will welcome "blacks" into the former reference group, middle class, or push them into the latter, black Americans.

#### 4. Segregation "De jure" vs. Segregation "De facto"

In the twenty-four years since racial segregation "de jure" was outlawed by the Supreme Court, the problem of segregation "de facto" has proved stubborn and complex. Millions of dollars have been spent to integrate American schools, but the results so far are discouraging. Militant advocates have called for and attempted a redoubled effort, and they have been joined by the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders with its efforts and recommendations for "sharply increased efforts to eliminate de facto segregation in our schools." (Mack, 1970) Yet in the present situation, plans to integrate schools are likely to fail in proportion to the resources marshalled behind them, and to cause more segregation and worse education for

subordinated racial groups than would otherwise occur.

The problem is that de facto segregation is sustained by a number of factors, at least one of which - parents' concern for what they judge to be the welfare of their children - is conventionally regarded as an important social good. Because programs for integration are part of a highly moral crusade, the implication of this parental concern has been overlooked. But when it is analyzed in connection with other factors, it appears that the drive for rapid integration has failed, and that the means for improving societal status for black Americans within the context of de facto segregation deserve more attention. These means deserve attention not because they are more just, but because they are more likely to succeed.

John Finley Scott and Lois H. Scott state that,

"Americans are 'racists.' They persistently and invidiously distinguish among groups on the basis of genetic traits that evidently have nothing to recommend them except ready observability. American racism is, to be sure, relatively mild (especially compared to what it was in 1900) and highly variable within the society. But it is a widespread attitude and one that Americans share with most of the world's technologically advanced societies -- including many that did not share in the Western European conquest of various nonwhite populations. No program for improving the lot of subordinated racial groups in America will succeed if it depends on the notion that racism is not a popular attitude but only the prejudice of a small and conspiratorial minority of the American public made up of Southern Senators, suburban school boards and metropolitan policemen. For the Senators voice the virulent racism of several million Southern whites, the school boards represent millions of white parents who feel that integration will compromise their

children's education, and the policemen nicely express the sentiments of the strongly rooted urban groups from which they are usually recruited."

(Scott and Scott, 1968)

The hope for more egalitarian race relations in this country rests more securely on the fact that American racism is qualified and limited. Americans who are racists in some areas will support racial equality in others. For example, a man who opposes "open housing" legislation because he fears for his neighborhood may still support antidiscrimination measures in voting or employment.

Advocates of integration frequently note that interracial contacts in housing and schools are less strained when both racial groups are reasonably well educated and "middle class," and they suggest that this provides the key to successful integration. But the number of middle-class blacks, though growing, remains small compared to the general population. Christopher Jencks, of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, has pointed out, "There just aren't enough middle-class blacks to go around." Since the majority of whites today are broadly in the middle class, this means that most programs for quick integration by race must also involve integration by class and the long-run problems of achieving genuine integration by class are much greater than those by race. Therefore, the problem of de facto segregation lies in the social status area more so than the racial area because in Western Societies all members of a family are

commonly judged to occupy the same social class, regardless of age or sex. Parents desire to pass on to their children a status better than, or at least as good as, their own. This makes the family the most conservative of all social institutions, the slowest to change in an otherwise rapidly changing society. (Mack, 1970) In America today we may have parents who are liberals yet a "liberal" parent is almost a contradiction in terms.

The behavior of professors as parents illustrates the aforementioned quite well. Often strong advocates of equality, in the case of their own children they want what Everett Hughes, the Brandeis University sociologist, has called "equality-plus." They generally do what they can to give their children an elite education of the kind their own occupation requires, and this proves difficult in a "class-heterogeneous" school district. The ideal situation to them is a small, homogeneous and "sophisticated" school, where liberal values are taught in the abstract, with exemplary but token integration of students and, thus, not enough real heterogeneity to interfere with the learning skills essential to an educational elite or a neighborhood that displays similar characteristics.

Because the majority of all buyers of single-family residences are parents of the aforementioned group, the character of the school that serves a given residence becomes an important part of its value. This becomes quite clear after the most cursory interviews with real estate brokers and a

comparison of prices as John and Lois Scott put it,

"As one broker we interviewed put it, 'you don't just buy the house, you buy the school district, the blacks who live there and the problems they cause each other'....In cities with a Catholic school system the school districts will be public and parochial. Houses that cannot be sold to the Protestants because the public school has 'too many' black students can still be sold to Catholics, who will send their children to the parochial schools."

(Scott and Scott, 1968)

Residential segregation is linked to school segregation through the "neighborhood school." Before educational policy became preoccupied with integration, the system of neighborhood schools eliminated the problem of transportation. With schools widely dispersed, children could get to them by walking short distances. It was, and is, a practical arrangement, economical for schools and popular for parents, quite apart from the fact that neighborhood schools reinforce the class system, and thus, perpetuate segregationist racial attitudes.

##### 5. Civil Rights Legislation and its Effect on Racial Attitudes

Most advocates of integration soon recognized the difficulty of getting effective governmental support at the local level, and began to place more faith and hope in national programs. These programs are often administered by persons committed to integration, and their discretion in granting Federal funds constitutes a potentially powerful sanction. But so far Federal agencies are long on plans, pilot studies,

demonstration projects and speeches that will inspire disheartened integrationists to further effort -- and short on tangible results.

However, Federal agencies are accountable to elected officials and the elected officials are accountable to the electorate, an electorate that has proven to be favorable to equality but unfavorable to governmental intervention to insure integration of schools, jobs and housing. (See Appendix C) An instructive case cited in the article by John and Lois Scott was the attempt in 1965 by Francis Keppel, then United Commissioner of Education, to enforce Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting disbursement of Federal funds where state and local agencies practiced discrimination in their use. Funds were withheld from the Chicago schools after a redrawing of school district lines increased segregation. In response, Benjamin Willis, the Chicago superintendent of schools, decried Keppel's move as an attack on the "neighborhood school" and local control of education. Meanwhile the engines of political influence began to turn, and Chicago got its money about two months later. (Scott and Scott, 1968)

Situations of the aforementioned sort that involve individuals who do not comply fully with Federal regulations and various agencies within the system that are used to impede the progress of Civil Rights legislation indicate the amount of pro-segregation attitudes that exist within the

system. There is a considerable amount of difficulty in distinguishing genuine efforts from perfunctory efforts at desegregation. For example, the President and heads of various departments have considerable discretionary power over staff composition, budgetary allocations and legislative and judicial tactics. Thus, attempts at desegregation could be effectively sabotaged by simply appointing incompetents to important positions, providing inadequate resources, and pursuing unproductive lines of attack. Such an undermining would be far from evident to anyone but a knowledgeable, close observer of the situation but would have a significant impact on the implementation of the program. Those individuals who would stand to benefit from the program, i.e., blacks who already have little faith in governmental institutions and whites who disagree with segregation, would be and have been disappointed to the point of abandoning efforts at integration, thus, developing more fixed attitudes concerning race relations. In a similar sense, those individuals who do not favor integration are delighted when the programs fail and their attitudes are reinforced in as much as knowing that they can effectively impede the progress of racial mix. In other words, blacks and integrationists are kept in their "place" and segregationists have the pleasure of being "superior" once more.

#### B. Significance of the Study

In discussing the political and racial attitudes of



the South versus the North, the writer bases his hypotheses upon a personal knowledge of the conditions of classes in the South and their attitudes, as well as upon the ample data furnished by the National Opinion Research Center, and by writers who have pursued, in their own ways, the question before this writer.

The primary purpose of this study is to show that the racial problems in the South are, in the main, the same as those which afflict the North today; and that integration has proceeded at such a quick pace in the South that the attitudes there have become as liberal, i.e., supportive of racial integration, as the Northerners in recent years. Also, the social and economic changes in both regions have worked to the advantage of the South, i.e., more businesses, factories jobs and less unemployment, and to the disadvantage of the North, i.e., overcrowding, high unemployment rate, and increased racial tensions vis-se-vis forced integration and busing. Therefore, Southern residents have moved toward more liberal race relations while the attitudes of Northerners have remained constant and in some cases worsened. (Weissberg, 1976)

The "anti-black backlash" has affected the South, i.e., the 1960's and racial riots, while forced integration and unemployment have just recently hit the Northern region and thus, its anti-racial, pro-segregationist people had remained virtually unaffected by the Civil Rights movement and government legislation of the 50's and 60's.

It is therefore this writer's belief that the majority of the Southern residents are no longer the racist, pro-segregationists they were twenty years ago because of less unemployment, better living conditions and more blacks becoming members of the middle class. On the other hand, the North with its overcrowded cities, high rates of unemployment and increased poverty level has the fundamental characteristics that plagued the South in the early years, and thus, integration poses a problem because of competition for employment and the exposure to racial groups that the inhabitants of this area have experienced recently. Thus, the gap between the racial attitudes in these two regions has closed and while attitudes are improving in the Southern region they are getting worse in the North as a result of "overt-racism" that resulted from forced integration and unemployment.

#### C. Research Question

The proposed study will determine the changes in racial attitudes that have come about in the Northern and Southern regions during the twenty year period from 1956-1976. The focus of the discussion here is the question, "have Southerners become more favorable toward minorities and civil rights over the twenty year period and have Northerners become more conservative to racial questions over the same period." The particular issues at hand are: 1) Have racial attitudinal changes occurred on a regional basis, (i.e., have Southerners

begun to favor civil rights and Northerners begun to disfavor them?) 2) Are Northern attitudes on desegregation becoming more conservative? 3) Can these attitudinal changes be measured by scaling them to give us a better picture of the changes within the two regions? and 4) Can these differences in attitudes be explained by simply examining the urban communities versus the rural communities or, are there actual, underlying differences that have resulted from the socialization and culturalization processes in each region and the differences therein.

#### D. Definition of Terms

Terms utilized in this investigation will be defined as follows:

1. Attitude - a predisposition to react to a given thing, situation, or idea in a given way. Attitudes are usually associated with underlying, deep-seated predispositions. They are distinguished from habits in that the latter are usually associated with overt behavior whereas attitudes also include verbal and mental responses that need not even-tuate in overt behavior. Attitudes are associated with emotional responses that range from indifferent to strong attraction or revulsion.

- a. Daniel Katz defined attitude as "the specific organization of feelings and beliefs according to which a given person evaluates an object or symbol positively or negatively." (Nimms and Bonjean, 1972)

b. The noted social psychologist, Donald E. Tarter, suggests that "attitudes have at least four dimensions:

- (1) Direction - the evaluative component which suggests that they (attitudes) might be positive (favorable), negative (unfavorable), neutral or ambivalent.
- (2) Degree - as an evaluative component, degree reminds us that the attitudes may be more or less favorable or unfavorable toward objects, events, persons, or ideas.
- (3) Intensity - as an evaluative component, intensity refers to how strongly an individual holds an attitude (i.e., intensity is low if one is able to modify the attitude in different social contexts and is high if it motivates one to immediate action or if one refuses to change the attitude when offered considerable rewards or punished to do so), and
- (4) Saliency - as an evaluative component, saliency refers to the centrality of an attitude within the individual's constellation of attitudes (i.e., at any given time, individuals hold many different attitudes...all not equally important to them. In situations where these attitudes contradict...the most salient ones become manifest unless they are at a subconscious level in terms of peripheral tendencies, in which case, they will remain subconscious until stimulated by a direct probe.) (Tarter, 1970)

2. Integration - to remove barriers imposing segregation, or separation of one group from another.

a. economic opportunity integration - integration of jobs, professional schools and other forms of employment and training that directly relate to improvement in socio-economic conditions.

b. day-to-day-contract integration - interracial marriages, living accommodations integration, school integration, public accommodations integration and other forms directly or indirectly related to day-to-day, face-to-face contact of individuals in a given area of different races. Note: These two types can also be referred to as individual integration for economic equality or institutional integration for racial equality.

c. forced integration - the intermingling of different races under conditions which necessitate outside pressure from governmental authorities (i.e., using troops to integrate schools, the issuance of injunctions and court orders by the Justice Department, etc.)

3. Class - a group of individuals ranked together as possessing common characteristics or as having the same status; the system thus dividing society and racial groups in the United States.

a. First-class - those individuals who have education and resources necessary to effectively control their environments. (Mostly whites and Jews - very few blacks.)

b. Second-class - those who have the education or the financial resources necessary, more than half of \$13,500 per year (median family income) or at least a high school education.

c. Lower-class - those who have neither the education nor the financial resources necessary to compete with the middle class for jobs (whites and blacks).

d. Under-class - not included in the class system at all; similar to "untouchable" in Hindu Caste System (traditionally reserved for blacks).

e. Class - heterogeneity - differing in classes as related to children of different social groups or upper, middle and lower-classed individuals in a common environment.

4. Cleavages: Divisions of objects, areas, or ideas.

a. Racial - differences within or between social groups.

b. Regional - differences between well defined geographical areas.

c. Social - differences between groups in society based on customs, culture, race, education and economic status.

5. "Community schools" - Small homogeneous schools in the North where liberal values are taught in the abstract with exemplary but token integration of students but not enough heterogeneity to interfere with the learning skills essential to an educational elite.

6. Conservative - Individuals disposed to maintaining existing institutions, values and views; opposed to change,

or in our case, opposed to change that affects them.

7. Conspiritorial minority - The theory that only a few extremists are opposed to integration, i.e., Southern Senators and Northern Conservatives, and that they conspire to impede its progress.

8. Discrimination - Unfair or injurious distinctions made based on racial, socio-economic or other characteristics.

a. Racial - observing differences in race and making distinctions therein by providing one group with more services or opportunities than the other.

b. Social or cultural - observing differences in class or socio-economic status by providing the more affluent group members with the most services and opportunities.

9. Industrialization - The concentration of businesses and factories in previously agricultural environments; results in job increase, cluttered housing, ghettos, slums and socio-economic based discrimination.

10. Inferiority complex - An abnormal unconscious exaggeration of feelings (based on race) of insignificance and insecurity resulting in defensive compensatory behavior.

11. Integration - (see no. 2)

12. Liberal - Broadminded, unrestrained individual who is "pro-change oriented," not bound by the established norms and values.

13. Learned behavior - Behavior resulting from rewards or deprivations in a specific culture, i.e., inferior behavior in blacks a product of learned behavior.

14. Natural human aversion theory - Theory that humans are naturally aversive of each other based on their perception of differences as being negative stimuli.

#### E. Limitations of the Study

Both the theory and the data are limited to the continental United States and more specifically to the Northern and Southern regions.

Several other limitations are potentially serious threats or as determinants of validity (how adequate the indicators measure attitudinal changes) of the indicators used. One of these limitations arises from the fact that, even though they are treated here as primary data, the survey data are analyzed on a "secondary" basis because existing survey data are used, rather than a survey designed "de novo." Therefore, information is not available for testing theoretically interesting propositions that could possibly provide a sound basis for defending or rejecting the research hypotheses. Also, there is a limit to how far any "conventional survey" of this type can penetrate into the ways individuals actually feel about racial equality and integration. A recent paper suggests that, "the motivations which affect the behavior of a given respondent may actually cause the respondent to answer directly opposite or neutral in accordance to the way he actually feels." (Ebbison, 1971) Thus, it is difficult to diagnose these "partially conscious" types of responses that are given on most conventional surveys.



## F. Review of Literature

Although relatively few authors in Political Science have attempted an explanation of North-South cleavages in racial attitudes through additive indexing, there is a massive body of literature in which other approaches have been employed to measure and explain attitude and opinion differences in the two regions. Attempting to cite and review each relevant study would prove to be somewhat lengthy. Therefore, a brief review of the literature is in order.

The classic works on Southern politics, and perhaps the most cited and noted, are V. O. Key, Jr.'s Southern Politics (1949), and Public Opinion and American Democracy (1961). In Southern Politics, Key points out that:

"In its grand outline the politics of the South revolves around the position of the Negro. It is at times interpreted as a politics of cotton, a politics of free trade, as a politics of agrarian poverty, or as a politics of planter and plutocrat. Although such interpretations have a superficial validity, in the final analysis, the major peculiarities of Southern politics go back to the Negro."

(Key, 1949)

This work describes a "Negro problem" and a South that bear little resemblance to present realities. Key realized that changes were occurring in attitudes and that discrepancies existed between the conservative nature of that region and the actual proportion of the individuals who were conservative. In Public Opinion and American Democracy he set the stage for this writer's beliefs by using SRC data to

measure the amount of conservatism in the Southern region as opposed to the votes of Southern congressional representatives and political leaders. He found that "those who are active and influential tend to be primarily conservative on domestic welfare issues, while the nonactivists tend to be primarily liberal on the same issues." (Key, 1961) He explained this discrepancy, in part, by noting that political participation in the South was particularly small and that the minority who participate tend to be disproportionately conservative on economic issues. Southern political leaders simply reflected this set of biases.

Those recent studies that focus on North-South differences are: Andrew M. Greely and Paul B. Sheatley's "Attitudes Towards Racial Integration," which examines American opinion on racial integration and found that from the mid 1950's onward most Americans agreed with the general idea of racial integration of schools. (Greely and Sheatsley, 1971) Hazel Gaudet Erskine's "The Polls: Race Relations," and "The Polls: Speed of Racial Integration," are two recent studies that show the trend of attitude change in the South since the early 50's. (Erskine, 1962 and 1968) Tables 1.1 - 1.3 were taken from Robert Weissberg's Public Opinion and Popular Government and were used to illustrate the public's endorsement of the Supreme Court's 1952 ruling declaring enforced segregation unconstitutional (Table 1.1) and the impact of personal involvement and amount of integration on the attitudes of whites on a South versus non-South basis. (Table 1.2)

TABLE 1.1 Public Support for the Supreme Court's Ruling on Legally Enforced Segregation

Date	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
1954 (July)	54	41	5
1955 (May)	56	38	6
1956 (Feb.)	57	38	5
1957 (Jan.)	63	31	6
1957 (Aug.)	58	36	6
1957 (Sept. Pre Little Rock)	56	38	6
1957 (Oct. Post Little Rock)	59	35	6
1959 (July)	59	35	6
1961 (June)	62	33	5

\*"The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. This means that all children, no matter what their race, must be allowed to go to the same schools. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?"

Source: Gallup Poll, taken from Public Opinion and Popular Government, Robert Weissberg, 1976.

TABLE 1.2 Support for School Integration Among Whites, by Region and Degree of Integration, by Year

Date	NON-SOUTH			SOUTH		
	Percent Objecting when Blacks Constitute			Percent Objecting when Blacks Constitute		
	Few	Half	More than half	Few	Half	More than half
1954 (July)			45			82
1958 (Sept.)	3	39	58	72	81	84
1959 (March)	7	34	58	72	83	86
1965 (April)	7	28	52	37	68	78
1966 (May)	6	32	60	24	49	62
1969 (Sept.)	7	28	54	21	46	64

\*"Would you, yourself, have any objections to sending your children to a school where a few (half, more than half) of the children are colored?"

Source: Robert Weissberg, Public Opinion and Popular Government, 1976.

TABLE 1.3 Public Support for Federal Intervention in School Desegregation, 1956-1976

Year	Favor Federal Intervention	Not Sure	Oppose Federal Intervention	Don't Know No Opinion
1956	39%	6%	43%	12%
1960	41	7	39	13
1964	41	7	39	13
1966	46	8	34	12
1968	38	7	44	11
1970	45	10	33	12
1972	37	7	45	12
1976	33	11	54	1

\*For all years the question was "should the Government in Washington stay out of the question of whether white and Negro children go to the same school?"

Source: SRC, University of Michigan, Taken from Robert Weissberg, Public Opinion and Popular Government, 1976.

Table 1.3 tells us nothing about the differences in attitudes on government intervention. What is needed is a precise measurement of differences to indicate which areas most heavily favor government intervention and which areas oppose it. However, Weissberg's examination offers further proof that attitudes on racial questions are changing in the South as indicated by Table 1.3 data. (Weissberg, 1976)

The most closely-related study to this writer's comes from Richard E. Dawson's Public Opinion and Contemporary Disarray. Dawson's analysis puts the final nail in the coffin of the myth of an overwhelmingly conservative South. His examination included blacks and whites in the Northern and Southern regions and their attitudes toward school integration, government intervention to provide equality in

jobs and housing and trust in government. Dawson's findings were that the low level of participation in electoral politics blurred the image of Southern politics because the political leaders and representatives were representing the few conservatives that elected them and not the general population of that region. His findings are congruent with the 1961 Key argument. Also, David R. Matthews and James W. Prothro's quantitative analysis is a similar attempt at explaining the rise in liberalism in the South by explaining the impact Blacks have, via participation, on the electoral politics of the South. Their study shows a drastic rise in Black participation in the politics of the Southern region. (Matthews and Prothro, 1966)

Other related literature includes: Corinne Brown's Understanding Race Relations, a qualitative analysis that gives an updated view of Blacks in America (Brown, 1973); Raymond W. Mack's Race, Class and Power, an excellent sociological explanation of race relations in the United States on a regional basis (Mack, 1968), and T. Thomas Fortune's Black and White, an approach to explaining race relations from a socio-economic perspective. However, the Fortune argument's lack of a data base renders it polemic. (Fortune, 1970)

In my quest for techniques of defining and measuring attitudes, Thurstone's "Attitudes can be Measured" (1946); Bain and Horowitz's definition of attitudes along with Krech and Crutchfield's definition (1940) were adopted for this

study. According to the Bain and Horowitz definition, "An individual's social attitude is a syndrome of response consistency with regard to social objects...essentially...the attitude must be considered a response rather than a set to respond -- in research practice do not equate isolated responses with attitudes; but on the contrary, look for appearance of response consistencies." (Horowitz, 1936)

This is dramatically evidenced by Horowitz's use of the appearance of consistent differentiated responses to photographs of Negro and white children to measure the occurrence of racial prejudice in children.

## II. HYPOTHESES AND DATA

As the previous section suggests, the focus and subject matter of this study are limited. Even though its theoretical basis encompasses a broad scope of inquiry in the discipline of political science, this study does not deal with all of the issues and concerns relevant to the study of racial attitudes and their impact on the American political system. Therefore, it might be useful to spell out more clearly what the specific focus of this study is, how the concerns will be developed, and how each concern relates to the theoretical basis adopted.

There are some important areas of concern in the study of racial attitudes and public opinion which will be entirely neglected and others that will be approached only indirectly. For instance, this discussion does not deal with militant racist groups or extremists of the sort; there is no discussion of socialization and its influence on the formation of racial attitudes, or of the policymaking process and its impact on attitudes in the different regions.

This study is limited to individuals in the northern, (i.e., New England states, Middle Atlantic, East North Central and West North Central states) and southern (i.e., Solid South states and Border states) regions and how and why they develop and hold various attitudes and opinions on racial issues. Even though the subject of opinion and attitude formation and change among individuals has made up the "bulk

of the work falling under the rubric of public opinion and attitudinal research," (Dawson, 1973) there will be discussion of it here only insofar as it relates to regional differences in racial attitudes.

The expected relationships between the independent variables of age, race, sex, education and social status, and the dependent variables, i.e., attitudes toward racial integration will be used to assess the changes in the attitudes of northern and southern respondents and an attempt will be made to explain how these relationships affect public policy via public opinion. Relationships between racial attitudes and policy are extremely complex and may follow a variety of different patterns. This writer shall attempt to assess the correspondence in regard to racial issues in the northern and southern regions between 1964 and 1976. A careful spelling out of attitude distributions and how they are related to major institutions which link public opinion with policy makers, as well as of how opinions are related to facets such as geographical location, social economic position, age, race and education, will shed considerable light on the changes that have occurred in the last twenty years. It is hoped that identification and comparison of these changes will prove sufficient for measuring the impact of race on policy makers during the years at question. More specifically, attention to these factors and their changes should help us understand current and future racial policies.



This study is based primarily upon the analysis of the aforementioned distributions of racial attitudes over the past two decades. Richard E. Dawson's Public Opinion and Contemporary Disarray, published in 1973, and V. O. Key's Public Opinion and American Democracy, remain two of the few efforts at an extensive probe of the distributions of public opinions and how these distributions affect the operation of American politics. Although this study is more modest in scope, theoretical focus, and length than either of the two aforementioned studies, the approach to the subject and many of the conceptual and theoretical concerns have been influenced greatly by Dawson's and Key's works. Several differences should be noted. Key used the mid 1950s as his time base, employing data taken from the 1956 Survey Research Center election study, and Dawson focused primarily on the period following the 1964 election through the early 1970s. This discussion will attempt to cover both periods and update the data by adding data from the 1976 election study. In addition, this analysis is only concerned with changes in racial attitude distributions in the north and south. It is an attempt both to identify attitude changes over the past two decades and to discuss their consequences for American politics. More specifically, the effort is to describe the racial attitudinal changes that have occurred over the last two decades and to analyze how these attitudinal changes have affected political parties and elections. By spelling out these factors the writer hopes to gain a better understanding of how race will affect American politics.

## A. Summary of Hypotheses

### HYPOTHESES

In the past, residents of the Southern region have been subjected to many forms of forced integration. Although many Americans believe the residents of the Southern region to be the most conservative, racist individuals in America, studies such as Brown's, Weissberg's, Key's and Dawson's have proven this not to be the case. The traditional stereotype of the Southern region, i.e., the racist, conservative South, was more a product of misrepresentation than of hard core racist attitudes. (Dawson, 1973)

"In view of the fact that racial tensions and flareups in the South are at a minimum and integration has been successfully implemented in the majority of its public schools, it appears that attitudinal changes have occurred as a result of the forced integration procedures of the late 60s and early 70s." (Mack, 1970) The people of the South appear to have accepted decisions handed down by the Supreme Court along with the changing social norms that have resulted therefrom i.e., decisions on the abolition of the white primary and the admission of blacks into historically-white universities. The central hypothesis therefore states that:

The attitudes of residents of the Southern region have changed over the last twenty years from pro-racist (conservative), toward an acceptance of racial integration and civil rights for blacks (liberal). While Southern attitudes have become more positive

toward racial integration, Northern attitudes have remained constant or become more conservative.

This study will thus seek to demonstrate that "contrary to popular belief, Southern residents are actually as liberal or more liberal on racial issues than Northern residents." (Dawson, 1973)

This study will not claim that a perfect relationship between region and attitudes toward racial integration exists, nor will it claim that the North has or will become ultra-conservative, but it will attempt to show that the general attitudinal changes in the South show a definite trend toward liberalism. If, indeed, this trend is present, there must be \*groups or different segments of the population in the two regions that have contributed to this trend, i.e., specific groups in the South that have become more liberal and groups in the North that have become more conservative.

The following social groupings are to be examined -- age, sex, social status, education and race. It is necessary to formulate hypotheses for each grouping\* and test these

\*Note: Individuals are the primary units of analysis here although the word group is used. The word group here refers to individual respondents who are categorized similarly because they display similar physical or socio-economic characteristic tendencies, i.e., sex, race, social status and education. All respondents fall into one or two categories otherwise, i.e., North and South. The system of analysis employed here can be referred to as a "bivariate analysis" in which the dependent variables are represented by single questions from NCRC or CPS Surveys and the independent variables are physical, social or socio-economic characteristics that provide "subgroup descriptions" for explanatory purposes.

hypotheses by examining the frequency distributions and correlation coefficients to determine the strength of the relationship between independent and dependent variables. This method should give us a general description of the characteristics of individuals who have changed their opinions and attitudes on racial issues between 1964 and 1976 in both the North and South.

The following hypotheses are intended to predict the effects of the independent variables on racial attitudes:

#### Minor Hypotheses

Liberal vs. Conservative racial attitudes by age of respondent:

1. Older people are generally more prejudiced than young people and therefore are less supportive of equal rights and issues on racial equality. They also change at a slower rate, thus the older a person is the less liberal he is and the less he changes his attitudes on racial issues.

Liberal vs. Conservative racial attitudes by education of respondents:

2. The higher a person's education level, the less he relies on the government to provide employment, thus, the less likely he is to discriminate because of competition from blacks. Southerners are becoming more educated as a group and this accounts for less discrimination.

Liberal vs. Conservative racial attitudes by social status of respondent:

3. As one advances from lower class to middle or working class toward the upper class, the degree of conservatism decreases because of less stress and competition brought on by blacks. Over the last twenty years industry has given the majority of the Southerners the opportunity to become working class citizens and move up in the social stratum.

liberal vs. Conservative racial attitudes by sex of respondent:

4. Women are generally accorded an inferior status in American society; blacks are also accorded an inferior status; thus women should be more supportive of the issues on racial equality since it, in effect, means equal opportunity in employment, housing, etc. Therefore the majority of the conservatives should be males.

Liberal vs. Conservative racial attitudes by race of respondent:

5. Obviously, a higher percentage of blacks should approve of racial equality and civil rights than whites. Black support for institutional integration is therefore greater than white support and Black contact with whites is greater.

#### 1. SOURCE OF DATA

Surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (Center for Political Studies) and American Institute of Public Opinion (hereafter cited NORC, CPS and AIPO or Gallup, respectively) provide the data for this research. The subjects consist of randomly-selected samples of between 1,500 and 2,400 respondents representing the adult American population for the survey years 1960, 1964, 1968, 1972 and 1976. Data from the 1956 SRC survey will be used where applicable to the most recent questions, and updates will be presented where the questions compare.

#### 2. INDICATORS AND INDICES

Two dimensions of integration are to be examined, i.e., "Day-to-day Contact integration" and "Institutional" integration. Support for Day-to-day Contact integration is

measured through the use of a single indicator, i.e., 1960-1976 CPS responses to a question dealing with the racial composition of the respondent's friends, and will be supplemented with three questions from NORC Surveys 1972-1976. These questions will not be scaled. "Additive Scaling" will be employed to measure support for institutional integration based on three questions from CPS surveys 1964-76. The following questions are indicators which measure day-to-day contact and institutional integration respectively:

#### A. Day-to-Day Contact Integration

##### CSP 1964-1976

1. "Are your friends:"
  1. all white
  2. mostly white
  3. about half and half
  4. mostly Negro (colored people)
  5. all Negro (colored people)

##### NORC 1972-1976 (Supplementary Questions - contact integration)

1. "Do you think there should be laws against marriages between Negroes and Whites?"
  1. Yes (disagree with day-to-day contact)
  2. No (agree with day-to-day contact)
2. "How strongly would you object if a member of your family wanted to bring a Negro friend home to dinner? Would you object strongly, mildly, or not at all?"
  1. Strongly (1 and 2 = disagree to contact integration)
  2. Mildly
  3. Not at all (agree to contact integration)
3. "Would you yourself have any objection to sending your children to a school where a few, half, or more than half of the children are Negroes?"
 

<u>A Few</u>	<u>Half</u>	<u>Majority</u>
1. yes	1. yes	1. yes (disagree with contact)
2. no	2. no	2. no (agree with contact)

These variables will be used for single-item comparison of frequency distributions in the two regions to see if the racial composition of Southern friendship groups increased in heterogeneity and if the racial composition of Northern friendship groups decreased or remained the same in terms of racial mix. The NORC questions will be compared for agreement vs. disagreement on the dimension of day-to-day contact using the aforementioned method.

#### B. Institutional Integration

CPS 1960-1976

1. "Some people feel that if Negroes (colored people) are not getting fair treatment in jobs the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the Federal government's business." How do you feel? Should the government in Washington:
  - (agree) 1. see to it that Negroes get fair treatment in jobs
  - (disagree) 2. leave these matters to state and local communities
  
2. "Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that white and Negro (colored) children are allowed to go to the same schools. Others claim that this is not the government's business." Do you think the government in Washington should:
  - (agree) 1. see to it that white and Negro (colored) children should go to the same schools
  - (disagree) 2. stay out of this area as it is none of its business
  
3. "Congress passed a bill that says that colored people (Negroes) should have the right to go to any hotel or restaurant they can afford, just like white people. Some people feel that this is something the government in Washington should support. Others feel that the government should stay out of this matter. How do you feel? Should the government support the right of colored people (Negroes)?:

- (agree) 1. (yes) To go to any hotel or restaurant  
they can afford  
(disagree) 2. stay out of this matter

Each respondent was asked to indicate the degree of agreement to all items on a five point scale during the initial interviews as is indicated by the categories provided in the code book (see Appendix A): (1) strongly approve, (2) approve, (3) undecided, (4) disapprove, and (5) strongly disapprove. In this study, however, there are only three questions used to indicate the degree of agreement or disagreement with institutional integration and only three responses are provided. Therefore, in the additive analysis only two categories will be used, i.e., where necessary, the questions will be recoded  $1+2=1$  agree,  $4+5=2$  disagree and "don't know" responses will be dropped. Thus, the scale will have three items with two categories instead of five items with five categories of responses. Each individual has a score for each item ranging from 1 to 2. The respondent's scale score is simply the sum of the scores he receives on each item. (Note: items are eliminated if they do not tap (empirically) the same attitudes as the others in the scale. The closer the respondent's scale score to the value 3, the more favorable he is on institutional racism. Whereas, the closer the respondent's scale score to the value 6, the less favorable his attitude toward institutional integration. The total or composite scale scores for white respondents in the Northern and Southern regions will



be compared over the 12-year period to see if changes have occurred. The independent variables will be employed to locate the specific respondents who demonstrate these deviations.

#### DATA ANALYSIS

The data presented in this study come largely from the NORC and ICPR studies although a few of the many questions from (AIPO) Gallup Polls, will be inserted where they have been repeated or used in earlier studies as in Key's research. The AIPO questions will not, however, be scaled. They are presented here for comparative purposes only, i.e., the frequencies will be compared to ICPR and NORC data for yearly trends in responses or possible changes.

#### C. Reliability of Results

Up to this point, the writer has discussed all of the steps involved in the selection and scoring of items that result in a composite index purporting to measure Northern and Southern support for institutional integration and the single-item analysis which attempts to measure support for contact integration. Carefully carrying out these steps increases the likelihood of the index actually measuring support for contact integration. To prove reliability, however, there must be "validation" of the index and the single-item.

##### 1. Index Validation

The basic logic of validation is the following.

The writer assumes that the composite index is related to, i.e., predicts responses to, the items in the index itself; that these items provide a measure of support for institutional integration (that is, the successive scores on the index arrange cases in a rank-order in terms of support). This index of liberal vs. conservative attitudes on institutional integration rank-orders people in terms of their relative liberalism or conservatism on racial integration by adding their scores on the three questions concerning institutional integration. If the index is reliable, then persons (respondents) scored as relatively liberal on racial integration in terms of the index should appear relatively liberal in terms of all other indications of racial attitude and related political orientations. Therefore, several methods for validating a composite index are utilized in this study.

The first step in index validation utilized here is an internal validation called "item analysis." (Babbie, 1975) The researcher will examine the extent to which the composite index is related to (or predicts responses to) the three items on institutional integration included in the index. Carefully constructing the index through the examination of the bivariate relationships obtained through the crosstabulation of the three variables on institutional integration should confirm the validity of the index. If a given item is found to be poorly related to the index, thus

contributing nothing to the index's power, it will be excluded.

## 2. External Validation

While item analysis is an important first test of the index's validity, it is scarcely a sufficient test. If the index adequately measures a given variable, it should successfully predict other indications of that variable, i.e., Conservatives respondents on the index should be conservative on other attitudes. This procedure is called "external validation" and is the test that will be used here to test the reliability of the index data. Respondents scored conservative or negative on racial institutional integration should appear conservative or negative in their responses to other race-oriented items and vice-versa.

## D. DATA ANALYSIS

The general technique used in this study is to compute a measure of association between two different factors. "One of the central features of developing descriptions and explanations about social behavior is the search for patterns of relationship or association." (Dawson, 1973) In this study the writer seeks to ascertain whether the existence of negative racial attitudes can be explained by examining the Northern and Southern regions and the sub-groupings within them over the past sixteen years. The writer examines not only the relationship between racial

attitudes and region but the possible relationships between racial attitudes and race, income, education, age and sex.

Where attempts are made in this study to statistically measure the level of association between two factors, the writer is concerned with the extent to which an increase or decrease in one factor is associated with an increase or decrease in another factor. Therefore, two types of data analysis techniques are employed in this study to statistically measure the level of association between region and racial attitudes: bivariate analysis and trend analysis.

#### 1. Bivariate Analysis

Explanatory, bivariate analysis is the analysis of frequency distributions for subgroups, "stratified marginals," with special constraints. (Babbie, 1975) In subgroup descriptions, one is completely free to pick whatever stratification variable he desires and to describe each subgroup in terms of any other variable.

This technique allows one to divide the sample into two groups, i.e., Blacks and Whites in the North and South - and describe the attitudes of the two groups separately. The percentages approving vs. those disapproving of the two dimensions of integration will be compared to denote differences within the two regions in terms of subgroups. This, in turn, will allow the researcher to quantitatively classify each survey group by the year and majority (composite scale score) of responses on a particular dimension.

Comparison of the composite scale scores for the respondents on institutional integration scale will be attempted on a trend-analysis basis, i.e., based on four-year intervals. Where scale scores of a negative nature, i.e., closest to 6, predominate in the subgroupings of a particular region in a given year, they will be considered indicators of negative attitudes on racial integration.

Crosstabulations of the single-item analyses of contact integration will be made to identify the subgroupings within their respective regions in terms of agreement vs. disagreement on contact between racial groups. Those subgroupings displaying a majority of unfavorable responses to contact integration will be considered indicators of negative attitudes on racial mix.

Comparison of both sets of crosstabulations over time to identify trends will be accomplished by forming a composite index for the institutional dimension of integration comparing the composite scale scores of the two regions over the 16-year period. The single-item analysis of the contact dimension will be subjected to the crosstabulation technique but will not be included in the additive analysis. Instead, frequencies will be compared for each survey year to identify subgroup changes in responses.

Finally, the highest frequencies of negative responses to the contact question will be compared with the composite index in order to identify the region in which the negative

responses to \*each dimension predominater over the 16-year period. The results will be presented in graphic form in the next section of this paper.

#### DATA ANALYSIS

There are a number of statistical techniques that can be used in the measurement of levels of association. To a considerable degree such techniques must be adapted to the nature of the data as well as the substantive concerns. Measures of statistical association or "significance tests" are employed in this study in instances where both of the factors under consideration are measured in terms of ordinal or "rank-order" indicators, i.e., variables in which the individual respondents can be placed on a continuum in which each response category can be identified as a greater or lesser degree of a particular attribute.

Several types of statistical measures of association are applicable to ordinal scales. The measure employed in this study is gamma, which measures the relationship between ordinal variables, but makes no adjustments for ties, i.e., the same answers for dependent or independent variables, or for table size. Gamma has a very intuitive interpretation

\*Note: This should eliminate the possibility of "Spurious" relationships resulting from public reaction to busing and forced integration, since the government does not choose one's friends.

in that it is the "number of concordant pairs (P) or (NS), minus the number of discordant pairs (a) or (ND), divided by the total number of united pairs (P+Q) or (NS+ND). Thus it takes a positive value if the concordant pairs predominate, a negative value if the discordant pairs predominate, and zero if they are equal." (Mueller, Shuessler, and Costner, 1970)

In a more common sense, gamma measures the extent to which it is possible to predict order along one variable from the order on the other variable. To what extent, for example, is it possible to predict attitudes on racial issues on the basis of knowing something about the income level of the respondents.

Gamma scores can range for -1 to +1, i.e., -1 meaning that there is an "inverse" relationship between the variables, or as one increased the other decreases; +1 meaning a perfect relationship or the ability to predict one variable from the other is 100%. A score of 0.0 would indicate a lack of association, or 0% reduction in error of prediction (PRE). Scores ranging from .0 to +1.0 indicate that the two variables are positively related, and that an increase in one means an increase in the other. The higher the score, the closer to +1.0, and the further from 0.0, the stronger the level of association, or the higher the percentage of PRE (Proportionate reduction in error) of prediction. As stated before, minus or negative coefficients indicate an inverse

relationship between the variables: the higher the score along one variable, the lower the position along the other. The same range and interpretation of range from .0 to -1.0 is applicable for both negative and positive relationships. A gamma of .45 would indicate a stronger level of association or significance than a gamma of .21.

In this study, independent-dependent crosstabulations that display gammas of less than .20, or 20% PRE, will be deleted from the evaluation for lack of significance.



### III. RESULTS

In this chapter we shall investigate the extent to which each of the aforementioned variables tends to structure the opinions and attitudes of individuals residing in the two regions, in an attempt to present a portrait of contemporary American political opinions. The independent variables of age, race, region, income, education and social status shall be crosstabulated with the index as well as the single item indicator for purposes of a trend analysis, which will be utilized to identify attitudinal patterns in both regions over time, which, in turn, shall be useful in testing the minor hypotheses. Through this approach, we hope to supply data which substantiate the research hypothesis by identifying trends toward liberalism in the South and Conservatism in the Nonsouth between 1960 and 1976.

#### 1. Index Reliability: 1972 and 1976

Before the data employed here could be used for the measurement of racial attitudes, it was essential that some test of reliability be employed in order to insure precise measurement of both dimensions of integration by the indicators used. In the case of the index, this was accomplished by computing correlation coefficients between the items comprising the index, which indicated the relative strength of association between each item. The results are reported in

Table 3.1. The correlation coefficient gamma is used as the measure of association between the three variables and the "mean" or average for the three items represents the overall relationship between the three component items. (For determining the strength of relationship based on the magnitude of gamma, see Appendix A.)

TABLE 3.1 Reliability of Index Items: 1972-1976

	<u>*1972</u>		<u>*1976</u>	
School Integration by Employment and Housing Integration	.51		.62	
by Public Accommodations Integration	.61	.84	.51	.57
mean gamma	.65		.58	

Source: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan

As can be seen in Table 3.1, the magnitude of each gamma indicates a very strong relationship between each variable. For instance, in the relationship between the three items in 1972, school integration by employment and housing integration produces a .51 gamma, or a 51% proportional reduction in predicting error (PRE), in predicting a response on school

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\*In order to prevent needless explanation and avoid repetition of results, only the most recent years were examined, 1972 and 1976, when race apparently had the least impact on attitudes.

integration if the response on housing and employment integration is known. The same holds true for school integration by public accommodations integration and accommodations integration by employment and housing, with even greater magnitudes of gamma, i.e., .61 and .84 respectively. The mean gamma indicates an overall relationship of .65, which, according to our criteria, is a very strong relationship. Though the magnitude of gamma is somewhat lower for the variables in 1976, the mean still indicates a very strong relationship and thus, confirms the reliability of the index.

Having demonstrated the reliability of the index, we now turn to the contact item. The nature of this variable did not change during the period under observation and it therefore requires no test for reliability. We shall therefore accept it based on its face validity because its wording indicates a direct relationship with racial attitudes, i.e., it is assumed that the racial composition of ones friends relates directly to his racial attitudes. For instance, if ones friends are mostly white to all white or mostly black to all black it is not at all difficult to assume his racial attitude to be skewed towards the negative extreme in terms of support for inter-racial mixing. Therefore, the test of external validation proposed for this indicator becomes unnecessary. The preciseness of the question and its consistency, over the 12 year period in the four surveys, makes it possible to accept this indicator as a reliable measure

based entirely on its "face validity." The NCRC data to be employed as external controls were therefore discarded from the analysis.

## 2. Results of Data Analysis

Having set up the categories, defined the method of measurement and tested the index for reliability, we are now ready to apply the index and contact variables to the analysis of racial attitudes in America on the national and regional levels in order to locate shifts over the sixteen-year period in order that we may achieve a better understanding of the impact of race on attitudes in America.

The most logical beginning is to analyze the index and contact dimensions based on the responses in each survey year on a national level to get a general picture of the level of support for racial integration and the extent of inter-racial contact. This was accomplished by simply adding the raw frequencies from the tables produced by the crosstabulations of index by region and simply stating the raw frequencies produced by the crosstabulation of the contact item by region. Table 3.2 contains data showing the relative distributions of American opinions and attitudes on the national level based on responses to the three index questions.

The distributions presented in the table offer evidence that attitudes toward racial integration have changed over the past 16 years and have gone through a somewhat curvilinear

Table 3.2 National Trend in Support for Integration, 1960-1976\*

Year	1960	1964	1968	1972	1976
Support <sup>1</sup>	36% (394)	57% (982)	66% (1007)	41% (987)	39% (693)
Opposition <sup>2</sup>	64% (713)	43% (743)	34% (520)	59% (1436)	61% (1094)

Source: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan

<sup>1</sup>Support indicates those respondents most favorable to the index items, or who registered lowest on the index in terms of negative responses (see Appendix-A).

<sup>2</sup>Opposition indicates those respondents least favorable to the index items, or who registered highest on the index in terms of negative responses.

\*N is shown in parenthesis

trend from 1960 through 1976. This is indicated by the low level of support for integration in 1960 with 36% compared with 39% of the respondents polled indicating support in 1976. If we were to chart the percentages in terms of the support frequencies they would appear as somewhat of a curve as shown in Figure 3.A.

The differences are even more staggering when one examines the negative responses in the index and finds that in 1960 64% of those polled were opposed to integration and those polled in 1972 and 1976 show a definite shift back to the 1964 level with 59% and 61%, respectively, opposing integration. Examination of these differences shows that

Figure 3-A  
National Attitudes on  
Racial Integration-Support.

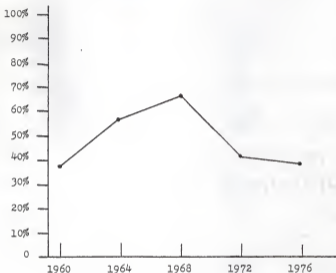


Figure 3.A. Change in Racial Attitudes (national trend)  
Support for Government Intervention to ensure  
integration in employment, housing, public  
accommodations and schools. (see Appendix-A)

attitude and opinion shifts have occurred in the nation and, that they have been major in nature; they occurred during the late sixties and peaked in 1968; and that the nation is moving toward conservatism on racial issues since 1968.

The data on the contact dimension of integration (shown in Table 3.3) seem almost contradictory when one considers the fact that support was lowest for integration in 1960

Table 3.3 National Trend Inter-racial Contact 1964-1976

Year	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>
Level of Contact					
High Contact	* 17% (304)	4%	7%	8%	(180)
Low Contact	* 83% (1515)	96%	93%	92%	(2043)

Source: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan

\*The question asked by the SRC was, "Are your friends: all white; mostly white; about half and half; mostly Negro, or all Negro." (Question was not asked in 1966).

N shown in parenthesis

with only 36% of the respondents being favorable, yet 17% of those polled in 1964 on the contact question responded favorably thereby indicating that there was interracial contact. In fact, 1964 was the year in which contact, on the national level, was highest between races. This becomes

clear when one considers the activities which occurred during that time period however: civil rights demonstrations, the freedom riders movement and other activities obviously led to more interracial contact and the attitude of the nation changed as a result of violent acts by whites against blacks in the South. Therefore, it is quite understandable that a small percent of the nation would become favorable to interracial contact to the extent that they admitted to having black friends to keep from being identified with the white, rednecked, bigots in the South who violently opposed integration.

The most surprising differences in the level of support for the index items and the level of support for the contact items are found in 1968 and 1972 when national support was highest for integration yet contact was lowest and support for integration declined by 25% yet contact increased on the national level by 3%. This trend can be seen to continue even in the 1976 results when support for integration, on the national level, decreased by 2% over the 1972-1976 period, yet contact increased by 1%. It is to be emphasized, however, that the extremely low level of interracial contact throughout the period makes identification of any trend difficult. Furthermore, the changes in the contact item are quite small and may not represent a stable trend.

The next task of this project will be geared toward breaking down the responses for each year in terms of the



regional, racial and socio-economic variables mentioned earlier in order to identify the specific divisions within the nation in terms of racial attitudes.

#### A. Region and Racial Attitudes in America 1960-1976

During the second half of the nineteenth century, and well into the twentieth century, national political conflict in America has been strongly structured by regionalism. The Democrats received much of their strength in the national elections from the South. The Republican party relied on the Midwest as its major bastion of strength. The intensity of regional differences, and the level of conflict between the North and South are, of course, testified to by the Civil War and its impact. However, no matter what we accept as the most reasonable explanation of why so many people have felt that there is a constant battle between the North and South, there have been very serious differences among the residents of both regions and these differences have seemed to reflect in every aspect of life. Our major concern here, however, is to examine the SRC data in order to identify regional differences on racial attitudes. This is done not only to test the hypothesis on region set forth in the first chapter, but also because the habit of viewing race-related political conflicts in terms of geographic regions is very much a part of American political outlook today. Therefore, white-black differences cannot be fully explained unless one

examines regional differences. We must therefore determine the relevance of these concepts as well as explain the attitude shifts identified in the analysis of national trends by examining the distribution of attitudes and opinions of those who inhabit the North and South. Table 3.4 presents the crosstabulation results of the index and the contact item broken down by region.

The distribution presented in Table 3.4 offers strong evidence that racial attitudes are structured along regional lines. These figures suggest a uniformity, however, which leads to the conclusion that the South, though it has certainly had its share of the bigots, is not the same region today that it was in 1960 in terms of attitudes toward racial integration. There was an extremely high level of conservatism in the South during the early 60's as indicated by the low (19%) level of support for integration in 1960 and the 7% decrease to only 12% in 1964. However, Nonsouthern attitudes were relatively favorable toward integration in 1960 (43%), but declined 22% during the 1960 through 1964 period. Both regions peak in 1968 with considerable support for integration with 57% of the Southern sample demonstrating support and 70% of the nonsouthern respondents. This results in the curvilinear relationship in national attitudes noted in figure 3.A. When the distribution trend for Southern and nonsouthern attitudes is presented, we can clearly see the same relationship that existed in the national level and perhaps,

Table 3.4 Change in Racial Attitudes\* by Region\*\*

Year	1960		1964		1968		1972		1976	
	S	N <sup>4</sup>	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N
Support	19%	43%	12%	21%	57%	70%	37%	43%	34%	41%
	(69)	(325)	(68)	(235)	(293)	(714)	(305)	(682)	(187)	(506)
Opposition	81%	57%	88%	79%	43%	30%	63%	57%	66%	59%
	(285)	(426)	(471)	(909)	(219)	(301)	(521)	(845)	(362)	(732)
Gamma <sup>6</sup>	.35		.21		.18		.13		.11	
<sup>1</sup> High Contact	***		27%	11%	5%	4%	10%	5%	11%	7%
			(156)	(136)	(26)	(47)	(9)	(172)	(83)	(97)
<sup>2</sup> Low Contact	***		73%	89%	95%	96%	90%	95%	89%	93%
			9415)	(1068)	(551)	(1110)	(76)	(2356)	(643)	(1400)
<sup>3</sup> Gamma			-.47 <sup>5</sup>		-.06		-.32		-.30	

Source: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan

\*Attitudes classified as positive (support and high contact); or negative (opposition and low contact)

\*\*Regional breakdown, S=South and N=Nonsouth (see Appendix A)

\*\*\*Question not asked that year

N shown in parenthesis

<sup>1</sup>Support includes those respondents scoring lowest on the scaled items and the contact item, indicating favorable attitudes toward racial mix and integration of schools, housing and public accommodations.

<sup>2</sup>Opposition includes those respondents scoring highest on the scaled items and the contact item, indicating unfavorable attitudes toward racial mix and integration of schools, housing and public accommodations.

(continued on page 61)

get a better picture of the region contributing most to the attitude shifts described above and in the national figures. Figure 3.B is a graphic presentation of these distributions.

It appears that 1960 through 1964 was a year for a decline in attitudes favorable towards integration in both the South and Nonsouth. This is evidenced by the 7% decline in the South and the 22% decline in the Nonsouth. This accounts for the 11% gain by the South on the Nonsouth as indicated by the 13% difference in 1968 as opposed to the 25% difference in 1960. Although support in both regions declines 20% and 27% in the South and Nonsouth, respectively, during the 1968-1972 period the differences between the regions remained relatively close at only 6% in 1972 and in 1976 the gap increased to 7%. This serves as a partial confirmation of the research hypothesis since attitudes in the South have improved and are gaining on those in the Nonsouth. Note the shift in the regional gap from 24% in 1960 to only 7% in 1976.

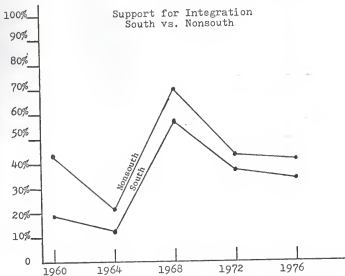
(continued from page 60)

<sup>3</sup>Gamma based on criteria established in Appendix A.

<sup>4</sup>Note: The nonsouth consistently outnumbered the South in terms of number of respondents. (See Appendix A for actual percentages.)

<sup>5</sup>Gamma is negative in each case because of the response category set-up, causing inverse properties to exist.

<sup>6</sup>Though the differences are less between South and Nonsouth in 1972 and 1976, the decrease in the magnitude of gamma can be attributed to changes in the sample size.

FIGURE 3-BSupport for Integration  
South vs. NonsouthFigure 3-B. South vs. Nonsouth Distributions in  
Attitudes on Integration 1960-1976Source: Survey Research Center, University of  
Michigan.

The relatively slight differences between attitudes toward integration in the South and Nonsouth in 1976 as indicated by the data in Table 3.4, serve to point a very clear picture of the attitude shifts in both regions from 1960 through 1976. However, we must also look at the bottom of Table 3.4 and examine the contact breakdown by region in order to test that section of the research hypothesis which deals specifically with the level of inter-racial contact.

As can be seen, from 1964 through 1976 the contact between races is consistently higher in the South than in the Nonsouth. However, the relationship of level of contact and support of integration is inverse as can be seen in the 1964 contact-support relationship. When Southern contact was highest, (27% in 1964) the support of integration in that region was lowest (12%). The exact reverse occurs in 1968 with both regions, the South with 57% support for integration and only 5% racial contact and the Nonsouth with 70% support for integration and only 4% contact between races. The degree of contact and the consistency of the contact in the South outranking the Nonsouth in all four samples serves to confirm the contact portion of the hypothesis. It was expected that as attitudes on racial integration became more positive, the level of contact would increase, but as can be seen in Table 3.4, this is not the case. In fact, it is exactly the opposite. This inconsistency between the contact and support questions may be attributed to the problem known as response

set. Specifically, white respondents in the South may have responded positively to the contact item so as to appear openminded and non-racist. This would help account for the inconsistency in the responses to the contact integration item. Also, since blacks are more likely to have friends of both races than whites (as is noted later) and given the high percentage of blacks in the South, it is possible to understand why the Southern responses to the contact item are more favorable than nonsouthern responses.

The aforementioned data indicate that a significant change has occurred in the South over the past decade in the acceptance of racially integrated schools, housing and public accommodations, but contact has diminished in the South as well as in the Nonsouth. This was very surprising and tends to merit further investigation in order to see if the variable of race possibly has any effect on the shifts in contact, i.e., if contact among blacks was higher and more constant than white contact with blacks or vice versa, and if major shifts in the level of contact among races can be identified and used to explain the inverse phenomenon.

In order to investigate the impact of race on the structuring of political opinions and attitudes over the sixteen year period, we have crosstabulated the index and the contact item with race. (Table 3.5)

As evidenced by the data in Table 3.5, black and white attitudes are very divergent on support for integration. On

Table 3.5 Index-Contact Indicators - Change in Racial Attitudes by Race and Year

Year Race	1960		1964		1968		1972		1976	
	a <sub>W</sub>	b <sub>NW</sub>	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW
Index Level of Support										
Support	33% (327)	68% (64)	48% (625)	86% (346)	60% (751)	97% (244)	36% (757)	84% (172)	33% (519)	85% (150)
Opposition	67% (680)	32% (30)	52% (687)	14% (55)	40% (508)	3% (8)	64% (1376)	16% (82)	67% (1046)	15% (27)
Gamma										
			- .43		- .86		- .70		- .75	
Level of Contact										
High Contact *			0%	73%	2%	18%	4%	3%	4%	40%
Low Contact *			0	304	23	46	86	88	81	89
Column			100%	27%	98%	82%	96%	67%	96%	60%
Totals			1392	111	1358	214	2296	263	1863	133
N=			1392	415	1381	260	2382	263	1944	222
Gamma			1807		1641		2645		2166	
			-1.0		- .85		- .86		- .88	

Source: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan

a<sub>W</sub>=White respondentsb<sub>NW</sub>=Black respondents\*Question not asked by SRC  
in 1960



this issue, blacks show almost unanimous support between 1964 and 1976. In 1960, however, 32% of the blacks showed opposition to integration which may be traced to the climate of that period which afforded very little pro-integration action by the government. Even the figures in 1964 of blacks showing opposition to government intervention to insure integration (14%) are not staggering when one takes into consideration the fact that during that period black separatists groups such as the Muslims and Panthers had a considerable amount of impact on the black population within the nation. The 16% of blacks in 1972 and the 15% in 1976 opposing integration are understandable when one considers the Republican Administration in 1972, which really did not take any action on race relations that benefitted blacks and the alienation felt by many blacks that carried through even after Jimmy Carter's election and still exists today.

Turning to white support, we see somewhat of a curvilinear relationship emerging. In 1960 for example, white support was 33% and increased by 15% to 48% in 1964. In the year (1968) of the attitude peak we see 60% white support for integration. After this peak, however, white support decreases 24%, i.e., the "backlash"<sup>6</sup> phenomenon, and in the period between 1972

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<sup>6</sup>The period marked by overwhelming opposition and distrust of blacks as a result of the race riots. During this period, even those whites who had come to accept integration and racial mix were forced to become negative. Many theories exist as to what sparked these reactions, the most accepted being the death of Martin Luther King and the turmoil that followed. For a more indepth discussion, see Lucius J. Barker and Jesse J. McCarry, Jr., Black Americans and the Political System, pp. 334-340, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976).

and 1976 decreases another 3%.

Even the most casual glance at the data represented in Table 3.5 make it clear that vast differences existed in each year between blacks and whites in terms of support of racial integration and the level of inter-racial contact.

These differences tend to support the minor hypothesis, on race and racial attitudes. The unusually high level of opposition by blacks, 16% in 1972 and 15% in 1976, can possibly be explained further by considering the facts that extreme racists exist among blacks and that over the trend a considerable number of blacks increased in social status and can be included in that group of affluent blacks who are likely to be conservative. This, in addition to the fact that the Nixon Administration alienated many blacks and those blacks came to feel that government intervention to guarantee equality was not effective. It is probably this fact that accounts for the rise in opposition among blacks, moreso than the others.

As far as the range of differences between blacks and whites in terms of support for integration, blacks supported integration in 1960 by 35% percentage points over whites, the range of difference between blacks and whites in 1964 increased by 3% percentage points even though white support increased by 15% percentage points from 1960. In 1968, the year of the attitude peak, black support was 37% percentage points higher than white, representing basically the same

percentage of difference as 1960 and 1964. In 1972, however, after the race riots, the election of a Republican Administration and the white reaction to integration and the racial turmoil via the "black-backlash" phenomenon, the second greatest difference in black and white support can be seen. Even though black support decreased 13% percentage points, a difference of 48% percentage points can be found to exist in black support over white support because of a decrease of 24% percentage points among whites during the 1968-1972 period. In 1976 we find the largest difference in black and white support levels, 52% percentage points, because of a 3% decrease in white support due to the continued downward trend from 1972-1976, and a 1% increase in black support probably due to the appearance of Carter as a black-oriented, southern-styled candidate.

Turning to the level of contact of blacks vs. whites, we see vast differences in the perceived level of contact between racial groups. In 1964, the first year the question on racial composition of friends was asked by SRC, we see a perfect relationship, something one does not see very often. None of the white respondents had black friends. On the other hand, 73% of the blacks interviewed in 1964 felt that they had white friends. As the years go on and racial tensions and animosities erupt into violence in the late sixties, those blacks perceiving whites as their friends decline 55% percentage points and only 2% percentage points of the whites

report contact. In 1972, white contact increased to 4% while black contact increased to 33% resulting in a 29% difference. In 1976, the difference rose to 36% percentage points. In sum, black Americans are much more likely to have white friends than whites are to have black friends, thus upholding the hypothesis dealing with race, racial attitudes and contact.

These data show differences in support for integration and inter-racial contact levels between blacks and whites in America that have shifted somewhat, but have remained pronounced. It is impossible for us to gain a full understanding of these differences through the use of only region and race as independent variables, but we have at least, identified the underlying relationships and the distributions in responses over a given period of time in order to identify trends in these relationships.

The other four independent variables employed in the cross-tabulating process were of interest to the researcher, but yielded such weak relationships (based on gamma) that only their gamma coefficients will be presented. No extensive discussion will be rendered here. Table 3.6 presents the gammas between these variables and the index and the contact items.

Table 3.6 Racial Attitudes and Socio-Economic Predictors<sup>1</sup>: 1960-1976

	1960		1964		1968		1972		1976	
	Index	Contact	Index	Contact	Index	Contact	Index	Contact	Index	Contact
Age	.10	*	.10	.17	.19	.07	.14	-.13	.16	-.23
Education	.03	*	.01	.33	-.15	.35	.15	-.18	-.17	-.07
Status	-.08	*	-.09	-.58	.00	-.41	.04	.24	.01	-.10
Income	-.06	*	***	***	***	***	-.01	.42	-.01	.20
Sex	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**

<sup>1</sup>Figures presented are gammas from crosstabulations of the items in the index and the single item with the independent variables. As mentioned, interpretation of gamma according to the strong, moderate, weak and absent criteria gives us a representative picture of the degree of change within the regions that can be attributed to the various socio-economic characteristics listed above.

Source: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan.

\*Question not asked in 1960

\*\*Variable not used in analysis

\*\*\*Question not asked in 1964 and 1968

## AGE

As can be seen, in 1960 age had very little to do with support for integration. In 1964 the magnitude of gamma remains the same, indicating no change. In 1968 however, the magnitude increases 9% percentage points. This is brought on by the number of individuals in the 36 to 50 age group combined with the 66 to 99 group who shifted their attitudes slightly. These attitudes shifted somewhat toward the negative cell in 1972 and the gamma indicates the change. In 1976, we find that the 35 to 50 age group, the 51 to 65 age group and the 66 to 99 age group have the highest level of negative or conservative responses. This confirms the minor hypothesis that as age increases the level of opposition to racial integration increases. The relative weakness of the relationship in the years before 1976 results from small support by the 36 to 50 group which tends to rule out the liberalism of those respondents in the 18 to 35 age group. In fact it is the 36 to 50 group which shifted the most during the entire period since the young (18 to 35) account for the highest support during all sixteen years. This simply indicates that this group was most affected by racial integration because of the fact that many of its members were in the job market, had children in schools and probably did not have the settled attitudes that the members in the 51 to 65 and 66 to 99 groups. The contact variable serves to verify

these assumptions. In 1964 the 36 to 50 age group had the highest level of contact and can be seen to be the second highest in 1968 and the highest in 1972 and 76. However, the percentages were very low, which probably is a result of the majority of those who responded high in the 56 to 65 group being black traditionalists who felt that they really had true white friends.

#### EDUCATION

With regard to education, in 1960 it had very little impact on support for integration. We find that the support percentages for the different groups differ by only 1% for each group with the college group supporting integration most. The same is true in 1964, 1972 and 1976. In 1968 the grade school group increased its support to match high school and college support levels. This tends to uphold the hypothesis on education. On the level of contact, education showed a somewhat reverse in terms of support, if we equate contact with liberalism or support. In 1964 the higher the education the lower the level of contact. The relationship existed throughout the trend as indicated by the magnitude of gamma. Although the support level and education level correlate as hypothesized, the inverse relationship between education and contact is a surprising occurrence. Thus, the minor hypothesis on education is only partially upheld.

## STATUS

Status and support show weak relationships for each survey year due to the fact that four response categories for status were offered each year (upper, middle, working and lower) and the respondents identified most with the middle and working categories leaving only small (2%) of the sample to be classified as upper and (4%) as lower. Thus, the responses were skewed toward the same cells in terms of support for integration (because those respondents in the working and middle class categories displayed the same basic response consistency for all five survey years). It is therefore impossible to determine the differences between classes based on the responses to the index. As can be seen (Table 3.6), the relationship never exceeds 10%. Observation of the frequencies and cases within the categories shows that in 1960 those who identified themselves as middle class led in terms of support, 1964 the working class took the lead by a slight (4%), 1968 the middle class led by 5% with 68% support for integration, over the working class with 63%. This is the only year that the differences really stand out. In 1972 the responses were evenly dispersed once more and in 1976 the respondents were evenly dispersed in terms of support for racial integration, the working class demonstrating the majority of support. If we consider the fact that the majority of those in the working class category probably fall under lower class in terms of income level, the fact that it consistently support integration the minor hypothesis on class



is upheld.

In terms of inter-racial contact, status has a greater effect than any variable in the study other than region and race. This is indicated by the  $-.58$ ,  $-.41$ , and  $-.24$  gamma coefficients, indicating very strong to moderate relationships. Examining these years we find that as status increased, racial contact decreased, which serves to explain the negative coefficients. This serves to uphold the minor hypothesis in as much as it predicted that as status increased racial pressures decreased. Increased status gives one his choice of neighborhoods, and jobs. Therefore, it is quite understandable that as individuals increase their status, less harsh feelings exist between racial groups though less contact occurs between them that puts them in competitive environments.

#### INCOME

This variable was only asked in the 1972 and 1976 surveys, but displays low relationships in both years with support for integration and moderate to high relationships with inter-racial contact. For instance, in 1972 gamma between income and the index indicates that no relationship existed ( $-.01$ ), but contact by income yielded a high gamma ( $-.42$ ), which indicates a very high relationship. When we refer to the table, we find that as the income level increases, racial contact increases. The same is present in 1976 with a  $-.20$  gamma.

In sum, even though the relationships were relatively

weak between the index and contact items and the socio-economic variables, we find that shifts in the middle age group, the level of education, ones status and income levels account for some of the differences identified within the regions. Of these variables, the ones relating to socio-economic position and education seem to have the greatest impact on inter-racial contact, but it is only the variable of age which displays any consistency of impact on both dimensions. However, as indicated by the magnitude of the gamma coefficients, these variables have relatively no predictive value in terms of a relationship with support or opposition of racial integration. It is only on the contact item that moderate to strong relationships are found between the variables and even on that dimension, few of the relationships are consistent enough to assume that they result from changes in attitudes. The variables of status, education, income, according to the magnitude of the gamma coefficients in Table 3.6, can be said to be diminishing in value in terms of predicting subcultural differences on racial contact. Only age and education seem to follow the curvilinear lines found in the national, regional and racial relationships with the contact item.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

If this limited analysis is accurate, it seems that what we have identified is that Americans are still divided over race related issues but region is becoming less important in structuring opinions. In fact, with respect to geographic region and racial issues, the analysis indicates that differences between the South and the rest of the nation are quite small and over time, the South appears to be moving toward the rest of the nation on racial issues. No really pronounced differences within the electorate were identified even when socio-economic variables were examined. Age does not structure racial attitudes to the extent which popular notions of the generation gap would predict. In fact, the direction of attitudes in the nation seems to be patterned toward extreme ambivalence on racial issues among all ages.

The other socio-economic variables employed demonstrate similarities to the aforementioned in as much as the lack of a strong relationship is evident in each case. The waning influence of such conditions as socio-economic position, regionalism, education and age in providing structure and meaning to opinions and attitudes in America certainly contribute to political confusion.\* However, the increased

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\*For a detailed comparison using survey data to support a similar argument see Richard E. Dawson's, Public Opinion and Contemporary Disarray. (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), pp. 108-134.

intensity and racial polarization of opinions regarding racial integration and inter-racial contact and the significant decrease in feelings of trust and efficacy toward the government by both racial groups (which has been noted by several authors) contributes to the confusion we have attempted to sort through in order to identify patterns of attitudes on racial issues.

We have, in fact, identified prominent racial divisions within attitudes toward integration and inter-racial contact. These divisions lead us to a rather grim, but speculative, conclusion: race is still a problem in the American society and though the majority of Americans have found ways to deal with it that do not directly reveal their true attitudes, its impact enters many areas of policy and governmental processes which affect our everyday lives. Covert and institutional in nature, racial attitudes today, to a large extent, still reflect the basic characteristics of those depicted in the bigots, rednecks, black militants and separatists of the early 60's. America is, in fact, moving toward the same level of racial attitudes that existed in 1960.\*

As the authors of a recent work put it, "Americans have faced and coped with many problems...but the problem of race today is as much of the 'American Dilemma' as when Gunnar Myrdal wrote his study some thirty years ago." (Barker and

\*The writer makes this observation in relation to the divisions between races in 1960 and 1976 in terms of support for integration and the extremely low level of inter-racial contact.

McCorry, 1976) To be sure, some progress has been made, i.e., Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka (1954), the Civil Rights Act of (1964) and the Voting Rights Act of (1965), legislative enactments and Supreme Court decisions symbolize this progress. Nonetheless, blacks in this country still do not fit and fully enjoy the privileges and benefits as white Americans.

Further implications of this project's results are fourfold in nature. First, of those white Americans supporting racial mix, many probably do so to appear unbiased and prove that they do not identify with the bigots that account for a large percentage of the 7% difference in Southern and nonsouthern attitudes in 1976. Second, these attitude distributions have changed considerably over the past sixteen years but seem to be headed toward a deeper level of racial opposition which may result in conflicts greater than the race riots of the 1960's. Thirdly, Southern support for integration has improved tremendously over the past sixteen years, but it appears that many of the respondents indicate the preference for limited-contact integration. Integration of this sort cannot exist in a society such as ours. Fourth, the entire nation indicates a move toward the right on all issues involving race, which serves to increase the intensity of deprivation of the black population. As is well known, when a discrepancy between "value expectations" and "value capabilities" exists to a severe extent, political violence results. This raises the question, does the trend toward opposition to racial equality indicate the first stages of a

period of deprivation which will result in political violence?

In summary, this thesis has been an attempt to analyze statistically the racial attitudinal makeup of America. We have attempted to identify trends within the nation in attitudes on racial integration. Regional breakdowns to test the effect of regionalism on racial attitudes were performed. In order to identify subgroup differences in the two regions, specific socio-economic and demographic variables were applied. This procedure yielded the aforementioned trends.

However, despite careful statistical analysis it is difficult to accurately describe the attitudes of such a diverse group. Especially when one considers the rapid rate of change and the very nature of the American society's culture. Also, we must consider the different divisions within racial groups in a society with no real definition of its class system, but which places individuals at certain levels based on their assets. One cannot begin to describe and understand the attitudes and opinions of a society's people without an understanding of the society itself. Unfortunately, America affords us no such privilege. However, the writer has been fortunate enough to have been exposed to life in both regions over extended periods of time and to have been a member of the oppressed able to understand the culture and mentality of the oppressors.

By the end of the past decade, blacks had made some significant political gains. Political participation was no longer denied them. Large numbers of blacks had been elected

to political offices. (See Appendix B) Political violence, which had been such a prominent feature of black politics between 1964 and 1968, was rejected by the majority of blacks even after Martin Luther King's death in 1968. In addition, the hardline stance adopted by former President Richard Nixon during his campaign and the actions during his administration very likely raised the costs of violence and political alienation to unacceptable levels as well as served to ignite fires within extremist groups. Therefore, by the attitude peak in 1968, after the anti-war protests, Watts and Chicago riots, the new themes developed in the 1960's which resulted in a counter culture, the stage was set for a major shift in attitudes and opinions. However, though the nation viewed these actions as representations of the attitudes of all blacks in America, they were simply spontaneous responses to intolerable conditions.

It should be noted here that the writer realizes that not all white Americans in the early sixties were opposed to equality for blacks. However, it is a fact that during the late sixties with the militant, separatist movement gaining strength, blacks rejected those whites who had fought so hard to aid the Civil Rights Movement. It is logical to assume that many of these whites turned to other forms of protest and their attitudes shifted significantly toward opposition and indifference.

Thus began the white reactions to such actions and the rise in black cynicism toward the government. This resulted

from the fact that the Civil Rights Movement and its leaders gave the average black American a chance to be recognized and the government came along and took away that chance within the same decade. This, of course, resulted in a high level of dissatisfaction with government. Actions in issue areas of interest to blacks which has, in turn, led to a steady decline in the evaluation of the government by blacks. Policy defeats have led to higher levels of dissatisfaction. Moreover, the setbacks have often come in such ways which reduced prior gains of blacks. For example, this seemed to be the case with the Nixon Administration's proposal to modify the Voting Rights Act of 1965, by deleting certain statements and allowing that the areas in the regions affected by the Act should not be required to get the Justice Department's approval when they made laws pertaining to voting. This would have rendered the Act void. Then, there is the recent decision on the case of Alan Bakke after the Court had wiggled its way out of an earlier case in 1974 involving the same principles. (Sindler, 1978)

The aforementioned actions are relevant in that they have contributed to and are a result of the confused nature of the American society when racial issues are involved. Also, they indicate the trend toward extreme opposition identified in the analysis.



## APPENDIX - A

### CATEGORIES AND INDICATORS

This thesis is an analysis of the regional distribution of negative attitudes on racial integration in contemporary American society. The arguments and interpretation are based, in large part, on the analysis of public opinion data gathered over the past three decades. Throughout much of this study survey data are presented to make points and to support arguments. Since most of the description and analysis rests upon the use and interpretation of these data, a brief statement on the nature of survey research will be presented in this appendix along with the specific categoric breakdowns as well as the sources of the questions. Appendix B contains survey data on black participation that should prove useful to the discussion on the new age of racial attitudes: North vs. South Black voter turnout; Black elected officials in the North vs. those in the South; and Black delegate representation at Republican national conventions in 1968 and 1972. Appendix C contains a chronological table of Civil rights legislation and a brief explanation of attitude and policy congruence as they relate to actual implementation and effectiveness of policy.

#### Survey Research: An Explanation

The widespread use of survey research and the development of public opinion polling as a systematic technique have

occurred only over the past four decades. Much of the initial impetus for this development seems to have come from the area of marketing research. The method, however, was very rapidly picked up and utilized as a tool for ascertaining political and social preferences.

Survey research conducted on large populations involves two basic measurements or research tasks. An understanding of these is essential for comprehension of survey research. First, surveys are generally conducted on some type of "sample" of the population (in this study that sample is the adult American electorate), under scrutiny, rather than the entire population. Second, the research involves the identification or measurement of particular preferences, outlooks, and characteristics of those persons who are designated as part of the sample. This is generally accomplished through the administration of a "questionnaire" or "interview schedule." The use of scientific survey research occurred simultaneously with development of sampling theory and of techniques for attitude and opinion measurement.

The primary data used here are the survey results stored in computer tapes and gathered by input card-type computer runs. The principal investigators are: Angus Campbell, Warren Miller, Phillip Converse, Donald Stokes, Arthur Miller, Richard Brody, Jack Dennis, David Kavenock and Merrill Shanks along with Frank Andrews, Ki Taek Chun, Kent Jennings, Jay Schmiedeskamp, Gerald Gurin, John Robinson and Stephen Witney

as omnibus contributors, all under programs for the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), for the University of Michigan's Center for Political Studies (CPS). Supplementary questions, selected for external validation of scale items, were chosen from surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), with the principal investigators, James R. Davis, Kathleen Schweitzman and the general staff of the NORC at the University of Chicago. The CPS data covers the period September through December, 1964, 1968, 1972, 1974 and 1976, and the NORC data cover the period January through March, 1972 and 1976.

The questions from both sets of surveys are the results from interviews of cross-sections of the adult American population that comprises the electorate and were designed to obtain information on political attitudes and social behavior in America. These questions contained both general election-oriented questions and ones relating directly to specific domestic and foreign issues.

The following categoric breakdowns demonstrate the procedure utilized in indicator selection for the two dimensions of integration. A brief explanation of the techniques used to indicate specific attitude distributions and the degree of association between variables is also included.

For 1964, 1968, 1972 and 1976, the functionally equivalent\* variables were located in the CPS surveys. They are:

\*Functionally equivalent in as much as they were worded the same or recoded to serve the same purpose, so as to measure racial attitudes.

- (1) "Some people feel that if Negroes (colored people) are not getting fair treatment in jobs the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the Federal government's business." How do you feel? Should the government in Washington:
- \*1) see to it that Negroes get fair treatment in jobs
  - \*2) leave these matters to state and local communities.
- (2) "Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that white and Negro (colored) children are allowed to go to the same schools. Others claim that this is not the government's business." Do you think the government in Washington should:
- \*1) see to it that white and Negro (colored) children should go to the same schools.
  - \*2) stay out of this area as it is none of its business.
- (3) "Congress passed a bill that says that colored people (Negroes) should have the right to go to any hotel or restaurant they can afford, just like white people. Some people feel that this is something the government in Washington should support. Others feel that the government should stay out of this matter. How do you feel? Should the government support the right of colored people (Negroes)?"

\*1) (yes) to go to any hotel or restaurant they can afford.

\*2) (no) stay out of the matter.

These three questions appeared in each survey from 1964-1976. Slight wording modifications that did not affect the original meaning of the variables, i.e., black instead of Negro, school integration and public accommodations for sentences with same school and any hotel or restaurant, were included over the time span.

The three questions above were used as indicators of racial attitudes on institutional integration and the responses were combined to form a "composite scale" score for each respondent from each region. These responses were compared to identify the highest scoring respondents' region. A yearly breakdown of high-scoring respondents was used to analyze changes over time in the attitudes of both regions' respondents.

However, due to the fact that all three institutional questions may be rendered spurious in terms of measurement of racial attitudes because of a rise in negative attitudes on government intervention, it was necessary to choose supplementary variables on racial issues for external validation of the index items and also to indicate a second dimension of integration, personal contact integration. The contact question is as follows:

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\*These responses appeared as strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree and strongly disagree in 1964, 1968 surveys, but were recoded to 1=agree and 2=disagree in order to form an additive scale. Where agreement/disagreement responses were reversed the recoding process was used to reverse the values.

1. "Are your friends:"
  1. All white (indicating opposition to integration)
  2. Mostly white (indicating probable opposition to integration)
  3. About half and half (neutral)
  4. Mostly Negro (colored People) (slight agreement)
  5. All Negro (colored people) (strong agreement)

The responses to the single-item contact question were compared in terms of frequency distributions for trends over time in the regions examined. The highest negative frequencies were compared to the highest negative composite scale scores to identify the region with the highest percentage of negative pro-racist responses, and vice-versa for the positive responses and scale scores.

For further validation of the indexed items and the single-item the following three questions were selected from (NORC) surveys: (Supplementary questions)

1. "Do you think there should be laws against marriages between Negroes and Whites?"
  1. Yes (indicating disagreement with racial integration)
  2. No (indicating agreement with racial integration)
2. "How strongly would you object if a member of your family wanted to bring a negro friend home to dinner? Would you object strongly, mildly, or not at all?"
  1. Strongly
  2. Mildly (1 and 2 = disagree with racial integration)
  3. Not at all (agree with integration)

3. "Would you yourself have any objection to sending your children to a school where a few, half, or more than half of the children are Negroes?"

A Few	Half	Majority
1. yes (disagree)	1. yes (disagree)	1. yes (disagree)
2. no (agree)	2. no (agree)	2. no (agree)

These three supplementary questions were used to validate the indexed items and the single-item by identifying the majority of negative responses in terms of region, sex, race, social status, age and education and comparing these cross-tabulations by region to see if a correlation existed. It was assumed that since the survey examined an entirely different sample it should serve as a validation measure to prevent repetitious biased results based on the fact that items were from the same primary sample.

The independent variables used to "break down" the questions on racial attitudes are as follows:

1. State or region (state in the 1960 code was recoded into regions to insure functional equivalence).

North\*

East North Central and West North Central = Northern Region States = Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota or general mention of East North Central, Midwest. Recode = (21, 39 = 2)

New England and Middle Atlantic = Eastern Region states = Connecticut, Main, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania or general mention of New England, North-East or East. Recode = (01, 19 = 1)

Mountain States and Pacific States = Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming, California, Oregon, Washington or general mention of West, Mountain States or Pacific States.  
 Recode = (61, 179 = 4)

Solid South\*

Solid South States = Southern Region States = Virginia, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Washington, D.C., West Virginia or general mention of South.  
 Code = (41, 58 = 3)

2. Age  
 (18 through 35 = 1), (36 through 50 = 2), (51-65 = 3),  
 and (66 through 98 = 4)
3. Education  
 (00-22 = 1 Gradeschool), (23 through 61 = 2 High School),  
 and (62 through 87 = 3 College)
4. Sex  
 Male = 1      Female = 2
5. Race  
 Recode (3 through 9 = 0) all races other than Black and  
 White were deleted  
 White = 1      Black = 2
6. Social class  
 (1 = Upper) (2 = Middle) (3 = Working) (4 = Lower)
7. Income  
 (1 = 0-\$6,000) (2 = \$7,000-\$15,000) (3 = \$20,000 and above)

Note: The index is comprised of the mean of public accommodations integration responses and guarantee of jobs and housing responses substituted for responses on school integration because of 784 missing responses from that variable due to lack of concern.



Tables Percentages of Survey by Region

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	<u>Nonsouth</u>	<u>South</u>	
	753	354	
1960	68%	32.0	= 1107
	1204	615	
1964	66%	34%	= 1819
	1117	556	
1968	67%	33%	= 1673
	1597	826	
1972	66%	34%	= 2423
	1621	833	
1976	66%	34%	= 2454

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Source: SRC, University of Michigan.

Note: The above percentages represent those who responded to the index questions. They do not represent the entire sample since, in some cases, up to 784 respondents were missing because of lack of concern.

## APPENDIX B

### BLACK PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION

Black Americans, perhaps more than other citizens, have reason to show more concern for elites and the "tyranny of the majority." They are, despite increased participation in the political process, almost a "permanent minority" in American politics. Even though restrictions on participation are far less today than in the early 50's and 60's, many Blacks still see discriminatory practices against them as individuals and as a group. The existence of such practices in broad segments of white society renders a discussion of elites unnecessary. In a system based on majority rule and elitism there is little hope for equal opportunity and representation unless there are basic changes in the nature of the majority.

This appendix is used to indicate the vast difference between participation and representation and to approach the problem from a moderate politician's perspective in order to be fair to both groups.

Though Black participation has increased at a steady rate over the past ten years, it is still not enough to place a representative amount of Blacks into positions of importance in the system. Tables 4-5, 4-6 and 4-7 show the percentage of Black elected officials on a state basis, percentages of the population who have never voted and Black representatives in Congress with seniority. The point in question is has increased participation strengthened the Black's position in American politics or has it caused institutionalized racism to worsen.

TABLE 4-3  
Black Elected Officials in the United States\*

	COUNTY		STATE	COUNTY										CITY	LAW ENFORCEMENT										SPECIALTY	
	Times	Incumbent		Metropolitan	Structure	Residential	Statewide	Countywide	Other	Commission, Supervisor	Director	Superintendent	Other		Mayor	Village	Commissioner, Assistant	Other	Judge	Commissioner, Director	Member	Judge of the Peace	Other	Coroner		Inspector
Alabama	33		2										7		9	4	28		1	12						13
Alaska	2																									1
Arizona	12			1	2																					2
Arkansas	27																9	12		9						8
California	134		2	1	8	1										7	34		2	13						66
Colorado	7																									1
Connecticut	21																22									12
Delaware	12																									1
District of Columbia	3																									1
Florida	21																4	28		2						1
Georgia	49																1	21		1						10
Hawaii	1																									1
Illinois	125			2	5	14										7	28		8	13						1
Indiana	22															1	1	22		2	3					17
Iowa	23																1	2		1						1
Kansas	19															2	2									7
Kentucky	27																3	22								4
Louisiana	175																2	24		1	13	14				22
Maine	24																3	22								1
Massachusetts	16																									5
Michigan	179			2	3	13	1									1	29		2	9	41		21	2		6
Minnesota	6																									1
Mississippi	129																7	19		3	21		6	22	18	22
Missouri	77			1	2	13											1	11		4	2					2
Montana	2																									1
Nevada	4																									1
New Hampshire	1																									1
New Jersey	122																	9	24		2					14
New Mexico	4																									1
New York	143			2	2	8											2	12		3	24					103
North Carolina	122																	4	34		1					29
Ohio	110			1	2	19												7	29		2	12	1			22
Oklahoma	42																	7	5	24		6				15
Oregon	3																									3
Pennsylvania	43			1	2	8											1	14		1	28	4				16
Rhode Island	7																									6
South Carolina	48																	3	28		9					6
Tennessee	45																	6	16		1	7				6
Texas	61																		2	22						21
Utah	1																									1
Vermont	1																									1
Virginia	24																	2	10		2					4
Washington	9																									1
West Virginia	3																									1
Wisconsin	9																									1
Wyoming	2																									1
Total	224		1	13	27	169	1	2	121	15	29	66	70	44	145	145	75	30	2	9	427	2			1	

Note: Six states have no black elected officials: Maine, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Utah.

\*Official Count as of March 1975 per Urban Center for Political Studies.

Source: Adapted with permission from Urban Center for Political Studies, *1976 Guide to Black Politics: Part II The Representative National Congress* (Washington, D.C., 1975), p. 36.

Source: *Black Americans and the Political System*, C. Vann Woodward and Jesse J. Mooney, Jr. (Mass.: Harvard Publishers, 1976) pp. 115-117.

TABLE 4-6  
The Distribution of Adults Who Have Never Voted, According to Race and Sex for the South and Non-South in 1952, 1956,  
1960, 1964, 1968, and 1972

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968		1972	
	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
Men	12%	65%	14%	60%	8%	33%	5%	26%	9%	25%	13%	12%
Women	33%	87%	27%	70%	17%	63%	14%	39%	26%	31%	20%	25%
	SOUTH <sup>a</sup>											
	NON-SOUTH <sup>b</sup>											
Men	6%	17%	6%	17%	6%	11%	7%	10%	9%	0%	8%	7%
Women	7%	11%	10%	32%	7%	28%	7%	18%	7%	17%	9%	10%

<sup>a</sup> The states included in the South are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

<sup>b</sup> The states included in the Non-South are the remainder.

<sup>c</sup> This "unelectable" finding may reflect sampling problems in central cities of the North.  
Source: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan. Reprinted with permission from William H. Flanigan, Nancy H. Zingales, Political Behavior of the American Electorate, 3rd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1973), p. 21.

Source: Lucius J. Barker, Jesse J. McCorry, Jr., Black Americans and the Political System, (Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, 1976) p. 119.

TABLE 4.7  
Black Representatives and Seniority

NAME	ELECTED	% BLACK IN DISTRICT	COMMITTEE	Seniority
				Rank
Burke, Yvonne (D., Cal., 37)*	1972	51	Appropriations	32 (37)**
Chaokofen, Shirley (D., N.Y., 12)	1968	77	Education and Labor	14 (27)
Clay, William (D., Mo., 1)	1968	54	Education and Labor Post Off. & Civil Ser.	13 (27) 9 (19)
Collins, Cardus (D., Ill., 7)	1973	55	Foreign Affairs Govt. Operations	19 (23) 17 (29)
Coyers, John (D., Mich., 1)	1964	70	Govt. Operations Judiciary	13 (29) 6 (23)
DeLams, Ronald (D., Calif., 7)	1970	26	Armed Services District of Columbia	19 (27) 4 (15)
Diggs, Charles (D., Mich., 13)	1954	66	District of Columbia Foreign Affairs	1 (15) (Chmn.) 6 (22)
Fenstrop, Walter (D., D.C.)	1970	71	District of Columbia Banking, Currency, & Housing	4 (25) 15 (29)
Ford, Harold (D., Tenn., 8)	1974	47	Banking, Currency, & Housing Veterans' Affairs	21 (29) 15 (19)

\* Congressional districts are designated within states by number. For example, Representative Burke represents the 37th Congressional district of California, Representative Chaokofen the 12th congressional district of New York, and so on.

\*\* Total Democratic membership at committee.

TABLE 4.7 (continued)

NAME	ELECTED	% BLACK IN DISTRICT	COMMITTEE	Seniority
				Rank
Hawkins, Augustus (D., Calif., 2)	1962	54	Education and Labor House Administration	7 (27) 4 (17)
Jordan, Barbara (D., Tex., 18)	1972	42***	Govt. Operations Judiciary	23 (29) 14 (23)
Metcalfe, Ralph (D., Ill., 1)	1970	89	Interstate & Foreign Comm. Mar., Marine & Fisheries	16 (28) 12 (27)
Mitchell, Parren (D., Md., 7)	1970	74	Banking, Currency, & Housing Budget	14 (29) 9 (17)
Nix, Robert (D., Penn., 2)	1958	65	Foreign Affairs Post Off. & Civ. Serv.	7 (22) 4 (19)
Rangel, Charles (D., N.Y., 19)	1970	59	Ways and Means	15 (25)
Stokes, Louis (D., Ohio, 2)	1968	66	Appropriations Budget	24 (27) 14 (27)
Young, Andrew (D., Ga., 5)	1972	44	Rules	11 (11)

\*\*\* In addition, approximately 19 percent of the district is composed of Spanish-Americans.

Sources: Michael Barone et al., *The Almanac of American Politics* (Boston: Corbett, 1971) and Congressional Directory, 1975. Seniority rank calculated in accordance with Congressional Directory, 1975.

Source: Lucius Baker and Jesse McCorty, *Black Americans and the Political System*, (Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, 1976) pp. 281-282.

## APPENDIX C

### CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION: Implementation vs. Attitude and Opinion Congruence with Policy

The 1960's were the high point of the civil rights movement. Certainly the unity and direction of that movement no longer exist. The focus of civil rights activity has changed. In the 1960's the push for "formal recognition" of legal rights provided a broad base around which civil rights groups and their white allies could rally. But in the 1970's the push for the "actual implementation" of those rights commands for less appeal to whites and far less support from Blacks. In fact, civil rights and racial problems no longer enjoy priority status in national politics, at least, appear on the surface to have lost their affect on the public. In October 1965, for example, more people (27 percent) considered civil rights the most important problem facing the country (Barker and McCarry, 1976). While the saliency of the issue fluctuated throughout the 1960's, by September 1972 only 5 percent considered civil rights the most important issue (Dawson, 1973). See figures 7-1, 7-2 and 7-3 based on Gallup Poll index.

This brings about the question of policy implementation and attitude congruence because as we have seen, in order for Congressmen to pass favorable legislation attitudes concerning the issue had to be favorable. In figures 6-11 and 6-12 we see federal legislation and court rulings on school integration. In figures 6-13 and 6-14 can be seen the result of court order enforcements and the actual percent of integration by 1970.

Table 7-1. Federal Court Rulings on School Integration, 1954-1973

Year	Decision
1954	Supreme Court in <i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas</i> rules that enforced racial segregation in public schools constituted denial of equal protection of the laws under the 14th Amendment. Declares that "separate but equal" educational facilities are inherently unequal.
1955	In a second <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> case, Supreme Court holds local school boards responsible for implementing school integration and local courts responsible for deciding what action constituted compliance. Asked that lower courts start reasonable and prompt action towards compliance. Courts could grant delay for administrative purposes, but called for integration progress to be made "with all deliberate speed."
1958	Despite the existence of race related violence accompanying racial integration, Supreme Court rules in <i>Cooper v. Aaron</i> that Little Rock, Arkansas High School must make a prompt start on racial integration (prompt start is not, however, clearly defined). Court also upholds 1957 lower court ruling allowing Nashville, Tennessee to integrate under a "grade-a-year" plan ( <i>Kelley v. Nashville Board of Education</i> ).
1960	U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals over-ruled Delaware's grade-a-year plan and orders complete racial integration by September 1961.
1963	In <i>Maron v. City of Memphis</i> Supreme Court expresses impatience with pace of school integration. Court notes that nine years have passed since <i>Brown</i> and it never contemplated that "all deliberate speed" would mean infinite delay.
1964	Supreme Court rules against closing of public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia in order to avoid integration as well as state tuition payments so pupils can attend private schools ( <i>Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward County</i> ). Court also notes that in the area of school integration there has been "entirely too much deliberation and not enough speed."
1967	U.S. District Court in <i>Poindeexter v. La. Financial Assistance Commission</i> invalidates Louisiana's plan of tuition grants to private schools so as to impede integration.
1968	Supreme Court in <i>Green v. County School Board of Kett County</i> rules against "freedom of choice" plans by which pupils can close any school in any district.
1969	In <i>Alexander v. Holmes</i> Supreme Court holds that standard of "all deliberate speed" for desegregation is no longer constitutionally permissible. Dual school systems must be terminated at once.
1971	In <i>Swann v. Charlotte-Necklesburg County Board of Education</i> Supreme Court rules that bussing, racial balance ratios, and gerrymandered school districts are all permissible interim methods of eliminating state imposed segregation from Southern schools.
1972	Supreme Court rules in <i>U.S. v. Scotland Neck Board of Education</i> that Federal Courts can halt state or local action creating new school district designed to impede racial integration.
1973	Federal district court in Richmond, Virginia orders largely black inner city schools to be merged with white school districts in suburbs. This decision is overturned by U.S. Court of Appeals and, in 4-4 decision, Supreme Court upholds Court of Appeals. Supreme Court also considers 1970 Federal District Court decision that <i>de facto</i> segregation is unconstitutional. Court instructs District judge to re-examine case but does not rule on constitutionality of <i>de facto</i> segregation directly. Federal District judge orders HEW to begin cutting off federal funds to segregated schools in seventeen states despite declared Nixon policy of not employing fund cut-offs. Judge also issues strict timetable for desegregation.

Source: Robert Weissberg, Public Opinion and Popular Government, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976) pp. 116-118.

## Legislation and Executive Action on School Integration

Year	Action
1955	Rep. Adam Clayton Powell of New York offers amendment to legislation banning segregation in schools. Amendment defeated and Powell criticized by President Eisenhower for offering "extraneous" antisegregation proposals.
1957	President Eisenhower federalizes Arkansas National Guard and sends in paratroopers to Little Rock, Arkansas to prevent anti-black violence and escort Negro students to school. Little Rock schools close for 1958-59 term to avoid integration.
1959	President Eisenhower proposes legislation making it a federal crime to interfere with school desegregation and offering federal assistance to desegregating schools. Various Congressmen sponsor bills giving Federal government stronger power to enforce school desegregation. No action taken.
1954-1960	Attorney General files <i>omnis cause</i> (friends of the court) briefs in school desegregation cases in support of racial integration. However, no criminal prosecutions were brought against school officials who refused to allow Negro children to attend white schools.
1960	Civil Rights Act of 1960 passed which, among other things, provided criminal penalties for violent actions intended to prevent racial integration.
1962	President Kennedy takes a variety of executive actions to encourage school desegregation. Department of Health, Education and Welfare announces that only desegregated schools will receive federal aid to "impacted" school districts (school districts bearing extra burdens due to nearby federal installations). On-base desegregated schools are authorized where off-base schools are segregated. U.S. Office of Education sets up clearinghouse to help schools desegregate. Kennedy sends federal troops to University of Mississippi to prevent antiintegration violence.
1964	Civil Rights Act of 1964 required that (1) U.S. Office of Education report to Congress within two years on the status of school integration; (2) technical and financial aid be given to assist integration; (3) federal financial assistance could be terminated for noncompliance and; (4) the Attorney General be allowed to file suit for desegregation if a signed, meritorious complaint is received. Law explicitly stated that U.S. officials or courts were not thus authorized to transport pupils to schools for purposes of desegregation nor did legislation enlarge court's power of compliance.
1965	In accordance with Civil Rights Act of 1964, HEW issues compliance guidelines. Compliance was defined if district was under court order and assurances were given that compliance would occur or desegregation plan was approved by Commission of Education. By fall of 1965 almost all (90%) Southern school districts meet these compliance standards though actual amount of school integration is minuscule.
1966	HEW toughens up desegregation standards. School districts were made responsible for insuring that black children choosing to attend white schools would not be intimidated; dual school systems were to be eliminated as quickly as possible; and provisions were made for the possible use of numerical guides as measures of integration. These new guidelines excluded <i>de facto</i> school segregation.
1967	New HEW guidelines call for accelerated rate of integration in Southern schools. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights issue two reports highly critical of pace of desegregation.
1968	NEW guidelines for desegregation are made applicable to Northern schools.



Year	Action
1969	<p>Civil Rights Act of 1968 provides criminal penalties for attempts to interfere with the exercise of various civil rights, one of which is the right to attend public schools. Legislation passed which forbids HEW from using power to withhold funds to force schools to transfer pupils for purposes of correcting racial imbalance.</p> <p>Nixon administration moves on a number of fronts to delay full desegregation in Southern schools. HEW announces a switch from terminating federal funds to instituting lawsuits to enforce school integration. Litigation policy criticized by civil rights advocates in view of part relative ineffectiveness of lawsuits. Administration brings forty-three lawsuits against school districts, including non-Southern districts. HEW intervenes in a court decision to seek delay of integration (which was rejected by the Supreme Court).</p>
1970	<p>Nixon calls officially sanctioned school segregation unlawful and to be immediately eliminated. However, Nixon also reaffirms belief in neighborhood schools and animosity to bussing to overcome <i>de facto</i> segregation patterns. Commissioner of Education, James E. Allen, Jr., calls for the elimination of all types of segregation and is forced to resign. Officials from HEW and the Department of Justice threaten school district with lawsuits unless desegregation occur and numerous lawsuits are filed. Internal Revenue Service revokes tax exempt status of private schools which practice racial discrimination (however, proof of integration merely requires a written statement from the school). Legislation is passed requiring uniform application of desegregation standards in both the North and South.</p>
1971	<p>Strong antibussing to achieve racial integration sentiment is expressed in House vote on education appropriations bill. HEW begins procedures to terminate federal school funds in a number of Northern school districts. Nixon orders HEW and Department of Justice to minimize the use of bussing.</p>
1972	<p>Nixon calls on Congress to limit bussing designed to achieve desegregation, but no final action taken (though votes in House showed very strong support for measures). Senate rejects a number of bills designed to impede the desegregation of public schools.</p>

Source: Robert Weissberg, Public Opinion and Popular Government, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976) pp. 116-118.

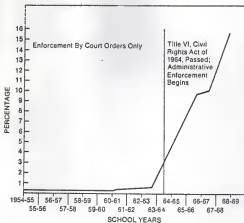


Figure 7-2 Percentage of Negro Students Attending Desegregated Schools in Seven Southern States\*

\*The states involved are Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia. Save for North Carolina and Virginia, in none of these states did the percentage of Negro students attending desegregated schools, whether under court orders or under administrative enforcement, ever exceed 16 percent.

SOURCE: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Federal Enforcement of School Desegregation*, Sept. 11, 1969, p. 24.

Source: Robert Weissberg, Public Opinion and Popular Government, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976) p. 119.

Table 7-3 Number and Percent of Negroes Attending Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, by Geographic Area and by Level of Isolation: Fall 1968 and Fall 1970

Level of Isolation	Continental United States <sup>1</sup>		22 Northern and Western States <sup>2</sup>		6 Border States and D.C. <sup>3</sup>		11 Southern States <sup>4</sup>	
	1968	1970	1968	1970	1968	1970	1968	1970
Total enrollment:								
Negro enrollment:	43,353,548	44,877,547	28,570,366	29,451,976	3,730,317	3,855,231	11,043,485	11,570,351
Number	6,282,173	6,707,411	2,703,056	2,869,858	636,157	667,362	2,942,960	3,150,192
Percent	14.5	14.9	9.5	9.8	17.1	17.3	26.6	27.2
Negroes by level of isolation:								
Attending 0-49.9% minority schools:								
Number	1,467,291	2,223,506	746,030	793,979	180,569	198,659	949,692	1,230,608
Percent	23.4	33.1	27.6	27.5	28.4	29.8	18.4	39.1
Attending 50-100% minority schools:								
Number	4,814,881	4,483,905	1,957,025	2,095,879	455,588	468,703	2,402,268	1,919,323
Percent	76.6	66.9	72.4	72.5	71.6	70.2	81.6	60.9
Attending 80-100% minority schools:								
Number	4,274,461	3,311,372	1,656,140	1,665,526	406,171	404,396	2,317,850	1,241,050
Percent	68.0	49.4	57.4	57.6	63.8	60.6	78.8	39.4
Attending 90-100% minority schools:								
Number	4,041,593	2,907,084	1,369,948	1,475,889	383,059	380,185	2,288,570	1,051,210
Percent	64.3	43.3	50.7	51.1	60.2	57.0	77.8	33.4
Attending 95-100% minority schools:								
Number	3,832,843	2,563,327	1,198,032	1,288,321	368,149	365,512	2,788,642	919,594
Percent	61.0	38.2	44.3	44.6	57.9	53.3	77.0	29.2
Attending 99-100% minority schools:								
Number	3,331,404	1,876,767	834,898	878,357	294,844	294,104	2,201,662	704,206
Percent	53.0	28.0	30.9	30.4	46.3	44.1	74.8	22.4
Attending 100% minority schools:								
Number	2,493,398	941,111	322,408	343,629	160,504	154,409	2,000,486	443,073
Percent	39.7	14.0	12.3	11.9	25.2	23.1	68.0	14.1

<sup>1</sup> Includes 49 States and the District of Columbia. Excludes Hawaii.

<sup>2</sup> Includes Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

<sup>3</sup> Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

<sup>4</sup> Includes Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

NOTE.—Data are based on surveys of all school districts enrolling 3,000 or more students and a sample of smaller districts. Because of rounding, totals may not add to totals.

SOURCE: Kenneth A. Strons and W. Vasek Grant, *Report of Educational Statistics: 1971* (Washington, D.C.: HEW, 1973), p. 136

Source: Robert Weisberg, *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976) p. 120.

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RACIAL ATTITUDINAL CHANGES  
AND THEIR IMPACT ON AMERICAN POLITICS:  
REGIONAL CLEAVAGES 1960-1976

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

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To what extent have racial attitudes changed in the United States during the last sixteen years? Are changes in racial attitudes associated with regional cleavages? This thesis investigates changes in two dimensions of racial attitudes in the Southern and Northern regions of the United States between 1960 and 1976.

It is predicted that: Racial attitudes in the Southern region have changed over the last sixteen years from pro-racist (conservative), toward an acceptance of racial integration and civil rights for blacks (liberal). The writer will attempt to prove that, while Southern attitudes have become more positive toward racial integration, Northern attitudes have remained constant or become more conservative. It is also predicted that in both regions, positive attitudes toward racial integration would be more pronounced among: older respondents, uneducated respondents, males, lower classed respondents and whites. However, these respondents would be located in the highest percentages in the Northern regions.

Finally, an attempt was made to correlate racial attitude changes with public policy on civil rights and to test for congruence between racial attitudes and public policy. Heterogeneity of school districts and degree of actual integration due to Federal Legislation were also studied for relationships

between attitudes, policy and actual implementation of policy. Black participation is added in order to explain its impact on the politics of the South since 1964, which partially explains the shift in attitudes, as black participation allowed Southern blacks to gain more positions in the Southern system and thus, brought about liberal changes in the traditionally conservative Southern legislative power base.

The data utilized in this thesis include surveys of the American electorate conducted by the Institute for Social and Political Research at the University of Michigan in 1960, 1964, 1968, 1972 and 1976. Also examined are surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center in 1974 and 1976, University of Chicago.