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White Attitudes Toward Racial Tolerance & the Perception of Party Differences: 1956-1969

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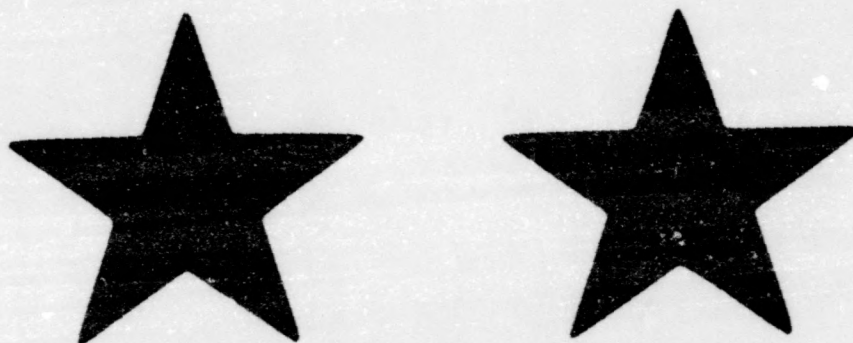
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WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD RACIAL TOLERANCE
AND THE
PERCEPTION OF PARTY DIFFERENCES: 1956-1968

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Government
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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Paul J. Messick
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WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD RACIAL TOLERANCE
AND THE
PERCEPTION OF PARTY DIFFERENCES: 1956-1968

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Chapter I

Introduction and Literature

Recent research has suggested that the "gap" between the South and the other regions of the nation has narrowed significantly in the direction of more favorable attitudes toward racial integration. Much of this research, however, while utilizing similar explanatory variables, has yielded contradictory findings regarding the relative effectiveness of these variables in aiding in the explanation of the observed change in attitudes toward racial integration. The purpose of this study is to explore change "over time" in attitudes toward racial integration of samples of whites drawn from the South and the other regions of the nation using several political and sociological variables in the analysis.¹

Two research questions form the basis from which this study will proceed. First, if racial tolerance is increasing in the South and regional differences are decreasing, what influence do the explanatory variables have in aiding in the explanation of these phenomena?² Second, if racial tolerance is increasing in the South, has there been any effect upon party alignments on this issue--that is, do people perceive

a difference between the two parties, and are there differences between the attitudes expressed by the major party identifiers? The former question provides the researcher with the general setting of the study; the latter question provides us with a means of identifying differences by party identification.

The Literature

V. O. Key asserted in Southern Politics that the politics of the South revolved around the Negro, and that "politics is the South's number one problem."³ If Key's observations were appropriate in 1949 when Southern Politics was first published, one could ask the question: "Are they equally appropriate as a description of the South today?" Since the Brown vs. the Board of Education decision of 1954 various legal and social pressures have been applied which have had as their purpose the improvement of the status of the Negro in the United States. The pressures which have been exerted have altered the system of Negro-white relations in the United States.⁴ One could ask the question that if the system of Negro-white relations has altered, have Southern white attitudes toward the Negro changed--that is, has there been an increase in racial tolerance among Southern whites. The dominant racial attitudes of the South differ sharply from the rest of the nation.⁵ Paul B. Sheatsley has observed in a study

conducted in 1966 that there has been a decline in the differences between the South and the rest of the nation in attitudes favorable to racial integration.⁶

One can readily accept the supposition that there has been some increase in racial tolerance of white Southerners.⁷ But a major difficulty arises in the interpretation of the relative effectiveness of certain variables in aiding in the explanation of this increase in racial tolerance of whites in the South. Variables such as age, education, and residence, for example, have been subject to diverse interpretations as to their relative effectiveness as explanatory variables. Moreover, from a political perspective little has been done to identify the positions of political party identifiers and non-identifiers relative to attitude change in this area. We can ask the questions: "What are the differences between major party identifiers and non-identifiers in racial attitudes?", "Are the members of one of the major parties more favorable toward racial integration?", and lastly, "Is there a difference in the perceptions of respondents as to which party would be more favorable or less favorable in its treatment of racial issues?"

Briefly, let us focus on the three variables mentioned in the foregoing paragraph as having yielded contradictory findings as to their relative influence. The relationship between education, when defined as the number of years of

formal schooling, and pro-integration attitudes of whites leads to several conflicting conclusions. Samuel Stouffer notes in 1955 in Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties that increasing levels of education are associated with liberalizing attitudes.⁸ Several researchers have suggested that increasing levels of education have little influence in increasing racial tolerance. Alford and Scoble reporting their findings from a study which they conducted in 1968 stated that: "Education is far more importantly associated with tolerance of deviant ideas, authoritarianism, and aggressive internationalism . . . it has no effect on, and is not significantly related to pro-Negro attitudes."⁹ Mathews and Prothro concluded in a study of political participation of blacks in the South in 1966 that education among whites does not reduce racial prejudice.¹⁰ They asserted that "when considering the average education of whites, the higher the average the more actively and effectively they enforce the traditional mores of the region against Negro political participation."¹¹ The findings of Mathews and Prothro seem to be supported by a study conducted by Beth Vanfossen in 1968 in which she concluded that education does not lower prejudice, and may, instead, be used to buttress prejudicial attitudes.¹² The assumption that higher levels of education will reduce prejudice and discrimination does not hold according to the findings of the social scientists mentioned above.

In other studies, the opposite conclusion is drawn from findings which tend to support the hypothesis that educational level is positively associated with increasing racial tolerance. Donald J. Treiman (1966) tested the hypothesis that the level of educational attainment is associated positively with the level of acceptance of Negroes.¹³ The findings which he presented tended to support this hypothesis. Sheatsley (1966) noted that as education increased the mean scores on a pro-integration scale increased among respondents from the North and the South; however, it is important to state that the mean scores for the North were higher at every level of education than those of the South.¹⁴ The conclusion seems to hold that education according to this view is positively associated with reducing racial prejudice, and increasing racial tolerance. Further evidence in support of this view is presented in a study conducted by Nelsen, Madron, and Yokley in 1971 in which they report that when education is utilized as a predictor of civil rights attitudes with several other variables, it emerges as the most important variable.¹⁵

Southern white attitudes toward the Negro when correlated with age seem to lead to a somewhat unexpected relationship. The normal relationship between age and increasing racial tolerance appears to follow the expected relationship-- as age increases, racial tolerance decreases.¹⁶ Mathews

and Prothro in their study of the South found that younger Southern whites have stronger anti-integration attitudes than do middle-aged whites, while the older age group of whites expressed a more segregationist attitude than all other age groups.¹⁷ A similar finding, the youngest age group in the South was less tolerant than those who were between the ages of 25 to 44, was reported in 1964 by Hyman and Sheatsley.¹⁸

Rural areas, especially in the South, have been held to be areas where traditional values are more strongly held;¹⁹ whereas, urban areas are less influenced by traditional values. In the urban setting, the wide range of contacts and social settings is expected to reduce racial prejudice.²⁰ Differences, therefore, between rural and urban residents in attitudes would be expected. Findings reported by researchers indicate that the effectiveness of the rural-urban variable is subject to dispute as a predictor of attitudes. Nelsen and Yokley reported in 1970 that ". . . rural dwellers were less likely to score at the liberal end of the civil rights scale than were urban respondents," and concluded that rural residents were the most conservative in civil rights attitudes.²¹ Claude S. Fischer in 1971 in "A Research Note on Urbanism and Tolerance" concluded from his findings that "the theory that urban life directly leads to universalistic attitudes is not supported by these data."²² When controls were added

the relationship between city-size and tolerance declined; Fischer stated that if finer cuts in the data and the addition of more variables were possible, the association would have continued to approach zero.²³ Finally, Vanfossen reported that the correlation between urbanization and integration was low, and that the effect of urbanization on racial prejudice was minimal.²⁴

In the above paragraphs, a discussion of some of the research which has been done utilizing some of the variables with which this study is concerned has been pursued. At this point the focus of attention will be placed upon more politically related considerations. Broadly speaking, political party preference is in part a function of the political socialization process through which a person becomes indoctrinated into the political system: early perceptions and preferences are formed and patterns of political behavior are learned. One of the major features of this process is the transmission from one generation to the next generation of an identification with one political party as being "more preferred" than the other party or parties, and subsequently, the partisan political beliefs associated with the identification. The importance of party identification in the perception of "political reality" is likely to be in evidence in the relationship between an individual's position on a given issue, his view of his party's position on that issue, and his view of

the other party's position on the issue. The two major political parties in the United States are composed of persons whose views cover a broad range of the political spectrum--that is, there seems to be little which ideologically separates them.²⁵ The feature which seems to distinguish party members from each other and from members of the opposite party are the beliefs that they hold concerning specific issues. Angus Campbell, et al., in 1960 in The American Voter noted that "party loyalty plays no small role in the formation of attitudes on specific issues. The identifier who sees his party take up a new issue is likely to be influenced thereby . . . if the individual has intense feelings about an issue before partisan alignments are formed, and his party's policy conflicts with such belief they may act as important forces toward partisan change."²⁶ The relative influence of partisanship is modified by the relative salience of the issue--that is, where the issue is highly salient, then the influence of partisanship will be lowered, and conversely, where salience is low, partisan influence will be high. The more recent literature has tended to confirm Campbell's observation. David E. RePass in a study in 1971 entitled "Issue Salience and Party Choice" observed that "where issue partisanship (issue alignment) conflicted with party identification, the issue often overcame long term party loyalties."²⁷ The influence of party identification

is more likely to be lowered, therefore, when the issue is highly salient, and a conflict exists between the party identifier's attitude and his party's position. The importance of the issue in the perception of differences between parties is of considerable import: "people who have a stake in an issue are more likely to have an opinion on that issue, people with strong opinions on an issue are more likely to perceive accurately the difference in party positions on that issue" ²⁸ From the foregoing discussion the observation can be made that the impact of party position on attitude formation concerning a specific issue and the perception of differences by party members depends to a great extent upon the saliency of the issue, the strength of the attitude held, the strength of an individual's party identification, and the party position.

In this paragraph the discussion will turn to the basic differences between the Democratic and Republican parties on "civil rights." The term "liberal" and "conservative" are often used in describing party differences. In the following discussion these terms refer to the exercise of federal power. "Liberal" is defined as favoring an increase in the exercise of the power of the federal government, and "conservative" is defined as favoring a more restricted use of federal power. The major differences between the parties tends to be centered around the "role of the federal government"--that is, the degree

of involvement of the federal government in the policy areas of "social welfare" and "civil rights." The Democratic party has been viewed as being more favorable toward increasing federal involvement in these areas, and the Republican party has been viewed as being less favorable to federal involvement in these areas. The distinction between the parties can be further clarified in the following manner: the Democratic party is viewed as being "liberal" on the issues of medicare, the guaranteed job, fair employment, and school integration, favoring the exercise of the federal role; the Republican party is viewed as being "conservative" on the above issues, favoring a much more restricted use of federal power.²⁹

Since the 1950's there has been an increase in the awareness of differences between the political parties in their respective policy positions. Several researchers have indicated from studies which they have conducted that the voter (political party identifiers more so than non-identifiers) has been able to identify the positions of their party on the issues indicated earlier, and in the same direction as indicated. It has been observed that "occasional party activists" perceived differences between the civil rights stands of the Democratic and Republican parties--with the Republican party exhibiting a trend toward less favorableness to civil rights and the Democratic party a trend in the opposite direction.³⁰ The perception of

differences tends to be greatest between leaders of both parties with their rank and file members slightly less perceptive: Democratic followers tended to be closer to their leaders in their perceptions of the party as being "liberal," while Republican followers were slightly less perceptive in seeing their party as being more "conservative" when compared with their leaders.³¹ Gerald R. Pomper in 1971 in a comparison of the perception of party differences between the electorate of 1956 and the electorate of 1968 states that:

There has been a striking shift in voter awareness. The evidence indicates that contemporary voters are far more likely to see a difference between the parties and to agree on the relative ideological positions of the parties. They more often believe that the parties are different, and that the Democrats are liberal and the Republicans conservative.³²

That there is a difference between the parties which can be perceived by identifiers of those parties seems to be quite evident. However, it should be pointed out that the parties are not composed of members who are homogeneous in their attitudes: there are apt to be differences as well as likenesses between identifiers within each party, as well as those between the parties. "Many voters can maintain their party loyalties comfortably even while holding views that contradict their leaders."³³

Several observations concerning political parties and their characteristics in the South which have been made by various researchers are relevant to this study. In a study

conducted in 1965 by G. R. Boynton, he reported that Democrats in the South are more conservative than Democrats nationally, and Republicans in the South are slightly more liberal than Republicans nationally.³⁴ Mathews and Prothro (1966) in a discussion of "party images" reported that while "Southern whites showed no significant changes in party identification" from 1961 to 1964, their pro-Democratic party images declined and their pro-Republican party images increased. They noted that Southern white discontent with the Democratic party was confined to the areas of race and ideology. The proportion of Southern whites who identified the Democratic party as "too liberal" and "too pro-Negro" increased.³⁵ Lastly, Earl Black has suggested in a trend analysis of gubernatorial candidates in the South in 1971 that candidates appear to have become more moderate on racial issues.³⁶

Finally, the mobility of the American people allows us to study the effect of inter-regional migration as it relates to racial tolerance and party composition. Hyman and Sheatsley reported in Scientific American that:

From the comparison it is apparent that Northerners who once lived in the South differ very little from Northerners who have never been exposed to Southern life. They are only slightly less favorable to integration. In striking contrast, those Southerners who have previously lived in the North differ greatly from those who have always lived in the South. Except on the issue of school integration, the attitudes of Southerners with a history of earlier residence in the North are much closer to those of

Northerners than to those of their fellow Southerners. Even on school integration the difference is substantial.³⁷

Sheatsley (1966) in a later study has concluded that whites who migrate from the South and reside permanently in another region of the nation tend to score higher on a scale which measures favorableness toward racial integration than do persons who remain in the South, but the former score lower than native non-Southerners.³⁸ From a report of his findings in 1966, Philip E. Converse indicated that one of the results of emigration from the South and immigration to the South is that "the South is not only losing Democrats, but is receiving a significant non-Southern population which is more Republican than the native Southerner." Converse, further, points out that this migration from the North to the South is selective along partisan lines; the non-Southerner moving to the South is more Republican than the non-Southerners he leaves behind.³⁹

Summary

In the review of the literature presented above several of the findings important to this study have been discussed. From this discussion a number of observations specific to the variables dealt with previously and, also, of a more general nature can be made which will serve as a form of summary. The effectiveness of the variable

education as it relates to increasing racial tolerance is subject to two divergent interpretations: (1) increasing levels of education has been reported as having no effect upon increasing racial tolerance, and (2) it has been stated that education has a positive effect upon increasing racial tolerance. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that in the South indications are that the higher the level of education, the more effectively individuals have been able to enforce the traditional values of the region. Age leads to a somewhat unexpected relationship with racial tolerance in the South; instead of the relationship following the pattern in which as age increases tolerance decreases, one finds that racial tolerance in the younger age categories is low, increases in the middle age categories, and decreases substantially in the older age groupings. The literature indicates that there are conflicting conclusions with respect to the relative importance or unimportance of rural-urban differences. Residence has been held to be of importance in ascertaining significant differences in civil rights attitudes of whites. In other studies, it has been shown that the relative effectiveness of the use of residence is suspect.

The major differences between the Democratic party and Republican party center around the issues of "social welfare" and "civil rights." The Democratic party has been viewed as being more favorable in its policy positions

toward these issues than the Republican party. The ability of party identifiers and non-identifiers to identify differences between the parties has increased. Party identification can be an important influence in the formation of attitudes toward specific issues; however, its effect can be mollified by the saliency of the issue to the individual, the strength of the individual's party identification, the position his party assumes on that issue, and the strength of his convictions toward the issue. Where a conflict exists between the individual's attitude toward an issue and his party's position on that issue there may be sufficient motivation for partisan change. Oftentimes, however, a person can remain comfortably identified with a political party while holding views which conflict with his party's positions.

The Democratic party in the South is more conservative than the Democratic party nationally and the Republican party in the South is more liberal than the Republican party nationally. The "image" of the Democratic party in the South has declined in the area of civil rights among whites with it being viewed as too pro-Negro, while a more favorable "image" of the Republican party is more evident on this issue. The Democratic party is viewed, further, as being too "liberal."

Among the observations which can be made concerning inter-regional migration is that persons who leave the

South and reside in the non-South tend to increase in their favorableness toward racial integration when compared with those who remain in the South. Secondly, the effect of migration upon the identifiers of the political parties has been that the South is losing Democrats and receiving in return Republicans who are more Republican than those that left.

Conclusion

In this chapter the subject of this study has been introduced, and the literature briefly reviewed and summarized. The purpose of this study is to examine attitude change toward a particularly salient political and social issue "over time." A second purpose is the examination of the perception of party differences in their positions toward the aforementioned issues "over time." These two purposes form the major objective of this study; they also reflect the assumption that it not only is important to know a person's party identification and the strength whereby he holds that identification, but that it is of equal, and in some instances more important to know an individual's attitude toward an issue. In the examination of attitudes we have the opportunity to examine several variables which may have some explanatory power and to clarify their usefulness. In the following chapter the hypotheses which will be tested and a

discussion of the methodological considerations entailed by this study will be presented. In addition a discussion of the variable "time" will be undertaken.

Footnotes

¹The South is defined as including the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, Tennessee, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. The remaining states were combined to form the region designated as the non-South.

²Racial tolerance is defined as favorable attitudes toward racial integration as expressed on survey items seeking to measure such attitudes.

³V. O. Key, Southern Politics (New York: Vintage Books, 1949), p. 5.

⁴Beth E. Vanfossen, "Variables Related to Resistance to Desegregation in the South," Social Forces, 47 (September, 1968), 39.

⁵Donald R. Mathews and James W. Prothro, "Southern Racial Attitudes: Conflict, Awareness, and Change," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 343 (1962), 109. See also, V. O. Key, Southern Politics; Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley, "Attitudes Toward Desegregation," Scientific American, 211 (July, 1964), 16-23; Paul B. Sheatsley, "White Attitudes Toward the Negro," Daedalus, 95 (Winter, 1966), 217-38; and Norval D. Glenn and J. L. Simmons, "Are Regional Cultural Differences Diminishing," Public Opinion Quarterly, 31 (1967), 176-93.

⁶Sheatsley, "White Attitudes Toward the Negro," pp. 217-38.

⁷See Mathews and Prothro, "Southern Racial Attitudes," 108-21; Hyman and Sheatsley, "Attitudes Toward Desegregation," pp. 16-23; and Paul B. Sheatsley, "White Attitudes Toward the Negro," pp. 217-38. Also summaries of the various opinion polls seem to bear this out, see Hazel Erskine, "The Polls: Speed of Racial Integration," Public Opinion Quarterly, 32 (1968), 513-24.

⁸Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963), pp. 90-108.

⁹Robert R. Alford and Harry M. Scoble, "Community Leadership, Education, and Political Behavior," American Sociological Review, 33 (April, 1968), 269.

- ¹⁰ Donald R. Mathews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1966), p. 129.
- ¹¹ Ibid., p. 128.
- ¹² Vanfossen, "Variables Related to Desegregation," p. 42.
- ¹³ Donald J. Treiman, "Status Discrepancy and Prejudice," American Journal of Sociology, 71 (May, 1966), 656 and 660.
- ¹⁴ Sheatsley, "White Attitudes Toward the Negro," p. 226.
- ¹⁵ Hart M. Nelsen, Thomas W. Madron, and Raytha L. Yokley, "Presbyterians and Civil Rights: A Reanalysis with MCA," (unpublished paper, Western Kentucky University, 1971), p. 9.
- ¹⁶ Sheatsley, "White Attitudes Toward the Negro," p. 228.
- ¹⁷ Mathews and Prothro, New Southern Politics, pp. 331-66.
- ¹⁸ Hyman and Sheatsley, "Attitudes Toward Desegregation," p. 23.
- ¹⁹ See V. O. Key, Southern Politics, and Mathews and Prothro, New Southern Politics.
- ²⁰ Richard Curtis, Diane M. Timbers, and Elton F. Jackson, "Prejudice and Urban Social Participation," American Journal of Sociology, 73 (September, 1967), 224.
- ²¹ Hart M. Nelsen and Raytha L. Yokley, "Civil Rights Attitudes of Rural and Urban Presbyterians," Rural Sociology, 35 (June, 1970), 166 and 170.
- ²² Claude Fischer, "A Research Note on Urbanism and Tolerance," American Journal of Sociology, 76 (1971), 855.
- ²³ Ibid., p. 854.
- ²⁴ Vanfossen, "Variables Related to Desegregation," p. 44.
- ²⁵ Angus Campbell, et al., The American Voter: An Abridgement (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), pp. 116-22.
- ²⁶ Ibid., p. 97.

²⁷David E. RePass, "Issue Saliency and Party Choice," American Political Science Review, 65 (June, 1971), 395.

²⁸Ruth S. Jones and Terrence E. Jones, "Issue Saliency, Opinion-Holding, and Party Preference," Western Political Quarterly, 24 (September, 1971), 509.

²⁹See Lloyd A. Free and Hadley Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968); Samuel J. Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964); Gerald M. Pomper, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System? What Again?", Journal of Politics, 33 (November, 1971), 916-40; and Herbert McCloskey, et al., "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers," American Political Science Review, 56 (June, 1960), 408-28.

³⁰David Nexon, "Asymmetry in the Political System: Occasional Activists in the Republican and Democratic Parties, 1956-1964," American Political Science Review, 65 (September, 1971), 716-730.

³¹McCloskey, "Issue Conflict and Consensus," pp. 420-422.

³²Pomper, "Toward a More Responsible," p. 929.

³³McCloskey, "Issue Conflict and Consensus," p. 423.

³⁴George R. Boynton, "Southern Conservatism: Constituency Opinion and Congressional Voting," Public Opinion Quarterly, 29 (1965), 265.

³⁵Mathews and Prothro, New Southern Politics, pp. 387-388.

³⁶Earl Black, "Southern Governors and Political Change: Campaign Stances on Racial Segregation and Economic Development, 1950-1969," Journal of Politics, 33 (1971), 704-34.

³⁷Hyman and Sheatsley, "Attitudes Toward Desegregation," p. 21.

³⁸Sheatsley, "White Attitudes Toward the Negro," pp. 226-227.

³⁹Philip E. Converse, "On the Possibility of Major Political Realignments in the South," in Angus Campbell, et al., Elections and the Political Order (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 228-29.

Chapter II

Hypotheses and Method

From the discussion of the literature presented in the previous chapter several hypotheses can be stated which will provide a means of examining changes over time in white attitudes toward racial tolerance and perceptions of party differences on racial issues. The following hypotheses will be tested for the period 1956 through 1968:

1. There will be no difference in attitudes toward racial tolerance.
2. Attitudes toward racial tolerance will not differ by region.
3. Variables such as age, education, residence, or inter-regional migration will not be significantly related to increases in racial tolerance.
4. There will be no difference in attitudes toward racial tolerance between party identifiers and non-identifiers.
5. Attitudes toward racial tolerance will not differ significantly between identifiers of the Democratic party and Republican party.
6. There will be no difference in attitudes toward racial tolerance between persons who change their party identification to either the Democratic party or Republican party.
7. There will be no difference in the perception of party differences on racial issues.

8. Perceptions of party differences on racial issues will not differ by region.
9. Strength of party identification is not significantly related to the perception of party differences.
10. Party change is not related to the perception of party differences.
11. Attitudes toward racial tolerance will not be significantly related to the perception of party differences.

Data

In order that the hypotheses could best be tested the data utilized for this study had to meet two requirements: relatively consistent sampling procedures had to have been used in surveys conducted at different time periods, and the items forming the independent and dependent variables had to have been repeated in the same or similar form. Of the available sources of data the Survey Research Center presidential election studies based upon a national cross section sample of housing units met the criteria of consistency in sampling technique and compatibility of items in wording and content. By using these data the information needed is provided in the form most desired by the researcher, and from the SRC sampling procedures the general assumption can be made that the population of one sample is representative of the population of the previous samples.¹ Although it is not possible to discuss the responses one individual would give at one period of time when compared with another period of time since different

individuals were asked to respond; it is possible to discuss the attitudes of subpopulations of whites toward racial tolerance, as well as discussing trends among the total population of whites provided by the samples across time.²

Four election studies covering a period of twelve years provided the points in time for analysis. Each of the time points corresponds to the presidential election years beginning in the 1956 and ending in 1968: they are 1956, 1960, 1964, and 1968. Three time periods were formed: first, 1956-1960; second, 1960-1964; and third, 1964-1968.

The analysis of changes in attitudes toward racial tolerance and the perception of party differences was approached with the twofold purpose of, first, examining general trends in attitudes, and, second, exploring in depth the differences which appear between classes of each independent variable when measured against the dependent variable and the effectiveness of the independent variables as predictors of the dependent variables. Two analytical procedures were used in the analysis of the data. At the first level it was possible to indicate generally the magnitude and direction of change, while at the second level it was possible to explore the relationships between the independent variables and dependent variables more thoroughly. Through the use of the methods

described below it was possible to introduce time as a variable.

The analysis of the general trends was completed through a series of cross-tabulations of the variable "region" with the indices of racial tolerance and perception of party differences. Two statistical measures were calculated for the analysis--"chi-square," a test of significance, and "gamma," a measure of association.³ "Gamma" indicates the direction and strength of the relationship, and is analogous to "Yule's Q."⁴

The major portion of the analysis of the data was performed through the use of multiple classification analysis (MCA). The MCA program is designed to handle "predictors with no better than nominal measurement, and interrelationships of any form among predictors and the dependent variable."⁵ The statistics which this technique produces show the relationship between the predictor and the dependent variable before and after other predictor variables are included. Two statistics "eta" and "beta" are presented: "eta," a zero-order correlation, indicates "the ability of the predictor, using the categories given, to explain variation in the dependent variables;" "beta," a partial correlation analogous to the regression coefficient, provides "a measure of the ability of the predictor to explain variation in the dependent variable after adjusting for the effects of all other predictors."⁶

The grand mean and class mean for each category of the independent variable is provided from which an examination of the extent to which the class means of the independent variable differ from the grand mean can be undertaken.⁷ A variety of "F tests" can be calculated to provide measures of significance.⁸

Through the use of multiple classification analysis it was possible to introduce time as an independent variable. Changes in attitudes could be analyzed most effectively by deriving some standard measure for each study at a specific time point and the combined studies across time. The measure chosen was the mean score: the grand mean for the studies combined and the class mean. This measure allowed several forms of comparison to be made: by combining the studies, mean scores for racial tolerance and party differences were obtained against which mean scores for each study and mean scores for each class of the independent variable within each study could be compared; the class means for each independent variable could be compared with the class means of the same variable at different points in time; and, finally, it was possible to examine the size of the difference between the lowest and highest mean score for each variable over time.

The partial correlation "beta" which was discussed briefly above will enable us to examine the effectiveness

of the independent variables functioning as predictors of the dependent variables. Comparisons can be made as to the most effective predictor of the dependent variable at each time point, and the overall effectiveness of each independent variable across time. Lastly, it will be possible to rank the independent variables in their level of importance as predictors of each dependent variable, observing any changes in rank that might occur from time point to time point.⁹

Before continuing with a description of the variables a brief note on the level of measurement of the dependent variables is appropriate. The indices of racial tolerance and perceptions of party differences are at the ordinal level of measurement. The dependent variable in multiple classification analysis should either be dichotomized or at the interval level of measurement. However, discussions of the use of the more powerful parametric statistics with ordinal data have shown that if used with caution there is little disparity between the findings resulting from their use and from using the less powerful nonparametric statistics.¹⁰ The use of this technique with the statistics described above should be noted and the findings treated with due caution.

The Variables

The study of attitude change depends to a great extent upon the repetition of items which seek to measure essentially the same phenomena over time. As has been pointed out previously the Survey Research Center election studies are useful in this respect. The items which were used to provide the information for the independent and dependent variables remained relatively consistent in content across time, although the wording was subject to minor alteration in the case of the dependent variables.¹¹ In the following paragraphs a brief discussion of the independent and dependent variables will be presented.

The independent variables for this study are region, education, age, residence, inter-regional migration, strength of party identification, and party change. Region was dichotomized into South and non-South; the states which comprised each region were described previously in Chapter I. Education can be defined as the number of years of formal schooling. Four categories of education were developed which are as follows: (1) no formal education through grade 6; (2) grade 7 through grade 11; (3) grade 12 plus non-college training; and (4) some college, college degree, and college degree plus advanced degree. Age was divided into five categories: (1) 21 to 24 years old, (2) 25 to 34 years, (3) 35 to 44 years, (4) 45 to 54 years, and (5) 55 and over. Residence was defined operationally as the place where a

person resides--that is, does the respondent live in a rural or urban area? The item utilized for the rural-urban variable was based upon the classification of respondents as to whether they resided in a metropolitan area or a nonmetropolitan area in accordance with the Bureau of the Census's "standard metropolitan statistical area." Metropolitan residence corresponded to the urban category and nonmetropolitan residence corresponded to the rural category of the residence variable.¹² Inter-regional migration can be defined as the movement of a respondent from one region of the nation to another. This variable was constructed by cross-classifying respondents according to the region in which they lived at the time of the interview with the region in which they grew up. Respondents were classified into the following four categories: first, respondents who have always lived in the non-South; second, those who have moved from the non-South to the South; third, those who have moved from the South to the non-South; and fourth, those who have always lived in the South. Strength of party identification refers to the degree of feeling that an individual attaches to his party preference. Seven categories of the variable were formed ranging from strong Democrat through to strong Republican. Party change is operationally defined as the switching of party identification from one party to another--persons who at one time thought of themselves as Democrats who identified

themselves at the time of the interview as Republicans would be an example.

The dependent variable of racial tolerance was constructed from a series of items which dealt with "fair employment practices" and "school integration." Generally, the items were stated in the form of a question which asked if the respondent thought that the federal government should see to it that "Negroes get fair treatment in jobs" or, respectively, that "black and white children go to the same schools together." Respondents were classed according to the responses which were given to both items, thereby forming an index of favorableness which has been labelled racial tolerance. The index of racial tolerance extends along a continuum beginning with the most favorable set of responses through to the least favorable set of responses with the categories being: (1) most favorable, (2) favorable, (3) neutral, (4) unfavorable, and (5) most unfavorable.

The perception of party differences index was constructed from items which asked basically which party the respondent thought would want to see federal activity in the areas of "fair employment practices" and "school integration." The respondents were classified as to whether they saw the Democratic party as being most favorable on both items, no difference between the parties on both items, or the Republicans party as being most favorable to federal activity in these areas.¹³

Limitations

As a concluding note to this chapter a brief elaboration of the limitations of this study is appropriate. Ideally for a study of attitude change a panel study would be most suitable. The same sample would be asked to respond enhancing the thoroughness with which attitudinal change can be analyzed. With the use of surveys utilizing similar populations derived from sampling procedures the study is an important step removed from the direct analysis of the processes of attitude change; the thoroughness with which change can be observed and analyzed is decreased.

Secondly, this study is limited by the items which we were able to use. Several items which would have been valuable contributors to the analysis could not be used because they did not appear in all of the studies. Instead of developing scales for dependent variables, indices had to be developed because of the lack of sufficient items for developing scales. When undertaking a time analysis the items which are available limit the researcher in variety and sophistication.

Lastly, a limitation is placed upon the analysis of the data by the way in which the "region" variable was collapsed. The states that formed the non-South could have been divided into more than one region. This was not done because of the general assumption that the differences between them when they were combined to form the non-South

and the South. By not dividing the states into more regions, however, some variation in the predictor variables may have been hidden. Multiple classification analysis adjusts for the effects of predictor variables enabling us to retrieve some of this information. In addition if finer cuts in the "region" variable had been made the problem of cell size would have appeared.

Footnotes

¹For a description see any of the Survey Research Center Election Study Codebooks. The Survey Research Center recommends that the 1960 election study data be weighted to insure a valid sample. This study was a continuation of a panel study begun in 1956. The Survey Research Center attempted to re-interview persons who were first interviewed in 1956 or 1958 in their 1960 election study. Several of the original interviewees could not be re-interviewed. Consequently, the 1960 study had a considerable attrition of sample subjects. The total number of respondents in 1960 (N = 1181) was quite small when compared with the other presidential election studies (average N = 1600). In order that the 1960 study would be representative of the population as a whole the Survey Research Center devised a weighting scheme. As a result of the weighting procedure for the 1960 data, measures of significance should be used with caution.

²Ithiel de Sola Pool, et al., Candidates, Issues, and Strategies (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M. I. T. Press, 1956), pp. 33-7.

³For a discussion of "chi-square" see Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960), pp. 212-31.

⁴See James A. Davis, Elementary Survey Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), pp. 72-6.

⁵Frank M. Andrews, et al., Multiple Classification Analysis: A Report on a Computer Program for Multiple Regression Analysis Using Categorical Predictors (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center, 1967), p. 7.

⁶Ibid., pp. 22-3.

⁷Ibid., p. 9.

⁸Ibid., p. 99. See also Blalock, Social Statistics, pp. 326-58.

⁹Some of the techniques and problems of time study are discussed in George W. Bohrnstedt, "Observations on the Measurement of Change," Sociological Methodology: 1969, ed. by Edgar F. Borgatta (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1969), pp. 113-133. A discussion of a mathematical approach to attitude change is presented by James S. Coleman, "The Mathematical Study of Change," Methodology in Social Research, ed. by Hubert M. Blalock, Jr. and Ann B. Blalock (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1968), pp. 428-78.

¹⁰See Bela O. Baker, et al., "Weak Measurement vs. Strong Statistics: An Emperical Critique of S. S. Stevens' Proscriptions on Statistics," Educational and Psychological Measurement, 26 (1966), 291-309; Sanford Labovitz, "Some Observations on Measurement and Statistics," Social Forces, 46 (December, 1967), 151-60; Edgar F. Borgatta, "My Student, the Purist: A Lament," Sociological Quarterly, 9 (Winter, 1968), 29-34; and Richard P. Boyle, "Path Analysis and Original Data," American Journal of Sociology, 75 (January, 1970), 461-80.

¹¹See Appendix A.

¹²The residence variable was correlated with a "size of place" variable to insure that it was a true indicator of rural-urban differences. The "size of place" variable was dichotomized in the following manner: rural--places less than 2500 in population, and urban--places exceeding 2500 in population. The correlation measure used for each study was "gamma." Each correlation indicated a very high level of association between the two variables in each study: 1965, .83; 1960, .70; 1964, .88; and 1968, .82.

¹³See Appendix B.

Chapter III

The Trends

In this chapter the trends in attitudes toward racial integration and the perception of party differences will be examined. Generally, it was expected that favorable attitudes toward racial integration would increase indicating that whites had become more racially tolerant. The expected increase did not occur; rather, a decrease in favorable attitudes toward racial integration was observed leading to the conclusion that whites became less tolerant instead of more tolerant. Further, it was expected that the perception of party differences would increase on racial issues. This increase in the perception of differences between the parties on racial issues was confirmed. In the following sections the findings of the preliminary analysis of the data will be explored in more detail.

Racial Tolerance

In Table III.1 the percentage distribution of respondents' attitudes toward racial integration is presented. The hypotheses of no difference in racial tolerance from

Table III.1
Attitudes Toward Racial Integration by Region Over Time*

	1956			1960			1964			1968		
	NS ^a	S ^b	Total	NS	S	Total	NS	S	Total	NS	S	Total
Most Favorable	34.8%	18.1%	30.2%	42.5%	13.3%	33.2%	26.1%	12.9%	22.5%	24.7%	14.2%	21.6%
Favorable	15.8	9.8	14.2	16.8	17.4	17.0	16.3	10.6	14.7	12.1	7.4	10.7
Neutral	25.9	34.5	28.2	21.2	32.7	24.9	18.6	15.8	17.9	18.9	16.6	18.2
Unfavorable	9.4	18.1	11.8	8.4	11.8	9.5	13.9	13.5	13.8	13.4	14.8	13.8
Most Unfavorable	14.2	19.6	15.7	11.1	24.8	15.5	25.1	47.3	31.2	30.9	47.0	35.7
N =	(1079)(409) (1488)						(928) (349) (1277) (890) (379) (1269)					
	Gamma = +.31			Gamma = +.44			Gamma = +.36			Gamma = +.28		

^aNS = Non-South

^bS = South

*All Subtables are significant at the .05 level using chi-square.

1956 through 1968, and of no significant regional differences in racial tolerance over time will be tested. By examining the total column for each time point it will be possible to comment upon the former hypothesis. The percentage of respondents who are most favorable increases from 1956 (30.2%) to a high of 33.2% in 1960, but then decreases by 10.7 percentage points in 1964 to 22.5% with the decrease continuing in 1968 (21.6%). Favorable responses fluctuate slightly, but the same decreasing trend can be noted in this category. The neutral category of responses decreases consistently from 1956 (28.2%) through 1964 (17.9%) remaining relatively constant from 1964 to 1968 (18.2%). The percentage of unfavorable responses remains constant in 1956 and 1960, increasing to 13.8% in 1964 and remains the same in 1968. In the most unfavorable category of responses there is a considerable increase when comparing 1956 or 1960 with 1964 and 1968. Little fluctuation in percentages can be observed between 1956 and 1960 (15.7% and 15.5%, respectively). Between 1960 and 1964, however, there is a 15.7 percentage point increase in the most unfavorable category to 31.2% in 1964 which continues to 35.7% in 1968. In the following paragraph the implications of these findings will be discussed.

The findings suggest that the hypothesis of no difference in racial tolerance over time can be rejected. The direction of attitudes toward racial integration and,

subsequently, racial tolerance which the findings indicated was unexpected. Favorableness toward racial integration at its highest position has declined over time suggesting that racial tolerance among whites has declined. The extreme category of unfavorableness toward racial integration increased greatly over time confirming the previous observation of a decline in racial tolerance and an increase in intolerance. At the first and second time points the favorable categories exceed the unfavorable categories while at the third and fourth time points the unfavorable categories exceed the favorable categories. This would suggest that not only has there been a decline in racial tolerance, but that a shift has occurred in the balance of attitudes with those who manifest an unfavorable attitude toward racial integration approaching a majority in 1968.

The changes which have been outlined above can be explored more thoroughly by examining the difference in attitudes toward racial integration between whites in the non-South and whites in the South. The level of association between region and attitudes toward racial integration is moderate in the positive direction and significant for each time point. The hypothesis of no significant difference by region in racial tolerance can be rejected. The most favorable and most unfavorable rows of the table point out the differences between the non-South and the South most clearly. The proportion of respondents in the non-South

who fall into the most favorable category exceed those who fall into this category in the South for each time point. The percentage of most unfavorable responses in the South is greater at each point in time than for the non-South. Two important trends emerge: there has been a decrease in the most favorable percentages for the non-South, and an increase in the non-South and the South in the most unfavorable row of responses over time. It can further be stated that the point at which this difference occurs most dramatically is between 1960 and 1964. In 1960 for the non-South the highest percentage of favorable responses can be observed which declines from 42.5% to 26.1% in 1964. For the South and the non-South a substantial increase in the most unfavorable category is in evidence for the same two time points. For the South there is an increase of approximately 22 percentage points from 1960 (24.8%) to 1964 (47.3%) and for the non-South there is an increase of 14 percentage points in this category from 11.1% in 1960 to 25.1% in 1964. The trend toward unfavorableness continues through 1968.

From the foregoing discussion several conclusions can be drawn. The trend in racial tolerance in the non-South is moving away from favorableness toward racial integration and in the direction of unfavorableness. In the South there has been a large increase in unfavorableness while the per cent of those favorable has remained relatively constant.

In comparing the non-South with the South one finds that the attitudes of non-Southern whites toward racial integration has become more like the attitudes of Southern whites. This contradicts what had been expected to occur over time. It was expected that favorableness toward racial integration would increase in both regions of the nation indicating increasing racial tolerance; instead, it has been observed that favorable attitudes have decreased while unfavorable attitudes have increased.

In this section it has been established that there are significant regional differences in racial tolerance, but that there is a general trend in the direction of unfavorableness toward racial integration in the non-South and the South. Further, it has been pointed out that in the non-South there has been a decrease in favorable attitudes over time. One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that at the earlier time points the civil rights movement was confined mainly to the South, while at the two later time points this movement had spread throughout the nation. With the growth of the civil rights movement in the decade of the sixties federal pressure to eliminate segregation in the South and non-South became stronger. In addition events of the sixties in the form of racial strife in large northern cities served to bring the growing dissatisfaction of blacks with conditions in the non-South to the fore. At the earlier time points whites in the non-South were

more likely to favor racial integration than oppose it, because the decision in favor of integration was made in the context of a movement which sought to break down the more visible segregation of the South. When the civil rights movement began to concentrate on "de facto segregation" in the non-South, as it became more militant, as federal pressure increased, the non-Southern white was confronted with a more immediate set of circumstances in both time and distance in which his opinions were made. As this occurred it is evident from Table III.1 that non-Southern whites became less favorable toward racial integration over time.

Party Differences

In Table III.2 the percentage distribution of respondents' perceptions of party differences over time is presented. Several conclusions can be drawn from this table. The Democratic party has been viewed as being the more favorable party on racial issues. In 1956 and 1960 the Republican party was viewed as being more favorable on racial issues, especially in the South, by those who saw a difference between the parties; however, the greatest percentage of respondents failed to see a difference between the parties. In 1964 60% of the respondents identified the Democratic party as more favorable toward racial issues. The South was slightly lower in the recognition of party

Table III.2

Perception of Party Differences on Racial Issues by Region Over Time

	1956			1960			1964			1968*		
	NS ^a	S ^b	Total	NS	S	Total	NS	S	Total	NS	S	Total
Democratic Party	18.6%	11.2%	16.6%	10.5%	4.3%	8.7%	62.2%	54.1%	60.0%	51.9%	45.4%	50.1%
No Difference	61.9	56.9	60.5	73.3	84.3	76.5	33.9	29.1	32.5	41.1	44.9	42.2
Republican Party	19.6	31.9	22.9	16.2	11.4	14.8	3.9	16.8	7.5	6.9	9.8	7.7
N =	(312)	(116)	(428)				(511)	(196)	(707)	(518)	(205)	(723)
							Gamma = .02		Gamma = .23		Gamma = .13	

^aNS = Non-South

^bS = South

*Not significant at the .05 level using chi-square test of significance. Unless noted all other subtables are significant.

differences than the non-South. The trend in the identification of the Democratic party as being more favorable continued in 1968, although there was some decline in the percentage of those who saw the Democratic party as more favorable toward racial issues. The strength of the relationship between region and perception of party differences was moderate in 1956, very weak in 1960, weak in 1964, and very weak in 1968. The hypothesis of no difference over time in the perception of party differences can be rejected.

The trend toward increasing recognition of the Democratic party as being more favorable toward racial issues was expected. Some regional differences in the perception of party differences emerged, but they were not great. The major distinction of differences between the parties appeared in 1964. The candidacy of Barry Goldwater, "A choice, not an echo," for the presidency in 1964 on the Republican ticket seemed to mark the beginning of real differences between the parties. This trend continued, although diminished somewhat, in 1968.

Chapter IV

Data Analysis: Racial Tolerance

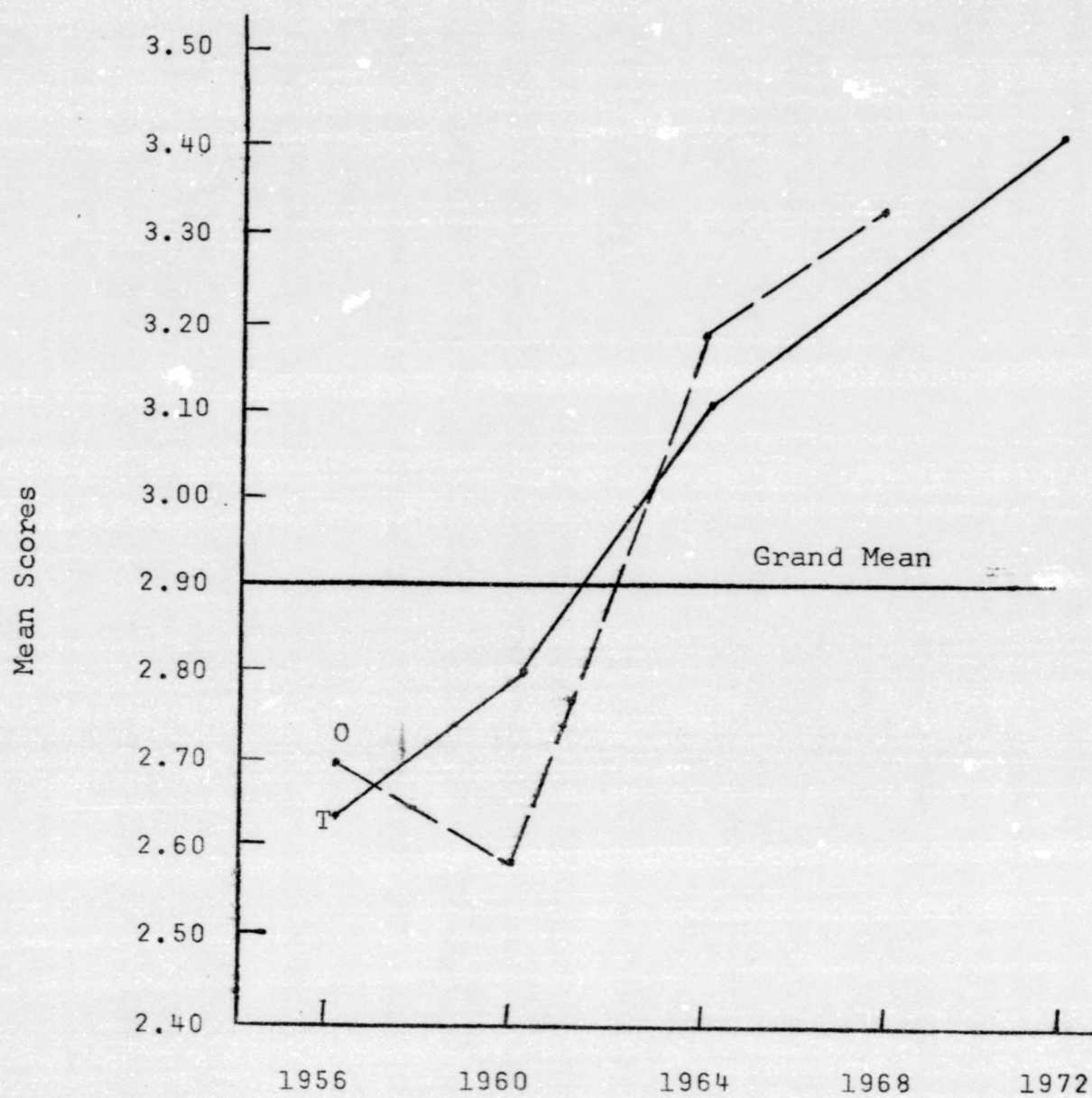
From the preliminary analysis of the data in which the trends in racial tolerance and the perception of party differences were identified the discussion turns to a more extensive analysis of the data. The following procedure will be utilized for the presentation of the findings: the hypothesis will be restated; the literature from which this hypothesis was drawn will be summarized; the findings of this study will be presented; and additional evidence and discussion will be undertaken. Before proceeding with the testing of the hypotheses a brief description of the tables and graphs utilized in this and the following chapter is in order. In the tables the "eta" and "beta" correlation coefficients for each independent variable are given for each time point. These indicate the strength of the relationship between each independent variable and the dependent variable both before the effects of the other independent variables are considered and after the effects of these variables are considered. The graphs which are also presented allow us to explore each independent variable

at each time point through the use of the class mean for each category of that variable.¹ The class mean has been called a mean score for each category of the independent variable when measured against the racial tolerance index or the perception of party differences index. In the case of racial tolerance low mean scores indicate more or high tolerance, high mean scores indicate less or low tolerance.²

Evidence supporting the observation that racial tolerance has decreased over time is provided by Figure IV.1 in which the mean score for each time point and a "fitted trend line" are plotted.³ The general decline in racial tolerance is illustrated most clearly. The mean score declined from 1956 through 1960 in the direction of greater tolerance, increases in the direction of less tolerance from 1960 to 1964 substantially, and increases again in 1968 though less drastically. From the fitted trend line which more nearly approximates a straight line the general trend toward decreasing tolerance can be seen to continue into 1972. This brief description has been presented prior to the testing of the hypotheses because the scores presented in this graph will provide a reference point for the graphs introduced throughout the rest of the discussion.

Figure IV.1

Racial Tolerance Mean Scores for Each Year of the Study



Key:

O = Observed Mean Scores

T = Trend Line

Regional Differences

Significant regional differences exist between the South and the non-South in racial tolerance. This conclusion drawn from the rejection of the null hypothesis of no regional differences in racial tolerance will be re-examined. Sheatsley has observed that although there were significant regional differences in attitudes toward racial integration there has been a decline in the differences between the South and the non-South in favorable attitudes to integration. A general increase was evident in favorableness in both regions, but the most dramatic increase occurred in the South.⁴ Glenn and Simmons reported in a study of regional differences that their data failed "to support the belief that regional differences declined appreciably."⁵ Among the findings which they reported was that there was a considerable divergence by region in the attitudes covered by their study "that relate to . . . racial and ethnic minorities"⁶ The South was identified as being the least liberal region across the attitudinal spectrum covered by their analysis.⁷

The findings of this study do not support those of Glenn and Simmons, nor do they support those reported by Sheatsley. The importance of region as a predictor of racial tolerance can be ascertained in Table IV.1. At each time point the "eta" and "beta" correlations for region tend to remain equal and they are significant,

Table IV.1
The Independent Variables as Predictors of Racial Tolerance Over Time

	1956		1960		1964		1968	
	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta
Region	.18*	.18*	.29*	.28*	.22*	.22*	.17*	.17*
Education	.07	.07	.05	.06	.05	.07	.10*	.07*
Age	.05	.07	.12*	.11*	.09	.06	.10*	.07*
Residence	.06*	.02	.08*	.03	.09	.04	.07*	.03
Party Identification	.05	.04	.08	.05	.19*	.20*	.14*	.17*
Inter-Regional Migration	.20*	.20*	.27*	.27*	.25*	.25*	.18*	.18*

*Significant at the .05 level using the appropriate "F" test.

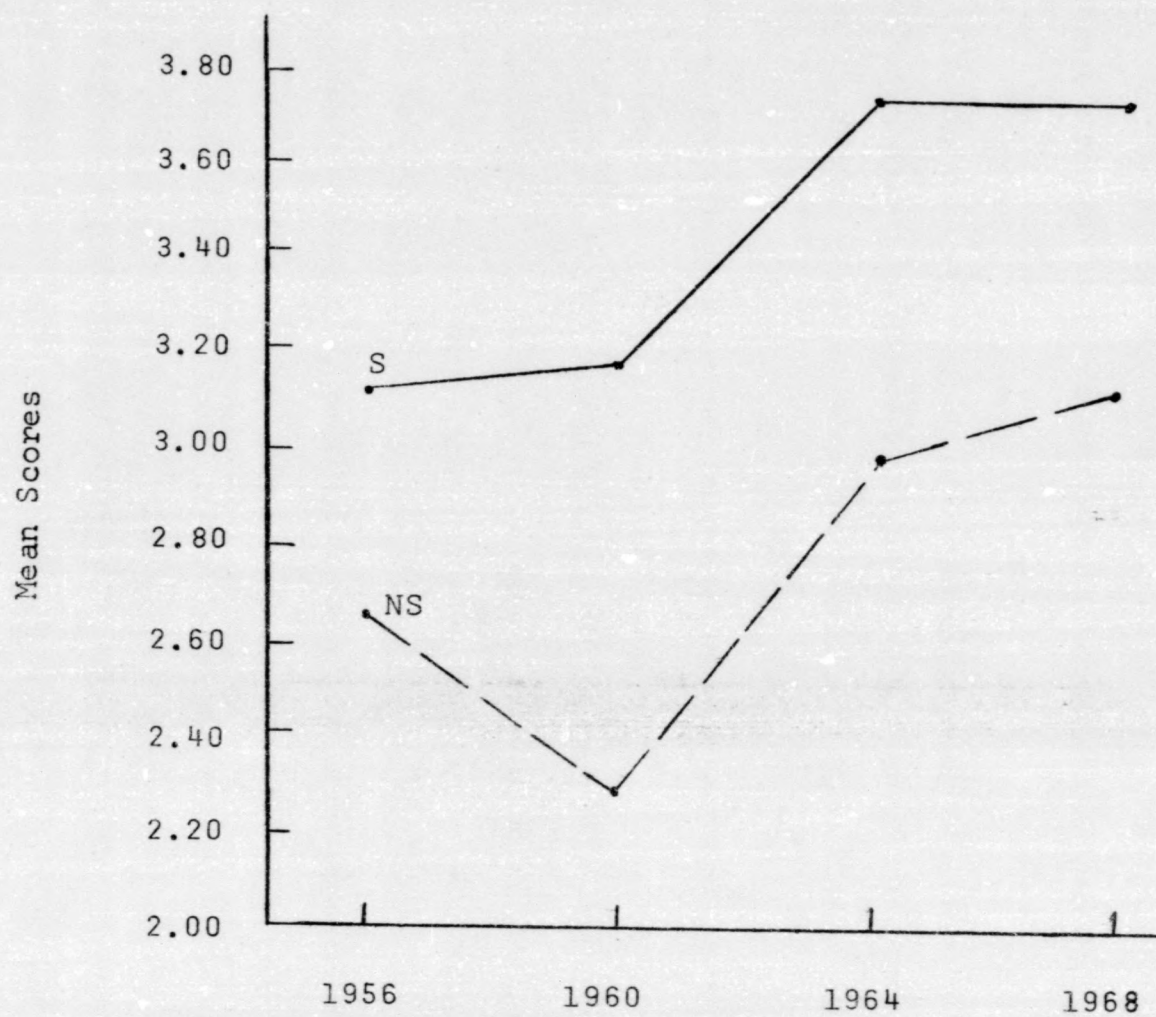
indicating that region is an effective predictor of racial attitudes across time. However, the predictive power of region fluctuates somewhat. By focusing on the "beta" correlations this fluctuation is readily apparent. Region appears to be diminishing in strength when we consider "beta" for 1960, 1964, and 1968. Region was most effective as a predictor in 1960 (beta = .28) from which point it declines in effectiveness in 1964 (.22) and again in 1968 (.17). The conclusion can be drawn that although there are still significant regional differences, these differences appear to be diminishing.

The direction in which the differences between the regions are declining can be determined by an examination of Figure IV.2. The general direction of the decline in differences between the South and the non-South is toward a lessening of racial tolerance. The mean score for the South rises at each time point with the greatest increase occurring in 1964. For the non-South racial tolerance increases from 1956 to 1960, then decreases from that point through to 1968 with the greatest decrease in tolerance (indicated by the increase in the mean score) in 1964. If the analysis is carried a step further the assumption that the non-South is becoming more like the South in racial attitudes.

By examining the degree of divergence of the points plotted on the graph for each region it is clear that the

Figure IV.2

Racial Tolerance Mean Scores for Each Region, 1956-1968



Key:

—— South
----- Non-South

greatest difference in racial tolerance between the regions was in 1960. The degree to which the points differ from each other becomes smaller in 1964. In 1968 the points are closest to each other indicating that this is the point of least difference. When this is considered in the context of the general direction of racial tolerance the decline in the differences across time is apparent.

The possible explanation of the decline in differences between the regions in the direction indicated was offered earlier. Briefly summarizing this explanation, when the civil rights movement was confined largely to the South, non-Southern whites could more easily support racial integration. As the civil rights movement spread throughout the rest of the nation seeking to break down the many forms of less visible segregation pressures were increased. The non-Southern white was no longer able to support racial integration at a distance, he was confronted by the demands for integration in the place where he lived. The result was that racial tolerance as it decreased in the South decreased in the non-South.

Education

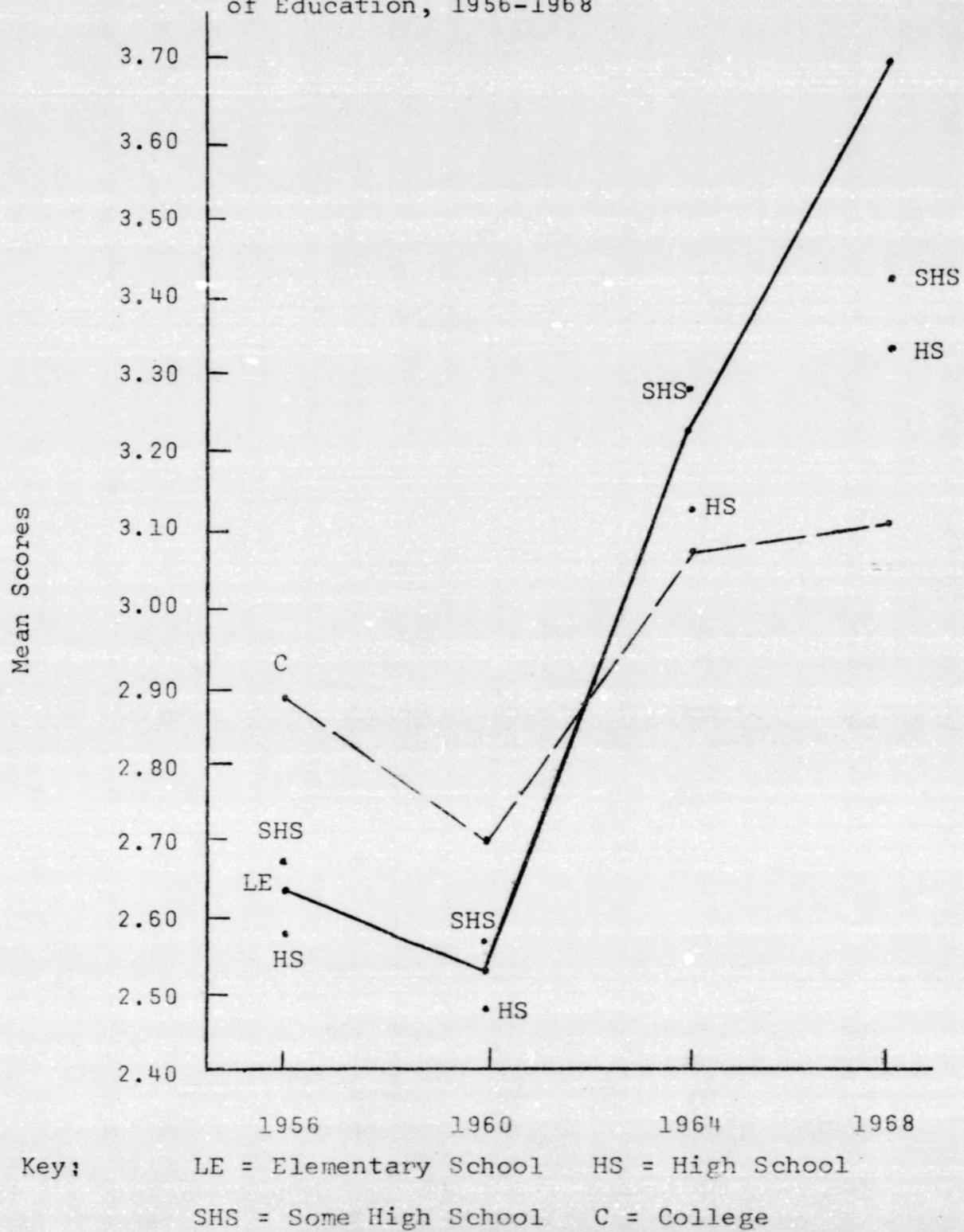
The hypothesis which will be tested at this time is that there is no significant relationship between education and racial tolerance over time. In the review of the literature conflicting findings concerning the effectiveness

of the education variable were described.⁸ Education was viewed as having no effect upon increasing racial tolerance, and it was viewed as having a positive effect upon increasing racial tolerance. Education as a predictor of racial tolerance has improved. For the 1956, 1960, and 1964 studies education is not a significant predictor of attitudes (Table IV.1). Only in 1968 is the predictive power of education significant and in that year its effectiveness is weak, declining when adjusted for the effects of the other predictors in the table. Considering that there are no significant relationships for the first three time points the hypothesis of no significant relationship can be accepted for this period of time, but it can be rejected for the last time point. This qualified rejection of the null hypothesis can be clarified through the analysis of Figure IV.3.

The mean scores for each level of education in the first three time points are relatively homogeneous. There is little spread between the lowest score and highest score. In 1964 the expected pattern of the levels of education begins to emerge with the college level being more tolerant than the other levels of education. The first real differences in racial tolerance can be observed in 1968 where the spread in mean scores increases between the more tolerant college educated group of respondents and those respondents who are in the other categories of

Figure IV.3

Racial Tolerance Mean Scores for Each Level
of Education, 1956-1968



education. The scores for each level of education vary considerably over time and tend to be in the direction of less tolerance. Only in 1968 does the expected pattern of mean scores emerge for the educational levels. If we were to rank the educational levels from the most tolerant to the least tolerant it would appear as follows: college educated, high school educated, some high school education, and elementary school education or less.

Although education has become a significant predictor of racial tolerance, its predictive power is minimal. In the data, however, there is no evidence that higher levels of education have led to increasing racial tolerance across time. This would tend to support Alford and Scoble who suggested that education had no effect on "pro-Negro" attitudes.⁹ If higher education had led to increasing tolerance, then the mean scores for the college level of education would have been expected to decline over time. However, if education continues as a significant predictor of racial tolerance, it may yet produce the effect asserted by Sheatsley and Treiman that it will serve to reduce prejudice.

Age

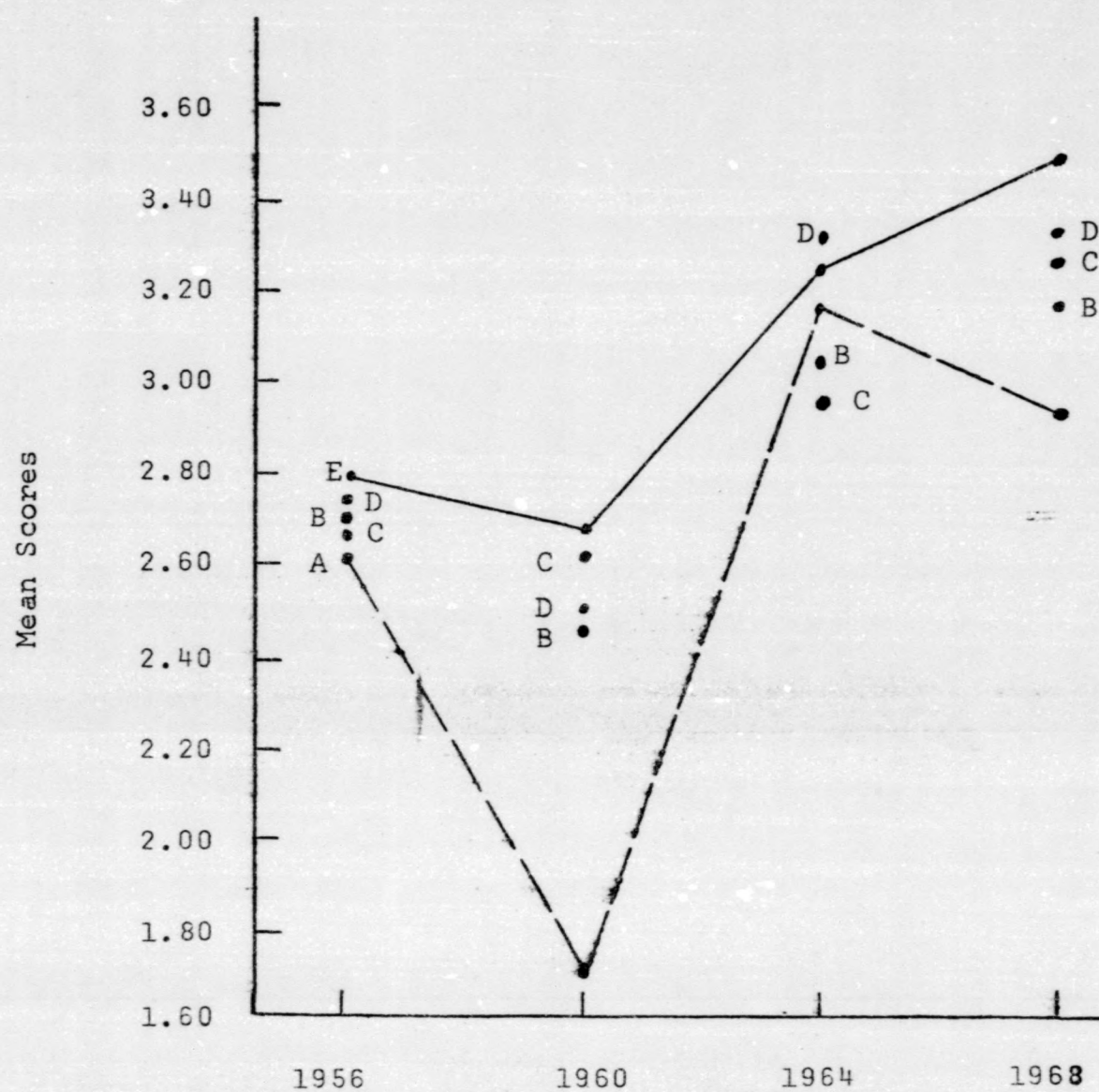
The hypothesis that there will be no significant relationship between age and racial tolerance across time will be tested. The generally presumed relationship between age

and racial tolerance is that as age increases racial tolerance will decrease. Age is a significant predictor of racial tolerance for 1960 and 1968. It is weak in its predictive power consistently across time (Table IV.1). For the studies of 1956 and 1964 there is no significant relationship between age and racial tolerance. The hypothesis stated above can be accepted, if we consider that age is not consistently significant as a predictor for the time period with which we are concerned. Additional insight into the relationship between age and tolerance can be gained from Figure IV.4.

Within each time point the scores exhibit differing degrees of variation. Across time the scores for each age group fluctuate considerably. For 1956, 1960, and 1968 the 18 to 24 year old age group is the most tolerant. In 1964 the 35 to 44 year old group is slightly more tolerant than the 25 to 34 year old group. The youngest age group which is less tolerant at this time has a score that is slightly above the mean of 3.16 for 1964. The two older age groupings tend to be the least tolerant across time with some minor variation in their relative positions in 1960 and 1964. In 1968 the age groups fall into the pattern which was identified in the above paragraph. One of the more interesting observations which can be made involves the youngest age group. When comparing the mean scores for 1960 and 1964 for this age group a substantial increase

Figure IV.4

Racial Tolerance Mean Scores for
Each Age Category, 1956-1968



Key: A = 18-24 years old B = 25-34 years old
C = 35-44 years old D = 45-54 years old
E = 55 and over

in mean scores can be observed which indicates a dramatic decrease in racial tolerance. In 1960 the youngest age group was by far the most tolerant and as was noted earlier they were not the most tolerant age group in 1964. This decrease in racial tolerance between 1960 and 1964 could be a function of the general trend toward less tolerance as well as the effects of events which modified the attitudes of the young.

The process of aging has some effect across time. The time period covered by this study is twelve years so that comparisons between age groups over time could be made. Increases in age lead to more conservative attitudes insofar as these attitudes deal with racial tolerance.

Residence

Residence has been held to be a significant indicator of attitudes toward racial integration. It has also been suggested that residence is of little effectiveness in aiding in the explanation of racially tolerant attitudes. The hypothesis to be tested at this time is that residence is not significantly related to racial tolerance. The "eta" and "beta" correlations for residence indicate that it has little predictive power. The eta correlation coefficients are very low for residence across time, although they are significant for the 1956 study. However, when we examine "beta" the correlation coefficients

approach zero in each time study suggesting that what little effectiveness residence has as a predictor is diminished when the other independent variables are considered. The mean scores for the residence variable presented in Figure IV.5 show that there is only a minimal difference in attitudes between rural residents and urban residents. Urban residents are slightly more tolerant than rural residents at each time point and across time.

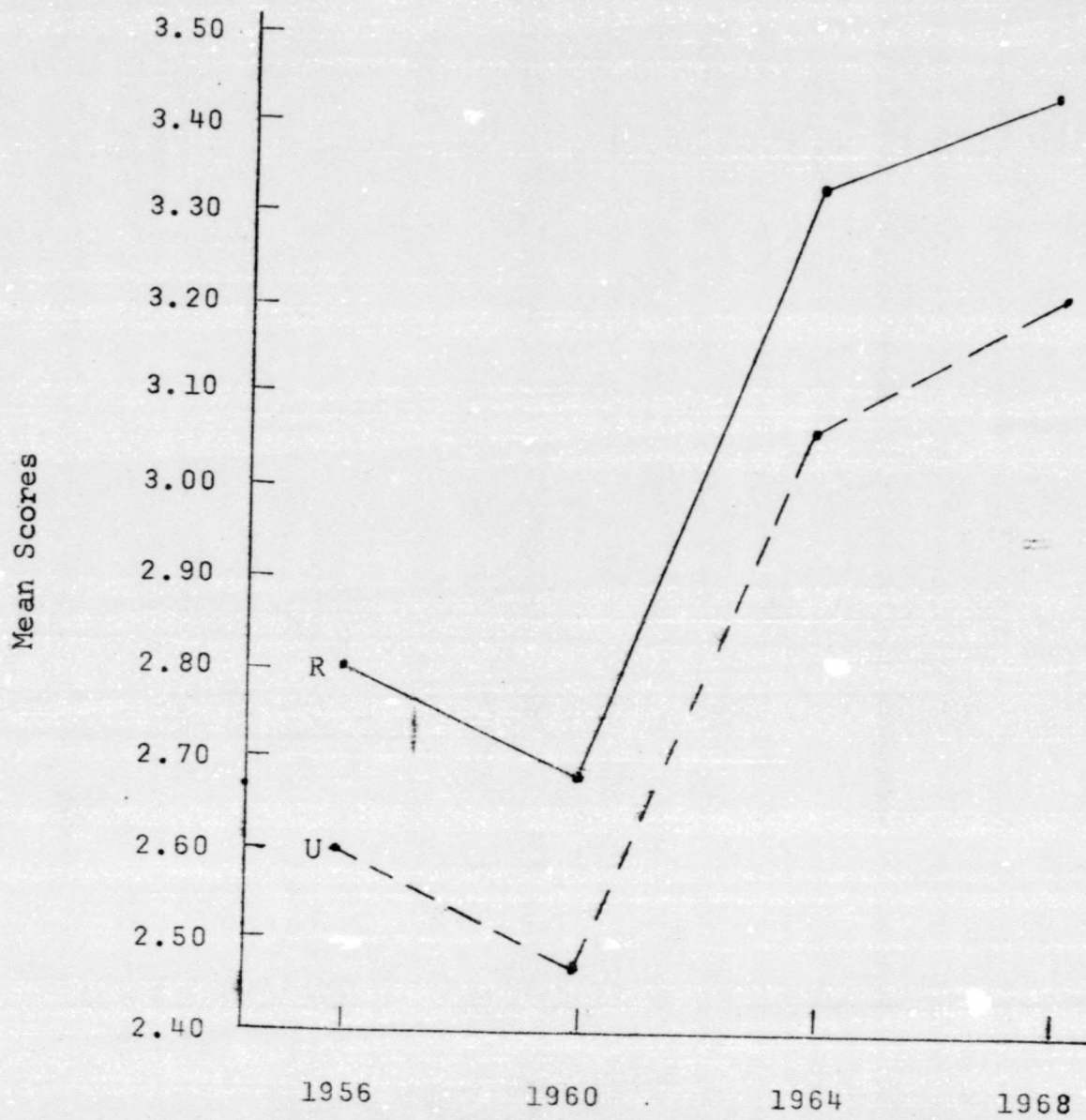
The findings presented in the foregoing paragraph lead to the acceptance of the null hypothesis. The correlation between residence and racial tolerance is very near to zero. There are only small differences between persons who reside in rural areas and persons who reside in urban areas in their attitudes toward racial integration over time. These findings would agree with those of Claude Fischer who observed that when controls were added the relationship between city-size and tolerance went down.¹⁰

Inter-Regional Migration

The hypothesis which will be tested at this time states that there is no significant relationship between inter-regional migration and racial tolerance. Hyman and Sheatsley reported that Southerners who moved from the South to the non-South tended to score higher than Southerners who remained in the South in racial tolerance. Persons who moved from the South to the non-South tended to score lower

Figure IV.5

Racial Tolerance Mean Scores for
Place of Residence, 1956-1968



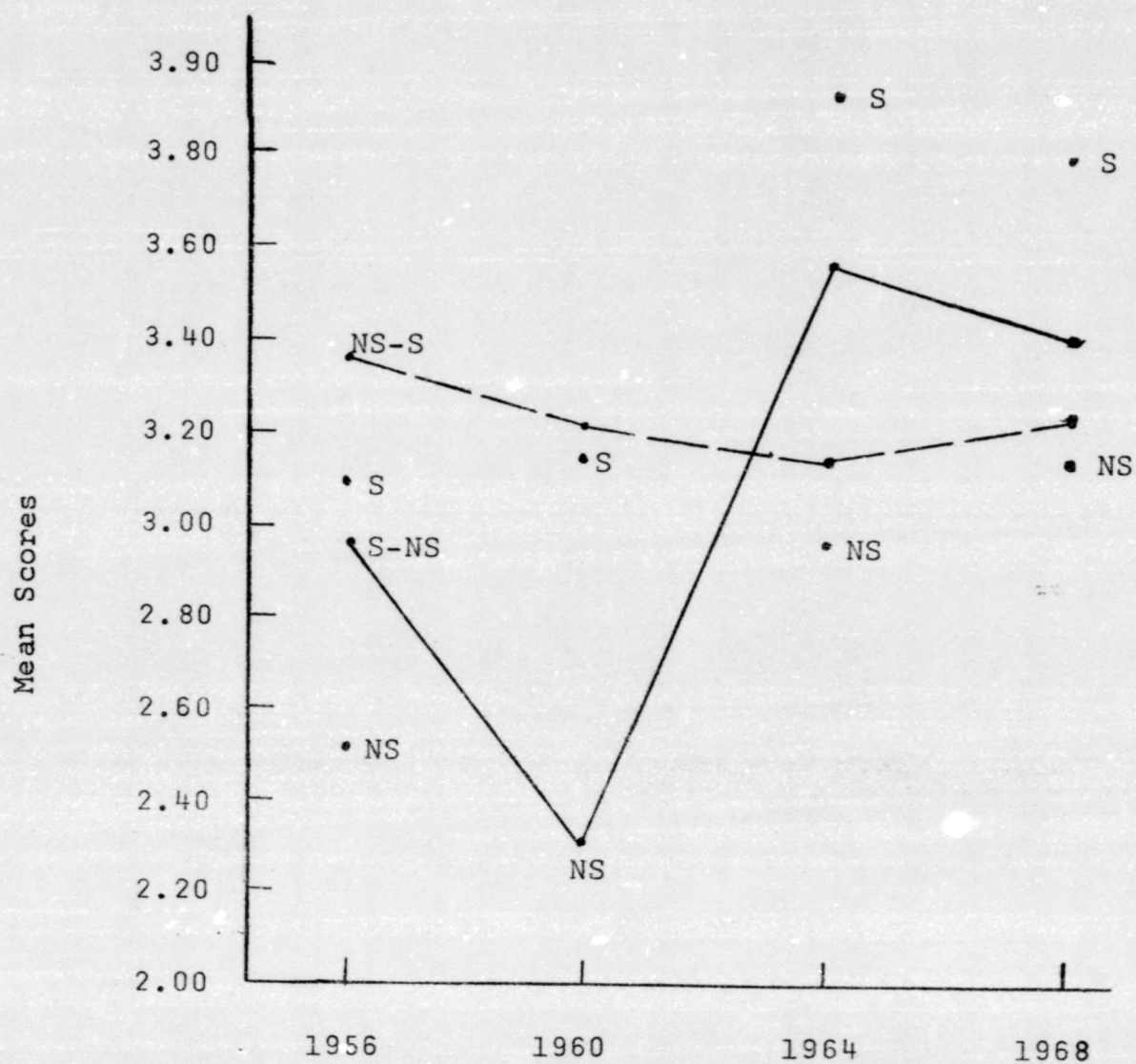
in tolerance than non-Southerners who remained in the non-South, but higher in tolerance than Southerners who left the South or the native Southerner. Sheatsley in a later study reported similar findings.

The hypothesis of no significant relationship can be rejected. Inter-regional migration is a significant predictor of racial tolerance. The "eta" and "beta" correlation coefficients are significant at each time point. The effectiveness of the migration variable as a predictor does not remain constant across time. It was a mildly stronger predictor of attitudes toward integration in 1960 and 1964 where "beta" approaches the moderate level of association (1960: .27 and 1964: .27). This correlation declines to .18 suggesting that inter-regional migration decreased mildly in its predictive power.

Turning to Figure IV.6 the findings of this study can be compared with those of Hyman and Sheatsley. At the first and second time points there is some discrepancy between what these data indicates and the findings of Hyman and Sheatsley. In 1956 we find that non-Southern whites were the most tolerant and that non-Southern whites who moved to the South were the least tolerant surpassing native Southern whites in intolerance. Southerners who moved to the non-South and native non-Southerners scored at the same level of tolerance in 1960. They were more tolerant than native Southerners and non-Southerners who had

Figure IV.6

Racial Tolerance Mean Scores for Each Category
of Inter-Regional Migration, 1956-1968



Key: S = South
S-NS = South to Non-South
NS-S = Non-South to South
NS = Non-South

moved to the South and whose mean scores were approximately equal. In 1964 and 1968 the ordering in racial tolerance appeared as stated by Hyman and Sheatsley: non-Southerners were more tolerant than those who had moved to the South who were more tolerant than whites who left the South for the non-South who, in turn, were more tolerant than Southerners who had not left the South. Southerners who moved were closer to Southerners who remained in the South in racial tolerance in 1964, whereas in 1968 they were closer to whites who moved from the non-South and whites who had not moved. Finally, the degree of fluctuation in scores is least for the whites who moved from the non-South to the South and greatest for whites who moved from the South to the non-South across time.

Several possible explanations for the findings which have been described seem plausible. For 1956 it could be argued that non-Southern whites who became residents of the South adopted the prevailing values of the South more strongly than would have been suspected. Southern whites who moved to the non-South were essentially affected by the same phenomena in 1960. It could also be argued that non-Southern whites who moved to the South were "simply" less tolerant than were whites in the non-South generally and that the prevailing attitudes and values of the South served to reinforce negative attitudes toward integration which were already present in these new Southerners. A

more plausible explanation would seem to be that the process of interaction and adoption of values set in the context of events and experiences served to mitigate the predominant values of the whites who left their native regions. The Southerners who moved to the non-South were slowly adopting the values of the non-South. The non-Southerners who moved to the South became less tolerant as a result of adoption of values and interaction--that is, some accommodation did occur.

Party Identification and Party Changers

Several hypotheses will be tested in this section which have as their purpose the determination of whether or not there is a significant relationship between strength of party identification and racial tolerance, the identification of the relative positions of the party identifiers and non-identifiers to racial tolerance, and the identification of the relative positions of party changers to racial tolerance. Free and Cantril have observed that Democrats tend to be much more liberal than Republicans ideologically and operationally. They point out that "it is evident that at the rank and file level there are fundamental differences in outlook and orientation between Democrats and Republicans."¹¹

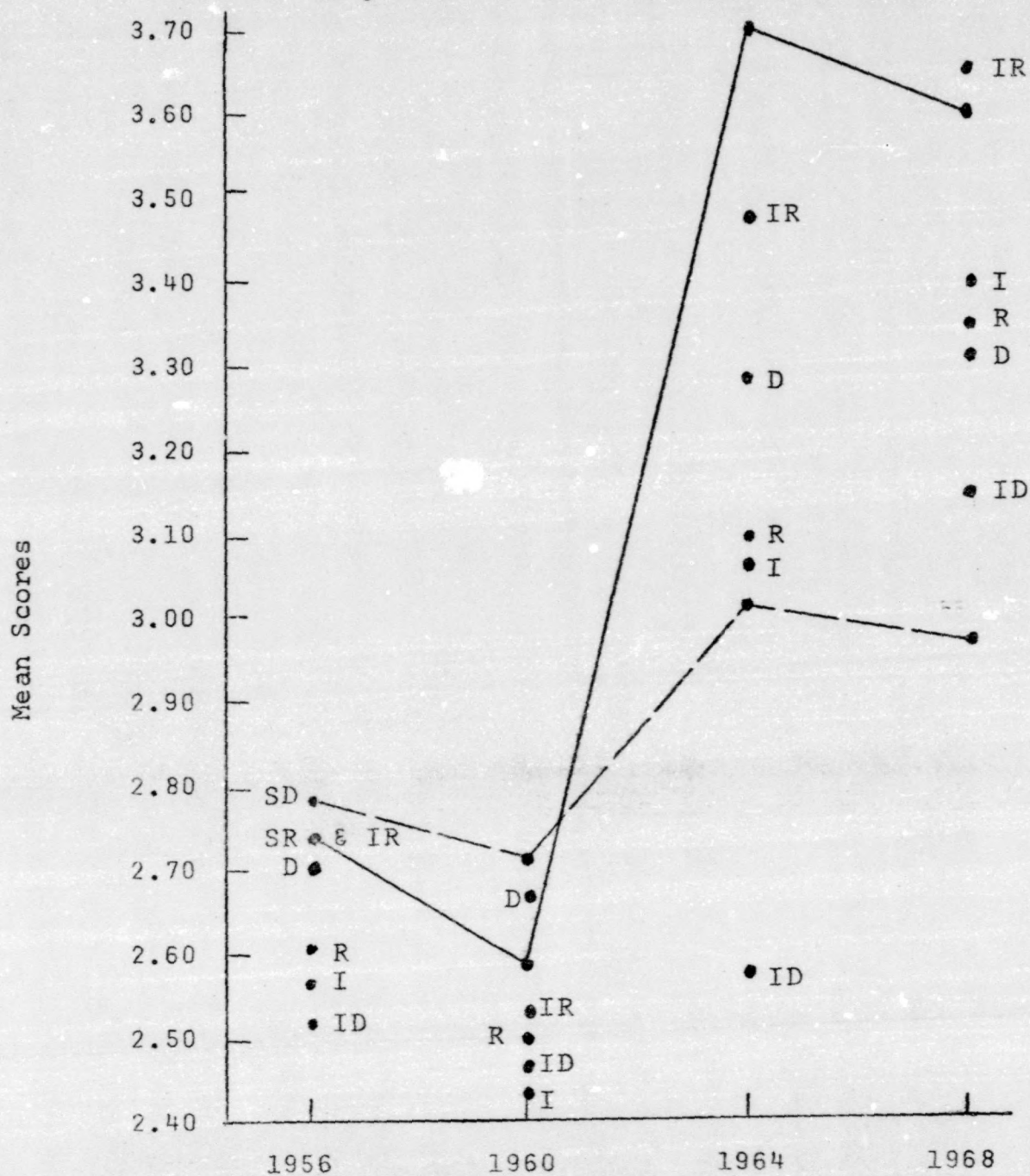
The first hypothesis to be tested is that there is no significant relationship between strength of party

identification and racial tolerance. The "eta" and "beta" correlation coefficients are very weak in 1956 and 1960 and are not significant. They increase slightly from 1956 to 1960. In 1964 and 1968 these correlations improve and are significant suggesting that strength of party identification is an effective predictor of racial tolerance.

The relationship between strength of party identification and racial tolerance can be further explored from an examination of Figure IV.7. It will also be possible to test the hypothesis that there is no difference in the positions of party identifiers and non-identifiers to racial tolerance. In the first time point, 1956, the mean scores of racial tolerance are clustered. Strong Democrats, strong Republicans, independents who lean toward the Republican party and weak Democrats are less tolerant than weak Republicans, independents, and independents who lean toward the Democratic party. Although there is more spread in the mean scores in 1960, the same basic ordering is apparent. In 1964 major differences appear between identifiers of the Democratic and Republican parties, as well as between them and non-identifiers in racial tolerance. At this time point independents who are closer to the Democratic party are much more tolerant. They are followed in tolerance by the strong Democrats, independents, and weak Republicans. Strong Republicans are the least tolerant. The mean scores in 1968 indicate

Figure IV.7

Racial Tolerance Mean Scores for Each
Level of Party Identification, 1956-1968



Key: SD = Strong Democrat D = Weak Democrat
 I = Independent ID = Independent Democrat
 IR = Independent Republican R = Weak Republican
 SR = Strong Republican

that strong Democrats have increased in racial tolerance. Strong Democrats are the most tolerant followed by independents closer to the Democratic party, weak Democrats, weak Republicans, independents, strong Republicans, and independents closer to the Republican party. The latter two groups emerge as the least tolerant.

From this discussion several conclusions can be drawn. The differences which appear within the graph between party identifiers and non-identifiers reject the supposition that there are little differences between them. The attitudes of subclasses of independents as well as those of subclasses of party identifiers varied considerably across time. The independents are composed of persons who are closely aligned with the Democratic party, those who are closely aligned with the Republican party, and those who do not lean either way. The differences between time points in the racial tolerance of independents could also be a function of the growth in the number of persons who classify themselves as independents.

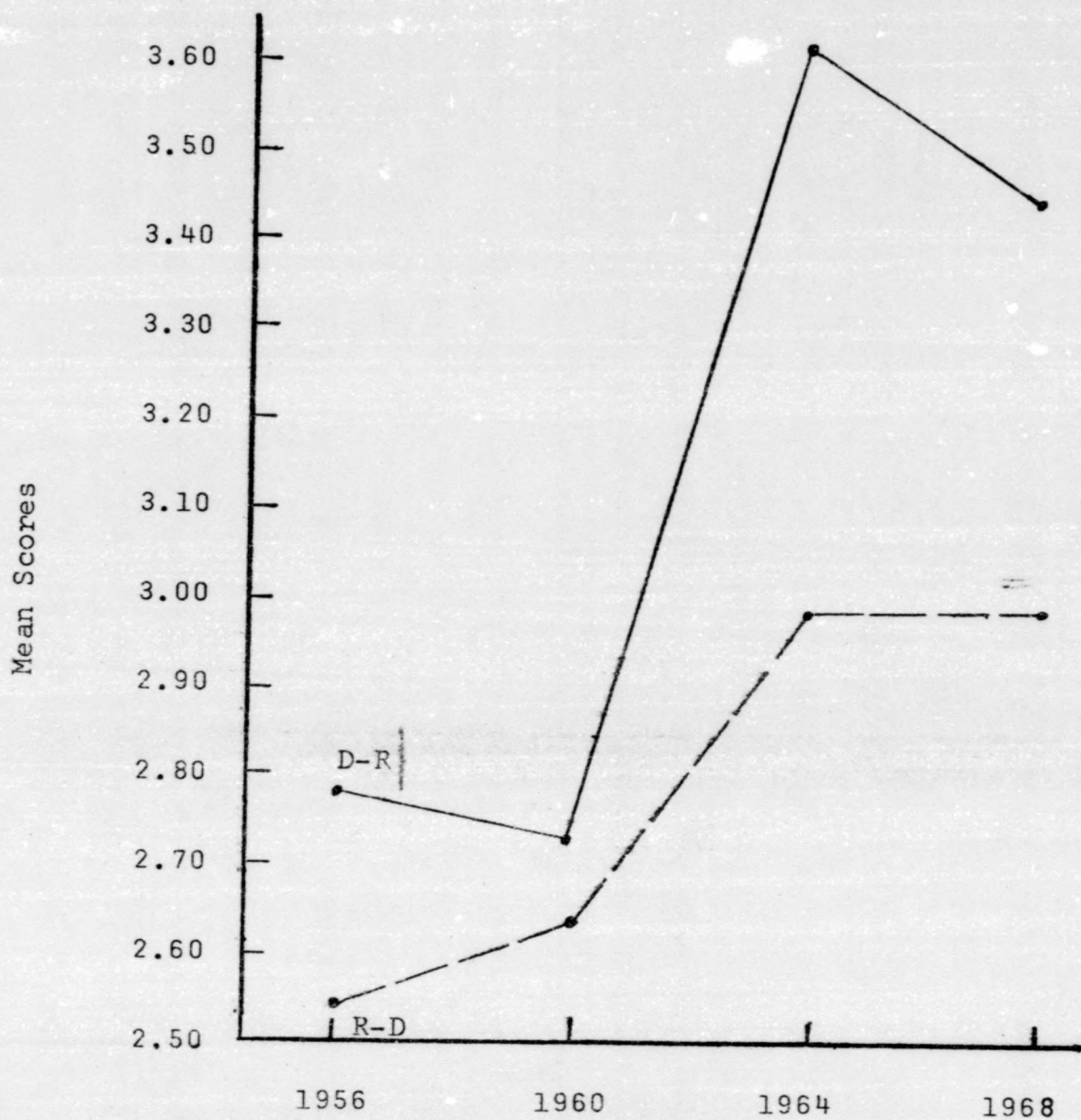
Although the differences are not great the data suggest that persons who identify themselves as strong Democrats are more likely to score higher in racial tolerance than are those who identify themselves as strong Republicans. For 1968 persons who identified themselves either as strong, weak, or independent Democrats were more tolerant than the combined group of Republican identifiers. One possible

explanation for the above finding would be that at the earlier time points when positions of the parties toward racial integration were unclear those strong Democrats in the South and non-South who were less tolerant retained this strong identification as did Republicans who were more tolerant. When the positions of the parties became clearer in the later time periods some lessening in the strength of party identification or partisan change may have taken place. This would account within the context of the general trend and consideration of the influx of new party identifiers for some of the change which we observed. The discussion will be expanded further when consideration is turned below to party changers and in the following section to the perception of party differences.

The hypothesis of no relationship between party change and racial tolerance will be tested. In the literature it was noted that where a person's attitude toward a given issue was in conflict with his party's position on that issue the ingredients are present for partisan change.¹² In Figure IV.8 mean scores for party changers are presented. Republicans who change their party identification to the Democratic party are more tolerant at each time point than are Democrats who change to the Republican party. In 1956 and 1960 there is little spread between the mean scores while in 1964 and 1968 the spread between the scores is greater. The difference in the mean scores indicate that

Figure IV.8

Racial Tolerance Mean Scores for
Party Changers, 1956-1968



Key: D-R = Democratic to Republican Party
R-D = Republican to Democratic Party

there is a relationship between partisan change and racial tolerance.

The more tolerant Republicans who were party changers switched to the Democratic party which has been viewed as the more favorable party toward racial issues. To these Republicans the position of the Democratic party would seem to be more compatible with their attitudes toward racial integration. Democratic party changers switched to the Republican party which has been viewed as being less favorable on racial issues. In many instances, however, it should be noted that before partisan change takes place there must be a conflict between the party's positions on a wide variety of issues and the party identifier's attitudes toward these issues.¹³

Footnotes

¹For a check of the accuracy of the mean score the median was determined for racial tolerance and the perception of party differences at each time point. When they were compared there were no great differences between the two measures.

²The unadjusted mean scores of racial tolerance are reported for each class of each independent variable. These scores were compared with the adjusted mean scores which control out for the effects of the other variables. The ordering of the classes of each independent variable remained the same. When the adjusted mean scores were plotted the curve of the lines remained the same.

³For a discussion of the fitted trend line see Dennis J. Palumbo, Statistics in Political and Behavioral Science (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), pp. 250-258.

⁴Sheatsley, "White Attitudes Toward the Negro," pp. 220-223.

⁵Glenn and Simmons, "Regional Cultural Differences," p. 180.

⁶Ibid., p. 187.

⁷Ibid., p. 190.

⁸See Chapter I, pp. 3-5.

⁹See Hyman and Sheatsley, "Attitudes Toward Desegregation," pp. 22-23.

¹⁰Several possible explanations are offered by Claude Fischer, "A Research Note on Urbanism and Tolerance," pp. 847-856.

¹¹Free and Cantril, Political Beliefs of Americans, p. 138.

¹²Campbell, et al., The American Voter, p. 97.

¹³McCloskey, "Issue Conflict and Consensus," p. 423.

Chapter V

Data Analysis: Perception of Party Differences

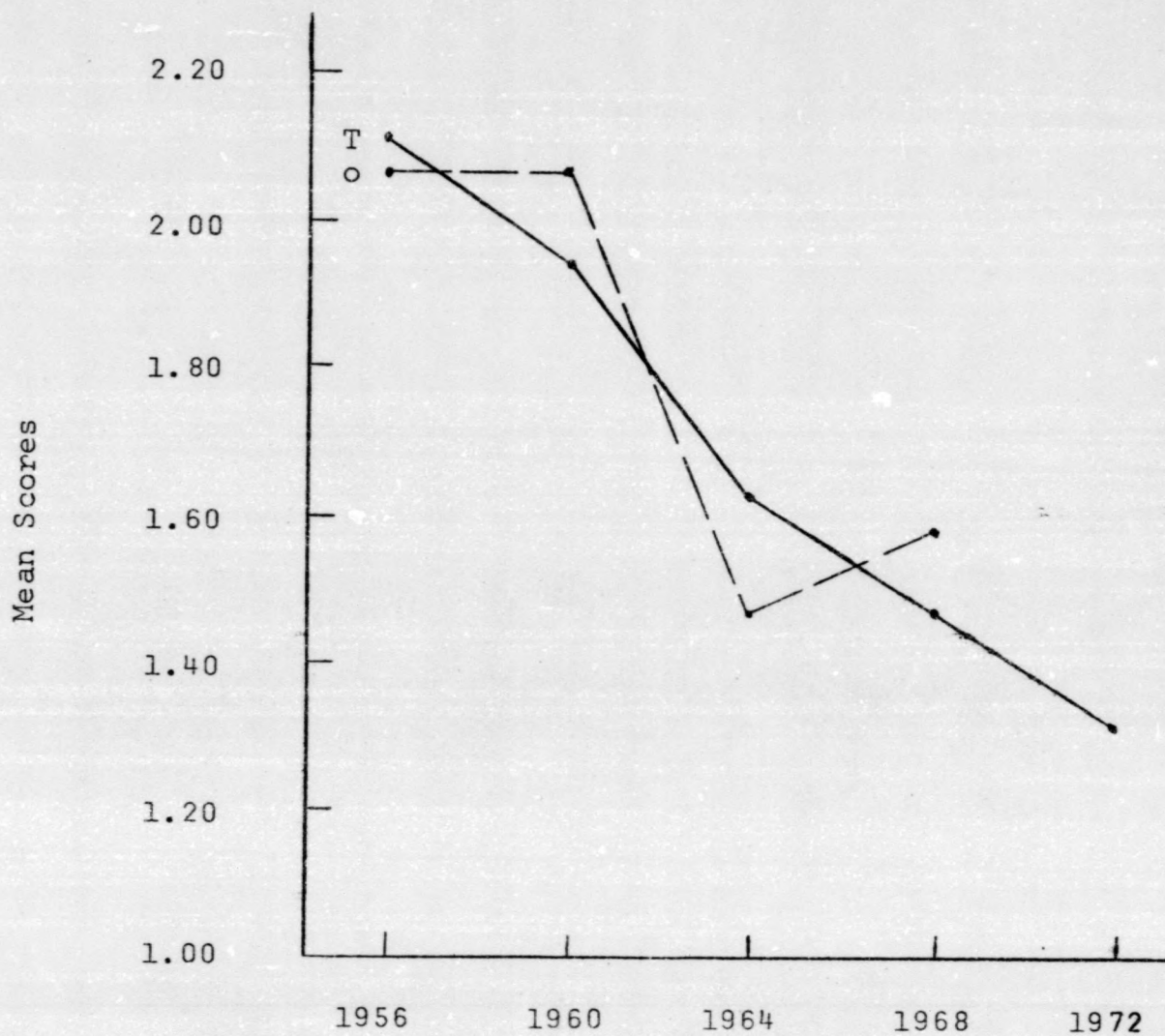
The findings for the perception of party differences will be presented in this chapter. The procedure utilized for the presentation of the findings in Chapter IV will be followed. The graphs which appear throughout the discussion present the mean scores for the classes of each independent variable at each time point.¹ Perceptions of differences between the parties are indicated by the following mean scores: low scores represent a tendency to see the Democratic party as more favorable, high mean scores represent the tendency to see the Republican party as more favorable, and middle range scores would indicate the inability to perceive differences between the parties. The independent variables used in the analysis are region, racial tolerance, strength of party identification and party change. Before proceeding with a discussion of the findings a brief comment on the "party change" variable is appropriate. "Party change" refers to the change in party identification of an individual. In the item which measured "party change" the respondent was asked if he had ever identified with another political party prior to his present party identification.

In the preliminary analysis of the data it was noted that there was a trend toward the recognition of the Democratic party as more favorable on racial issues. This trend toward the recognition of the Democratic party is clearly illustrated by the direction of the mean scores for the respondents at each time point and the "fitted trend line" in Figure V.1. In 1956 and 1960 the mean scores are just above the level of no difference, but between 1960 and 1964 the scores decline in the direction of the Democratic party. They rise slightly between 1964 and 1968, but remain in the Democratic portion of the graph. The trend line indicates that the observed trend will continue through 1972. At the earlier time points there were no generally perceived differences between the parties, what little there was suggested that the Republican party was perceived as being a little more favorable. When the party policy positions were established the perception of differences on racial issues between the Democratic and Republican parties increased with the Democratic party being identified as the more favorable party.

Pomper noted the appearance of this trend toward increasing awareness among the voters of differences between the parties. He suggested that the Democratic party was being identified as the more liberal party and the Republican party was being identified as the more conservative.

Figure V.1

Party Difference Mean Scores on Racial
Issues for Each Year of the Study



Key: O = Observed Mean Scores

T = Trend Line

Note: Low mean scores indicate the perception of the Democratic party as more favorable. High mean scores indicate the perception of the Republican party as more favorable.

party on a variety of issues which included issues of racial integration. Free and Cantril stated that the membership of the Democratic party tends to be more liberal than the membership of the Republican party which tends to be conservative. Democratic followers were shown to be closer to their leaders in identifying the Democratic party as being "liberal" while Republican followers were not quite as close to their leaders in identifying the Republican party as more conservative. With these findings in mind we explore the perception of differences between the stands of the Democratic party and the Republican party. Table V.1 will be used throughout this analysis.

Region

The hypothesis which will be tested at this time is that the perception of party differences on racial issues will not differ significantly by region over time. The correlation coefficients for region as a predictor are presented in Table V.1. Region is a significant predictor of party differences in 1956, 1964, and 1968. The "beta" correlations indicate that for these time periods the effectiveness of region declines. Figure V.2 provides us with a better understanding of the meaning of these correlations. In 1956 Southerners and non-Southerners did not perceive great differences between the political parties. Some Southerners, however, did exhibit a tendency to state that they saw the Republican party as being more favorable

Table V.1

Region, Racial Tolerance, and Strength of Party Identification as
Predictors of Perceptions of Party Differences

	1956		1960		1964		1968	
	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta	Eta	Beta
Region	.15*	.18*	.02	.08	.16*	.18*	.06	.09*
Racial Tolerance	.04	.04	.08	.09	.18*	.12*	.09	.04
Strength of Party Identification	.10	.12	.27*	.28*	.22*	.22*	.28*	.28*

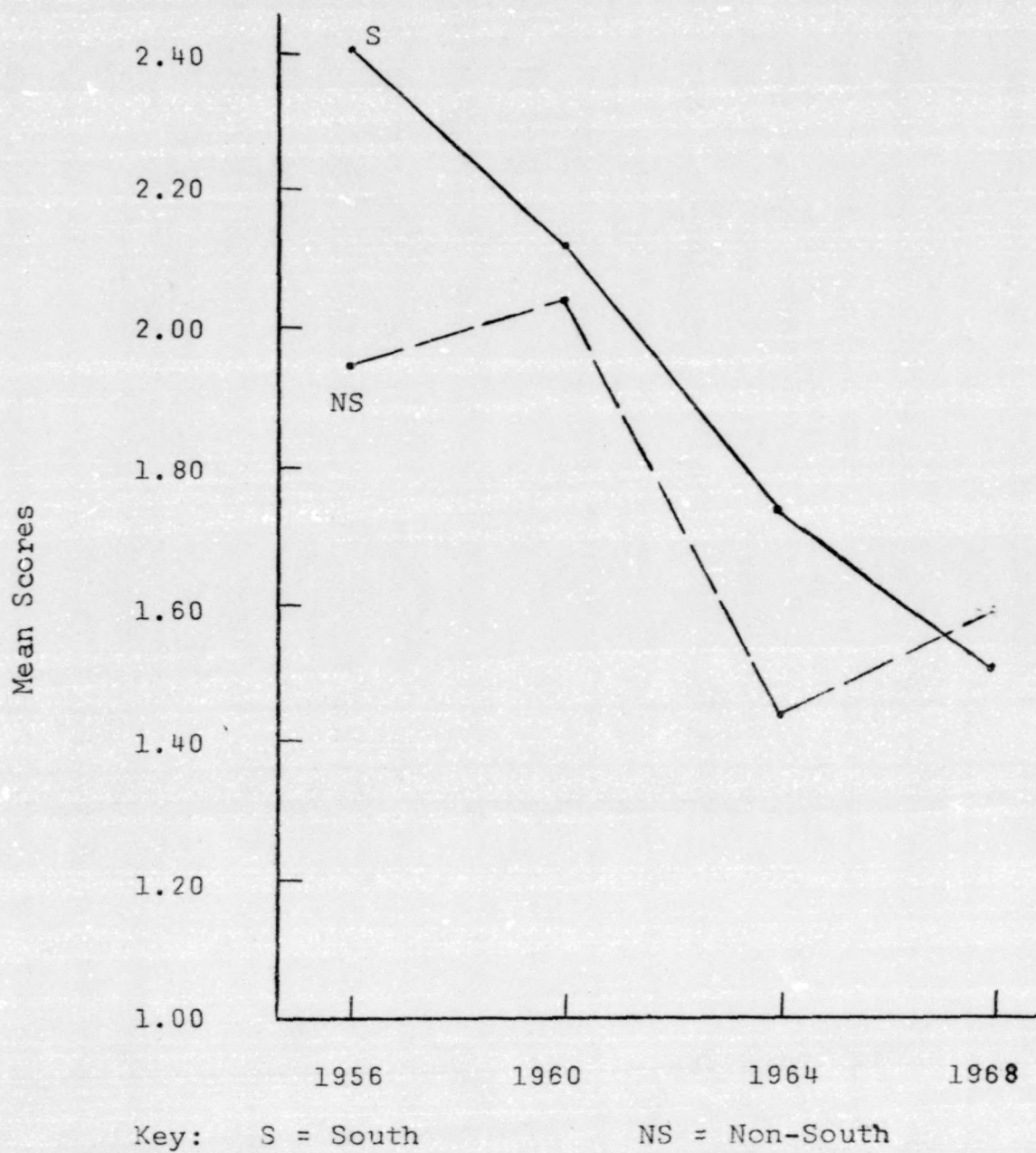
*Significant at the .05 level using the appropriate "F" test.

on racial issues. Non-Southerners and Southerners did not perceive any differences between the policy positions of the Democratic and Republican parties in 1960. The mean scores for non-Southern whites and Southern whites declined in 1964. Both groups perceived the Democratic party as the more favorable party on racial issues. There was some difference in the scores of non-Southerners and Southerners with the former scoring lower than the latter. The Democratic party was identified as the more favorable party on racial issues by non-Southerners and Southerners in 1968. The difference between these groups noted in 1964 decreased in 1968 as the policy positions of the parties became more clearly delineated.

Although we reject the null hypothesis of no significant differences between the regions, it should be pointed out that the differences between the regions are more a matter of degree than of direction. When differences between the parties were indicated the direction of the whites from both regions was toward the perception of the Democratic party as being more favorable. The differences in the mean scores of non-Southerners and Southerners were not large in 1964 and 1968. Mathews and Prothro reported that Southerners tend to identify the Democratic party as being too "liberal" on racial issues. The finding that the mean score for Southerners in 1956 is in the direction of the Republican party would seem to be more the result of

Figure V.2

Party Difference Mean Scores on Racial Issues
for Each Region, 1956-1968



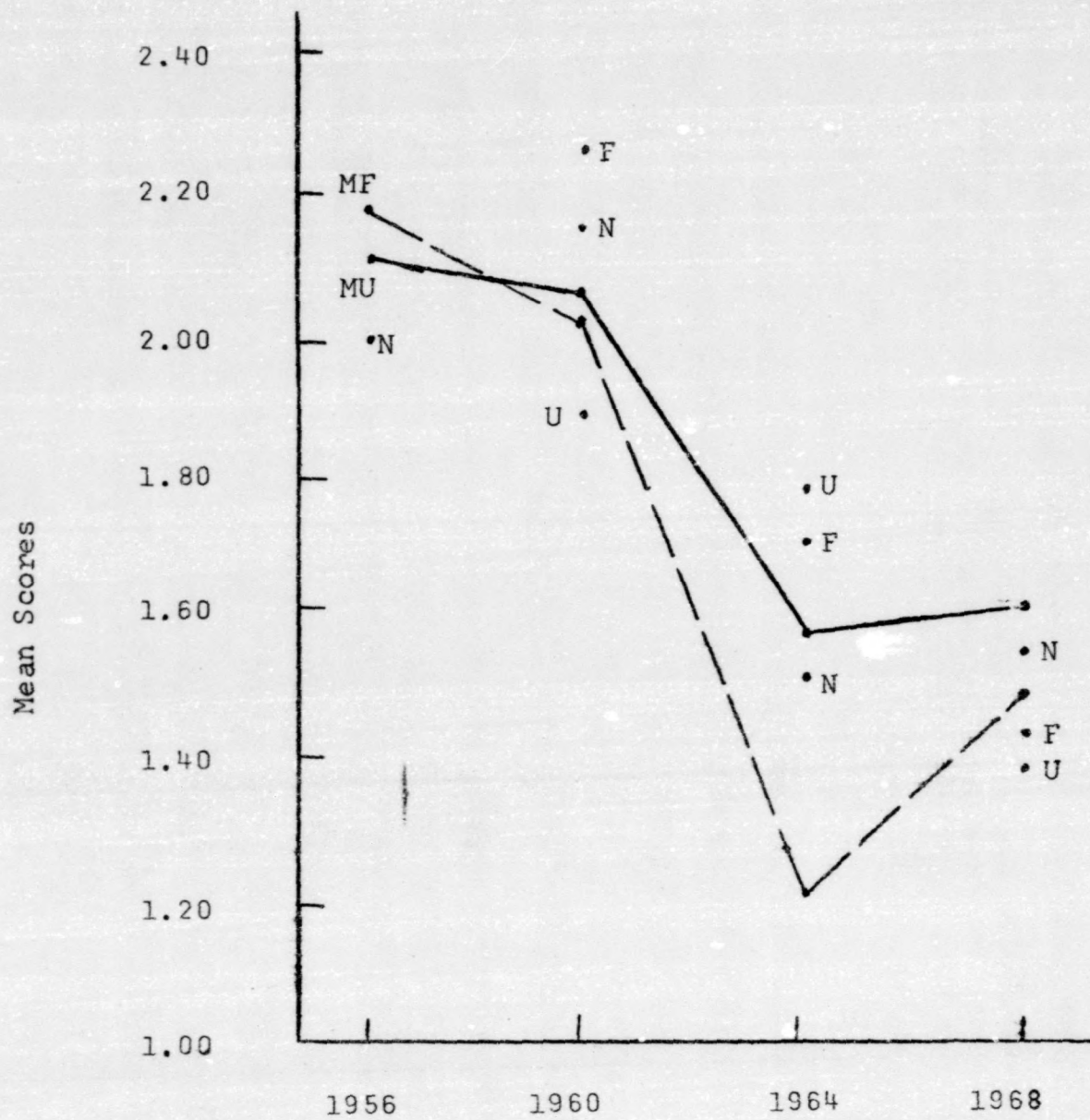
the initial reaction to the Supreme Court decision of 1954 occurring during a Republican administration than of any real policy difference between the parties.

Racial Tolerance

In this section the degree of racial tolerance is introduced as a predictor of party differences. The hypothesis to be tested is that there will be no significant relationship over time between attitudes toward racial tolerance and perceptions of party differences. The "beta" correlations for racial tolerance were very low and not significant with the exception of 1964 (Table V.1). The correlation in that year is significant, but weak (.12). The general trend in the perception of differences between the parties by the degree of racial tolerance is presented in Figure V.3. The mean scores for 1956 and 1960 are clustered near the 2.00 level which is the score for no difference. The direction would be toward the Republican party in both years. In 1964 the most tolerant group differs from the other classes of racial tolerance, they tended to perceive the Democratic party as the more favorable party on racial issues more so than the other group. The general direction of the mean scores for each group is toward the recognition of the more favorable party as being the Democratic party. This trend continues in 1968 with the scores for all groups clustered in the Democratic portion of the graph.

Figure V.3

Party Difference Mean Scores for Each Level
of Racial Tolerance, 1956-1968



Key: MF = Most Favorable F = Favorable
 N = Neutral U = Unfavorable
 MU = Most Unfavorable

The null hypothesis can be accepted. The level of racial tolerance is not significantly related to the perception of party differences. Each of the groups independent of their level of tolerance perceived the Democratic party's policy positions as being more favorable to racial issues.

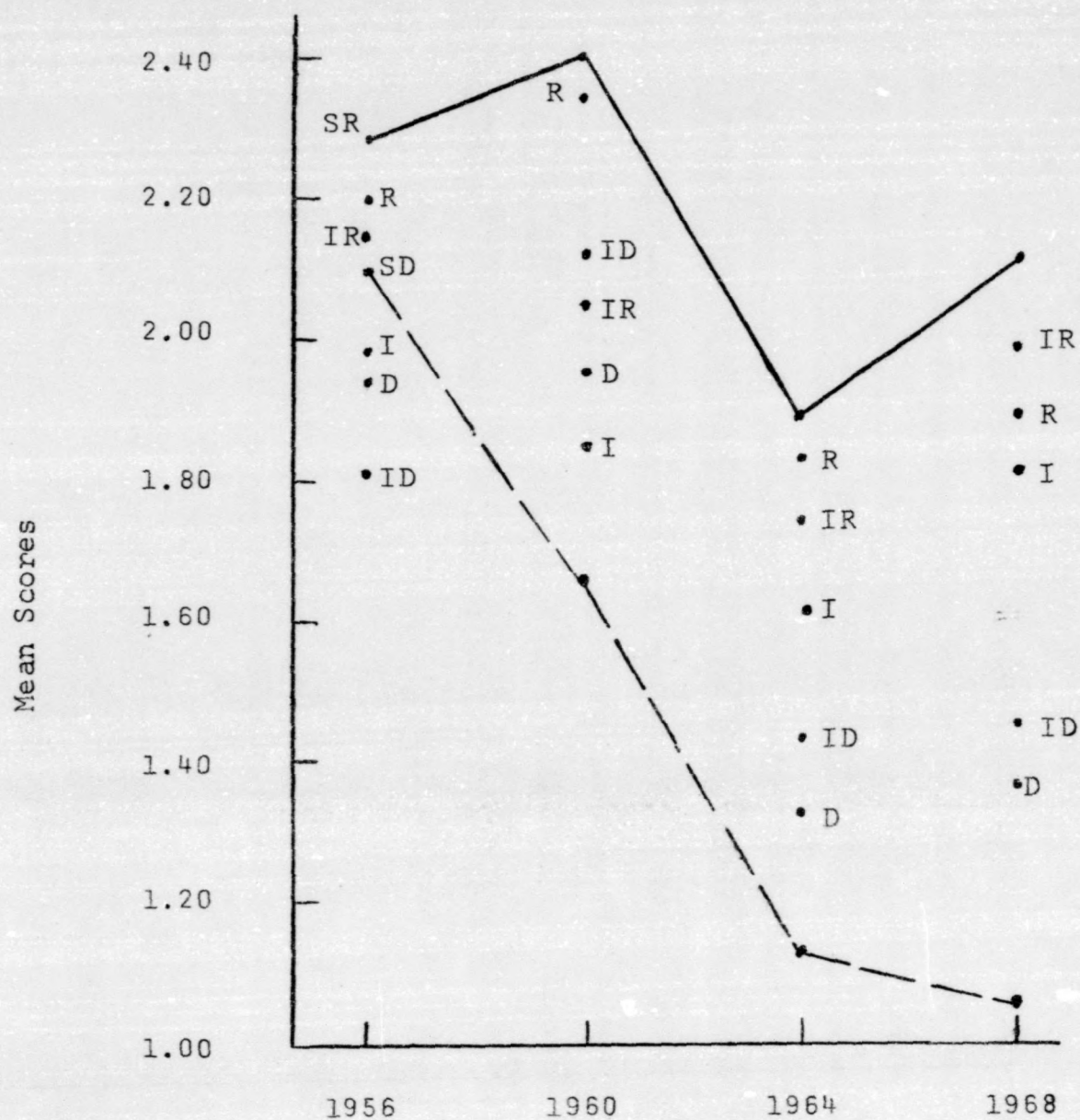
Party Identification and Party Change

The hypothesis of no significant relationship between strength of party identification and the perception of party differences on racial issues over time will be tested. In 1956 the "eta" and "beta" correlation coefficients are weak and not significant. The effectiveness of party identification improves in 1960 as a predictor of party differences. The "beta" is .28 indicating a moderate predictive power and it is significant. Strength of party identification declines in predictive power in 1964 (.22), although it is still significant. In 1968 the "beta" correlation returns to the level at which it was in 1960 of .28. The null hypothesis is rejected by these findings. The examination of Figure V.4 will aid in the understanding of the relationship between the strength of an individual's party identification and his perception of differences in the policy positions of the political parties.

The mean scores in 1956 are clustered around the level of no difference. In terms of favorableness, strong

Figure V.4

Party Difference Mean Scores on Racial Issues
for Each Level of Party Identification, 1956-1968



Key: SD = Strong Democrat D = Weak Democrats
 ID = Independent Democrat I = Independent
 IR = Independent Republican R = Weak Republican
 SD = Strong Republican

Republicans lean toward the Republican party and independents closer to the Democratic party lean toward the Democratic party. There is a larger spread in the mean scores in 1960. Independents closer to the Republican party and weak Democrats perceive no difference between the parties. Strong and weak Republicans tend to identify the Republican party as more favorable while strong Democrats tend to perceive the Democratic party as more favorable. This is the predictive power indicated by the "beta" correlation for 1960. In 1964 all the mean scores for each category of party identification decline. They indicate that the Democratic party is perceived as the more favorable party on racial issues. Strong Democrats have the lowest mean scores while strong Republicans have the highest. The other categories have mean scores which increase from the low mean score of the strong Democrats: weak Democrats, independent Democrats, independents, independent Republicans, Republicans, and strong Republicans in that order of increase in mean scores. The same pattern in the perception of party differences emerges in 1968. The spread in mean scores increases, but all of the mean scores with the exception of the strong Republicans indicate that the Democratic party is perceived as the more favorable party on racial issues. Strong Republicans leaned toward the identification of the Republican party as more favorable. The

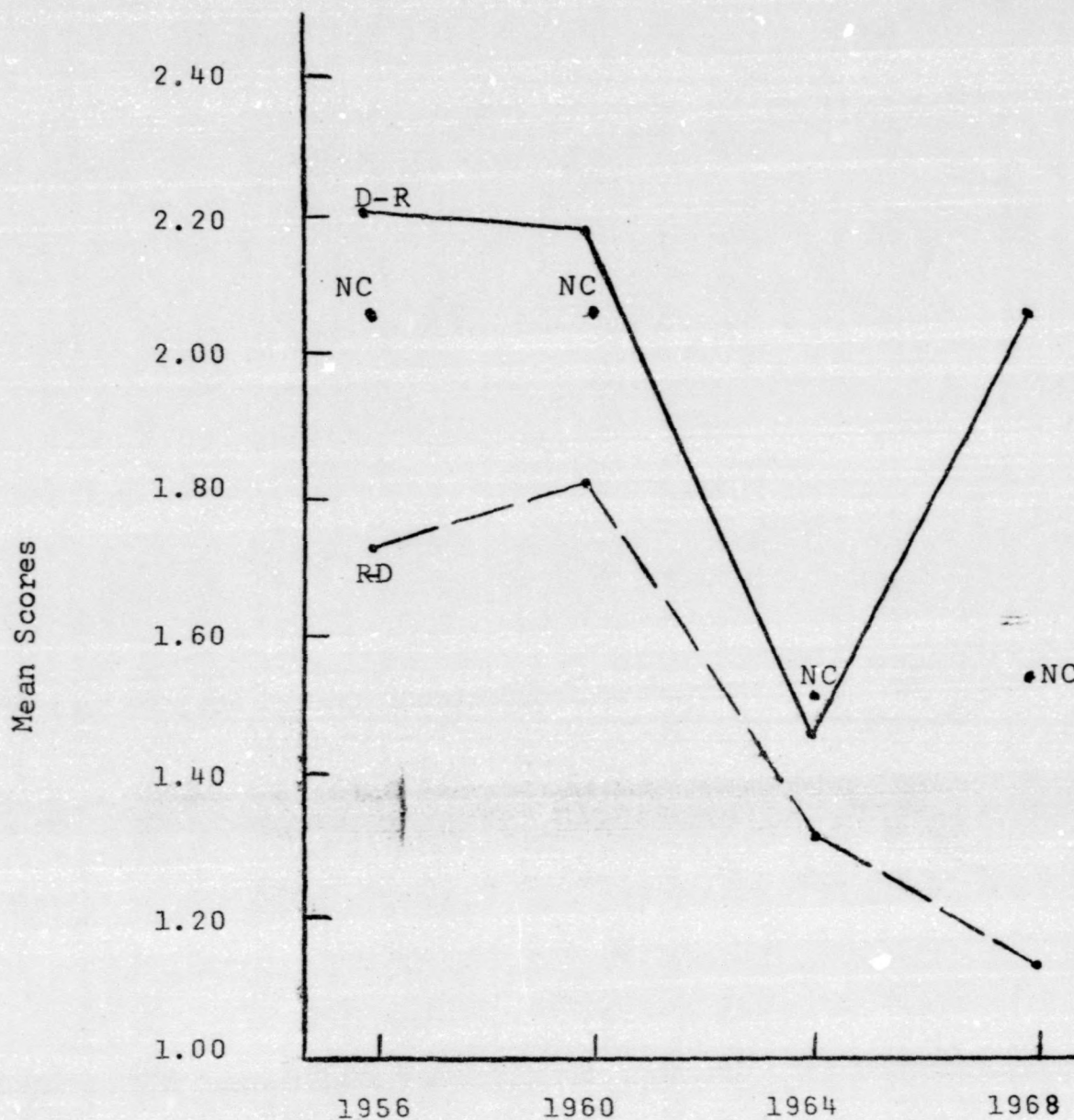
trends identified for 1964 and 1968 would indicate what could be predicted from "beta."

Summarizing the discussion to this point it can be concluded that strength of party identification is a significant though moderate predictor of the perception of party differences. The general trend is toward the perception of the Democratic party as being more favorable in its policies on racial issues. Perceived differences between the parties were most acute in 1964. The influence of partisanship appeared to increase in 1968 suggesting that for Republicans the differences between the political parties on racial issues were not as clearly identifiable as they were in 1964.

Before concluding the discussion of the perception of party differences, a brief examination of party changers is in order. The hypothesis which will be tested is that there is no relationship between change in party identification and the perception of party differences. In Figure V.5 the mean scores for Republicans who changed to the Democratic party, Democrats who changed to the Republican party, and party identifiers who have not changed their party preference are given. At the first (1956) and second (1960) time points the mean scores are near the level of no perceived difference. Republican changers tend toward the perception of the Democratic party as most favorable, those who did not change saw no difference between the

Figure V.5

Party Difference Mean Scores on Racial Issues
for Party Changers, 1956-1968



Key: D-R = Democratic to Republican Party
R-D = Republican to Democratic Party
NC = No Change in Party

parties, and Democratic changers tend toward the perception of the Republican party as more favorable. In 1964 the trend is toward the perception of the Democratic party as more favorable on racial issues. The party changers and those who did not change differed little in this perception. The spread in the mean scores increased in 1968. Republican changers more strongly perceived the Democratic party as more favorable than did respondents who had not changed their party identification. Democratic party changers saw no difference between the parties.

Party change is not related strongly to the perception of party differences. With the exception of the earlier time points, party changers and those who did not change generally perceived differences between the policies of the Democratic party and Republican party toward racial issues with the more favorable party being viewed as the Democratic party. In 1968 Republican changers and non-changers perceived differences, but Democratic changers did not perceive differences between the parties.

The critical year in the perception of party differences was 1964. At the earlier time points the policy positions of the Democratic and Republican parties differed more in the matter of degree and method in substance. The capture of the Republican party by the Goldwater faction which promised to give Americans a real choice between the candidates and policies of the Democratic party

and Republican party marked a change from the presidential elections of the previous decade. The policy positions of the Republican party as espoused by Goldwater differed greatly from those of the Democratic party. The Republican party took "a position on civil rights which for the first time was clearly differentiable from the position of the Democratic party." The position taken on civil rights reflected the attempt by the Goldwater strategists to make the South a "Republican bastion, largely by appealing to Southern whites" on this issue.²

Footnotes

¹The adjusted mean scores of the perception of party differences for the classes of each independent variable are plotted. The unadjusted mean scores were compared with the adjusted mean scores. The differences between the two scores were large enough to warrant the use of the adjusted mean score. The direction of the scores remained the same when plotted, but the ordering of the classes of the independent variables were changed.

²Converse, "Political Realignments in the South," n. 16, pp. 240-241.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

This study has had as its purpose the examination of changes in white attitudes toward racial integration over time. A second purpose of this study has been the exploration of the perception of differences between the policy positions of the political parties on racial issues. From the findings of this study several conclusions can be drawn.

The hypothesis of no difference in racial tolerance across time was rejected. It was expected that racial tolerance would increase from 1956 through 1968. The data indicated that racial tolerance among whites had decreased.

Region emerged as a significant predictor of racial tolerance. The non-South was more tolerant at each time point than the South. The hypothesis that attitudes toward racial tolerance will not differ by region was rejected. Although the non-South was more tolerant than the South, the general direction of the mean scores was toward less tolerance for both regions. Differences between the regions appeared to be diminishing slightly with the non-South approaching the South in intolerance.

The hypothesis that education will not be significantly related to increasing racial tolerance was accepted. Education exhibited little effectiveness as a predictor of racial tolerance. Persons who had some college education or a college degree were more tolerant in 1964 and 1968; however, there was no evidence that increasing levels of education led to increasing racial tolerance over time.

Age was not a consistently significant predictor of racial tolerance across time. Only in 1960 and 1968 was there evidence of a significant relationship between age and racial tolerance. In those years the effectiveness of age as a predictor was minimal. The hypothesis that there will be no significant relationship between age and increasing racial tolerance was accepted.

Residence was not a significant nor an effective predictor of racial tolerance. Urban residents were more tolerant than rural residents at each time point, but the differences were not great. There was no evidence that residence aided in increasing racial tolerance. This led to the acceptance of the hypothesis of no significant relationship between residence and increasing racial tolerance.

The findings suggested that the hypothesis of no significant relationship between inter-regional migration and racial tolerance should be rejected. Inter-regional migration proved to be a moderately effective significant predictor of racial tolerance. In 1964 and 1968 the expected pattern of racial tolerance emerged with the ordering from the most

tolerant to the least tolerant as follows: native non-Southern whites, non-Southern whites who had moved to the South, Southern whites who had moved to the non-South, and native Southern whites.

The hypothesis of no difference in attitudes toward racial tolerance between party identifiers and non-identifiers was rejected. The attitudes of the subclasses of independents varied considerably over time. Differences between party identifiers and non-identifiers were more in evidence in 1964 and 1968.

Strength of party identification proved to be a significant predictor of racial tolerance. The hypothesis that attitudes toward racial tolerance will not differ significantly between identifiers of the Democratic party and Republican party was rejected. The mean scores for party identifiers were clustered in 1956 and 1960, but in 1964 and 1968 the spread in scores increased with strong Democrats being more tolerant than strong Republicans.

Republicans who changed their party identification to the Democratic party were more tolerant than Democrats who changed to the Republican party. The hypothesis that there will be no difference in attitudes between persons who change their party identification to either the Democratic party or Republican party was rejected.

The perception of differences between the Democratic party and Republican party on racial issues increased over

time. At the earlier time points there were virtually no perceived differences between the parties on racial issues. In 1964 and 1968 the Democratic party was identified as the more favorable party on racial issues. The hypothesis of no difference in the perception of party differences from 1956 through 1968 was rejected.

Region was found to be a significant predictor of the perception of party differences. The hypothesis that perceptions of party differences will not differ by region was rejected. The differences between the regions in 1964 and 1968 were more a matter of degree than of direction. Non-Southern whites and Southern whites tended to identify the Democratic party as being more favorable on racial issues.

The hypothesis that strength of party identification is not significantly related to the perception of party differences was rejected. It is a significant, though moderate, predictor of perceived party differences. In 1956 and 1960 the strength of party identification indicated the political party which was perceived as more favorable. Democrats tended to identify the Democratic party as more favorable and Republicans tended to identify the Republican party. At the later time points the general direction of the perception of party differences was toward the recognition of the Democratic party on racial issues. Strength of partisanship served to indicate the degree to which the party identifiers perceived that the Democratic party was more favorable.

The hypothesis that party change is not related to the perception of party differences was rejected. Republicans who had changed their party identification to the Democratic party perceived the Democratic party as being more favorable on racial issues over time.

Attitudes toward racial tolerance were not significantly related to the perception of party differences on racial issues over time. Only in 1964 was racial tolerance an effective predictor of the perception of party differences. At this time point the Democratic party was identified as the more favorable party on racial issues by respondents at each of the levels of tolerance, but those who were the most tolerant tended to see the Democratic party as more favorable much more so than all other levels of tolerance.

When we order the independent variables as to their effectiveness as predictors of racial tolerance we find that region was the most effective predictor over time. Region was followed in effectiveness by party identification, age, education, and residence. Inter-regional migration serving as a finer delineation of the "region" variable was also an effective predictor of racial tolerance. If we turn to the predictors of the perception of party differences we find that party identification was the most effective predictor over time. It was followed in effectiveness by region and racial tolerance.

The findings concerning the direction of racial tolerance and the diminishing regional differences cast doubt upon the claims of Paul B. Sheatsley, and Glenn and Simmons. The assertion by Sheatsley that the South is increasing in racial tolerance was not supported by the data. The finding of Glenn and Simmons that regional differences were not diminishing was not supported. Inter-regional migration was shown to be a significant indicator of racial tolerance. The observations made by Hyman and Sheatsley concerning the levels of tolerance of whites who move from the non-South to the South and whites who move from the South to the non-South were confirmed.

The relationship between education, age, and residence, and racial tolerance was clarified. Education was not significantly related to racial tolerance. There was no evidence that increasing levels of education led to increasing racial tolerance across time. The findings of Alford and Scoble, Mathews and Prothro, and Vanfossen were confirmed. The expected pattern in the relationship between age and racial tolerance appeared. It was observed that as age increased racial tolerance decreased. Claude Fischer's finding that residence was not an effective explanatory variable of tolerance was confirmed.

The trend toward the recognition of the Democratic party as the more favorable party on racial issues would tend to support the findings of Pomper. Whites from the

non-South and the South regardless of their level of racial tolerance tended to identify the Democratic party as more favorable. Strength of party identification exercised some influence upon the perception of differences between the parties at each time point. The Democrats who were more tolerant tend to identify the Democrat party as the more favorable party much more strongly than all other groups in the analysis.

The increase in the perception of differences between the parties suggests that there has been a greater awareness of the policy positions of the political parties over time. While attitudes toward racial tolerance when measured against the perception of party differences exercised no direct influence on perceived party differences they do seem to exercise some indirect influence. There is a linkage between attitudes, strength of party identification, and perceptions of differences on racial issues. Further study in this area is needed to determine the degree that partisanship when considered with attitudes colors perceptions of differences between the parties.

The finding that racial tolerance had decreased over time and that this decrease in tolerance was likely to continue was surprising. Several possible explanations for the observed decrease in tolerance were offered. They tended to center around the notion that the increasing pressures for racial integration throughout the nation had

contributed to this decline over time. This finding could be qualified by further research into the level of awareness of whites of the existence of "racial problems" at the earlier time points. The perception of a "racial problem" may well have been low due to the lack of information.

Appendix A
Sample Items

The items for the dependent variables were subject to some variation in wording. A sample of the items is presented below. For the specific wording of each item consult the SRC codebook corresponding to the following years: 1956, variables 44, 46, 74, and 76; 1960, variables 62, 63, 70, and 73; 1964, variables 97, 99, 100, and 103; and 1968, variables 73, 74, 75, and 77.

Fair Employment Practices

"Some people feel that if Negroes are not getting fair treatment in jobs the government in Washington should see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the federal government's business" Should the government in Washington see to it that Negroes get fair treatment in jobs?

1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. It depends
7. No interest, no opinion
8. Don't know
9. No answer

Party Favoring FEP

Which party do you think is more likely to want the government to see to it that Negroes get fair treatment in jobs?

1. Democrats
2. No Difference
3. Republicans
7. Inappropriate
8. Don't know
9. No answer

School Integration

"Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that Negro and white children are allowed to go to the same schools" The government in Washington should see to it that Negro and white children go to the same schools.

1. Agree
2. Disagree
3. It depends
7. No interest, no opinion
8. Don't know
9. No answer

Party Favoring School Integration

Which party do you think is more likely to want the government to see to it that white and Negro children go to the same school?

1. Democrats
2. No Difference
3. Republicans
7. Inappropriate
8. Don't know
9. No answer

Appendix B

The Indices

For each study an index of racial tolerance was constructed from the "fair employment practices" item and the "school integration" item. The construction of the index followed the following procedure: first, the items were intercorrelated; second, the index was built; and third, each item was intercorrelated with the completed index. The "gammas" for the intercorrelation of the items yielded a moderate positive relationship: 1956, .38; 1960, .39; 1964, .34; and 1968, .44. The index was constructed in accordance with the following scheme:

Table B.1

Development Scheme for the Two Item
Index of Racial Tolerance

		School Integration		
		Agree	Disagree	No Response
FEP	Agree	1	3	2
	Disagree	3	5	4
	No Response	2	4	9

The index was classified from the most favorable (two agree responses) to the least favorable (two disagree responses) with the other classes falling between the two extremes: favorable, an agree and a no response; neutral, an agree and disagree; and unfavorable, a disagree and no response. In terms of mean scores low scores would indicate more tolerance and higher scores would indicate less tolerance. The items were correlated with the index. Both items showed a moderately strong level of association with the index indicating that they contributed equally in the development of the index.

Table B.2

Dependent Variable Items Correlated With
the Racial Tolerance Index (Gamma)

	1956	1960	1964	1968
FEP	.74	.77	.62	.66
School Integration	.69	.67	.68	.68

The party differences index was constructed from two items from each study which asked what party the respondent thought would be more likely to want the federal government to become more involved in "fair employment practices" and "school integration" issues (See Appendix A). The items are intercorrelated yielding positive gammas which ranged from moderate to moderately strong levels of association: 1956, .32; 1960, .35; 1964, .55; and 1968, .61. A three

point index was developed which indicated those respondents who stated that the Democrats were more favorable on both items, those who stated that there was no difference between the parties on both items, and those who stated that the Republicans were more favorable on both items. The following scheme was used:

Table B.3

Development Scheme for the Two Item
Index of Party Differences

		Party Favoring School Integration		
		Democrat	No Difference	Republican
Party Favoring	Democrat	1	9	9
FEP	No Difference	9	2	9
	Republican	9	9	3

Each item for each study was correlated with the party differences index indicating a moderately strong positive relationship for the two items. From the correlation it can be observed that the items contribute about equally to the index.

Table B.4

Party Difference Items Correlated With
Index of Party Differences (Gamma)

	1956	1960	1964	1968
Party Favoring:				
FEP	.69	.51	.76	.74
School Integration	.67	.67	.77	.74

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