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PROTEST PARTICIPATION OF SOUTHERN NEGRO STUDENTS.

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A FIELD APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF CIVIL RIGHTS
PROTEST PARTICIPATION OF SOUTHERN NEGRO STUDENTS

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"When these students initiated the first sit-ins, their spirit spread like a raging fire across the nation, and the technique of non-violent direct action, constantly refined and honed into a sharp cutting tool, swiftly matured."

Eldridge Cleaver

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am indebted to Donald Matthews and James Prothro of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for permission to use part of the data from their study of political behavior in the South. I would like to thank Elsie Ahern and Chuck Wall for their assistance with various computer programs, Wilma Krauss for her valuable comments, and the East-West Center and the Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii, who have been generous in supporting my graduate studies.

Finally, thanks to Bob, Aleli, Lina, Al, Terry, Lindy, Josie and Frances, and a special thanks to my parents.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a secondary analysis of Southern Negro student participation in the civil rights movement. The field approach used is one that is interlevel and views behavior as a function of both Individual and Environment influences. The Individual level is operationalized by student background characteristics, attitudes and behavior and Environment is operationalized by county aggregate data. The sample of 264 Negro students and 998 Southern counties was collected by Matthew and Prothro for their study on political behavior in the South.

Some of the major questions asked are: what are the major dimensions of counties and of students? what are the various types of counties and students? and finally, how useful is an interlevel field theory in explaining protest behavior?

Seven orthogonal factors delineated in the student sample are: Protest Politics, Moderate Integration, Electoral Politics, Isolation, Respect for Leaders, Older, and Conservative-cynical. From these dimensions eight groups or types were delineated and labelled. Using the same procedure on county data six dimensions were delineated: Cosmopolitan, Mixed Income, Negro Poor, Stable, Good Economy, and Negro Rural; and three groups or environments: Poor Urban, Parochial Rural Negro and Stable County types.

Students and counties, i.e., the Individual and Environment levels, were related to each other through various techniques of

analysis. One cross-tabulation of student types and county types showed that 47% of the Protest types were found in Stable County type, a county described as similar to a suburb close to a major city, with a large percentage affluent educated families. Student data, particularly protest behavior, was very good in discriminating between groups based on county types as shown in various discriminant function analyses. A series of regression analyses tried to compare the proportion of variance explained using only Individual data, using only Environment data, and using both Individual and Environment data. The dimension "Protest Approval" by parents, faculty and administrators proved to contribute most to the variance explained, leading this researcher to see the importance and possible utility of this dimension as an operationalization of the field concept of Environment.

The relationships between the Individual level and Environment level were found to be relatively strong and meaningful, particularly in the contingency analysis and discriminant function analysis and also but to a more limited degree in predicting to Protest Behavior.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Some of the most rapid and important changes in society have come about through revolutions and social movements. This is observable in the recent and numerous national independence movements in Asia and Africa and helps explain the attractiveness of the Russian and Chinese models. In the United States, possibly the two most crucial, persuasive and visible concerns are civil rights for the Negro and the war in Vietnam and the protests associated with them. This dissertation will be a study of Southern Negro student participation in the civil rights movement. Hopefully this analysis of Negro student activities will provide understanding of some aspects of the civil rights movement and of social movements and political participation.

An initial need seems to be an adequate set of criteria for delineating and limiting the phenomena at the same time relating it to other phenomena and theory. Herbert Blumer uses two criteria to circumscribe the field of collective behavior: a) larger than a 'small group' and b) not established and usually not acceptable or culturally defined behavior.¹ Usually considered within the field of collective behavior are crowds, panic behavior, revolutions, riots, and social movements. Herberle considers the main criterion of social movements

¹Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in Joseph B. Gittler (ed.), Review of Sociology: An Analysis of a Decade (New York, 1957), 128.

their "aim to bring about fundamental changes in the social order, especially in the basic institutions of property and labor relationships."² Blumer defines a social movement as a "collective enterprise to establish a new social order."³ Turner and Killian use the term to refer to a "collectivity acting with some continuity to promote a change or resist a change in the society or group of which it is a part."⁴ To Cameron, "a social movement occurs when a fairly large number of people band together in order to alter or supplant some portion of the existing culture or social order."⁵ Toch states that "a social movement represents an effort by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem that they have in common."⁶ Smelser defines the term as "an uninstitutionalized mobilization for action to restore, protect, modify, or create norms in the name of a generalized belief."⁷ Two characteristics in the above definitions that seem distinctive and recurring are that social movements involve a number of participants who act in some collective manner to promote or resist changes in "important" societal norms or values. Using any of these definitions it is clear that the increased attempts of persons

²Rudolf Herberle, Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology (New York, 1951), 6.

³Blumer, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

⁴Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, Collective Behavior (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1957), 308.

⁵W. Bruce Cameron, Modern Social Movements (New York, 1966), 7.

⁶Hans Toch, The Social Psychology of Social Movements (Indianapolis, 1955), 5.

⁷Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior (New York, 1963), 71.

in the United States to change the status of the Negro either through legislation, the courts, schools or in protest demonstrations is part of a social movement.

Social movements and participation in social movements has too often been considered apart from the general body of literature in political science. This is partly due to the antiseptic proprietary divisions of concern among academic disciplines and also the traditional favorable bias toward studying legitimate governmental institutions and processes. For example, the very definition of "politics" as the study of elites, influence and governmental activities often encouraged studies that focused on one segment only--the elite in public institutions.⁸ Eliminated from study are activities and actors such as the adolescent, students, the insane, the inarticulate, the poor. Revolutions and social movements push these very groups into our attention span. Revolutions and social movements could in one sense be seen as enlarging the usual definition of politics in terms of types of participants, types and distribution of values, methods of articulation, access and definitions of success and legitimacy.

Many of those who have studied these forms of collective behavior easily reflect distaste for instability and extraordinary and extra-legal coercive activities. Too often social movements are regarded as "threats to democracy," as manifestations of "political

⁸E. J. Hobsbawn, *Primitive Rebels* (Manchester, England, 1959) cited in John Walker, "A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy," The American Political Science Review, LX (June, 1966), 294.

extremism." Lipset states that the participants tend to be "the disgruntled and the psychologically homeless . . . the personal failures, the socially isolated, the economically insecure, the uneducated, unsophisticated, and authoritarian person at every level of the society."⁹

Often the hypotheses, assumptions and orientations to the study of various forms of collective behavior clearly indicate the unfavorable biases of researchers. In the study of voting and other "acceptable" citizen political activities, the constructs or variables usually included are civic competence, efficacy, interest and knowledge. However, in the study of riots, revolutions and social movements there is an overemphasis on variables like alienation, frustration and authoritarianism. It is possible that the first set of variables--civic competence, efficacy and information--are just as relevant. Participation in elections and social movements can be brought together under one construct--political participation--and thereby may eliminate some of the biases as well as increase explanatory power.

While delimiting and defining this study it becomes necessary to relate it to other areas of concern and other islands of theory so as to broaden and link explanations. For example, in this dissertation social movements and revolutions are theoretically considered as one

⁹Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (New York, 1960), cited in Walker, ibid., p. 293.

form or degree of politics and political participation thus allowing the writer to draw from the literature or compare findings with studies on voting, political apathy, public opinion and linkages between officials and non-officials. And, if these various forms of collective behavior were viewed as innovations in demand and techniques, as agents of change, integration and mobilization of pre-political individuals, we are able to utilize the growing literature and various hypotheses associated with developing countries. The empirical incidence of social movements, revolutions and instability in developing countries may be a further argument for including it within such a framework. In short, the traditional "narrow, antagonistic view[s] of social movements" are "theoretical blinders."¹⁰

Many definitions, premises and intentions included in any study have implications, some of which hinder us from even acknowledging other possibilities and competing views. Our attempts at understanding and communication make use of various values, assumptions and perspectives but the attempt to make them more explicit and think through possible implication is not often done.¹¹ This exhortation demands

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹To C. W. Morris, "semiotics" is the scientific study of science: syntactics, semantics and pragmatics. Pragmatics "is the study of the relation of signs to scientists, how the scientist as a behaving organism reacts to signs, how science as a social institution interacts with other social institutions and how scientific activity relates to other activities," in Melvin Marx, Theories of Contemporary Psychology (New York, 1963), 41-43. Also see Allan Blackman, "Scientism and Planning," American Behavioral Scientist X (September, 1966), 24-28; Leon Bramson, The Political Context of Sociology (Princeton, New Jersey, 1961) and Henry Dariel, "The Political Relevance of Behavioral and Existential Psychology," The American Political Science Review, LXI (June, 1967), 334-342 for the view that our intellectual preoccupation is of a partisan nature and the possible implications of the initial perspective and assumptions.

some statement of this writer as the definitions, approach, and techniques of analysis used in this study also reflect the various assumptions of the writer. Several basic values of this writer include: a) a scientific perspective and bias;¹² b) a belief that participation in the making and the outcomes of decisions is important and good; and c) a belief that the thrust for dignity and authentic participation of and for the American Negro is important and good.

A review of a number of works on collective behavior, particularly on social movements and studies of student protest groups show studies usually at the psychological or social level of analysis. "In formal statements there is general agreement that the science of human behavior must be carried forward on four levels--biological, individual, cultural and social. These can be identified roughly with the four sciences of biology, psychology, anthropology and sociology."¹³ This statement argues for a study of human behavior from many possible levels and that behavior is explainable by a complex of influences of many levels. The following schematic representation of the various levels and areas of research will clarify this notion.¹⁴

¹²This posture and bias is only one of several possible. It is best described by this writer to include a conscious and systematic attempt at theory-building, operationalization-observation, hypothesis-testing, experimentation and replication.

¹³J. Milton Yinger, Toward a Field Theory of Behavior, Personality and Social Structure (New York, 1965), 18.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 28.

Analytic disciplines Levels of analysis	Areas of Study			
	Politics	Economics	Socialization	Religion
biology	x			
psychology	x	x	x	x
sociology	x	x	x	x
"culturology"	x		x	x

Figure 1.a Levels of Analysis

There is nothing sacred or determined about these four levels of analysis; some others may not be included and not all the four mentioned may be relevant or equal in relevance for some problems. The possible explanatory variables that can be included in a study of student participation in the civil rights movement and the review of the literature which follows have been guided by this scheme.

One study using a biological approach concluded that "environmental difference [of political radicals] may be underlaid in very significant ways by innate differences in type of neuro-muscular machinery."¹⁵ Psychological approaches to the study of collective behavior are nearly always a refinement or elaboration of a tension-frustration paradigm, i.e., tension leads to activity, frustration

¹⁵Henry T. Moore, "Innate Factors in Radicalism and Conservatism," Journal of Abnormal Psychology, XX (1925), 244, cited in Thelma H. McCormack, "The Motivation of Radicals," American Journal of Sociology, LVI (July, 1950), 19.

leads to participation.¹⁶ The tension is due to the presence of some unsatisfied need or drive; the blockage or lack of apparent means of need satisfaction leads to an accumulation of tension which then expresses itself in collective behavior. Eric Hoffer's popular book, The True Believer, is based on a type of tension theory.¹⁷ Hoffer sees the frustrated individual ("the slipping author, artist, scientist" and the poor) attempting to "escape from an ineffectual self" by responding to a mass movement appeal.¹⁸ Frustration encourages a desire for unity, self-sacrifice, proneness to hate, to imitate, to attempt the impossible, to deprecate the present, etc. The multidimensionality and vagueness of the concept "tension" or "frustration" tends to minimize the utility and explanatory power of such variables. Also, the discriminating predictability of such variables is low because it is used to explain too many differing phenomena. "Frustration" as the dependent variable is often used causally and systematically to explain over-eating, smoking, overweight, mental illness, crime, radicalism, revolutions, electoral and protest activities.

¹⁶ See Norman R. F. Maier, "The Role of Frustration in Social Movements," Psychological Review, 49 (1942), 586-99 where frustration as a determinant of susceptibility to any type of social movement is given empirical support. This approach and use of the concept "frustration" is also found in sociological, structural studies such as Douglas Bwy, "The Preconditions of Political Instability: Toward a Synthesis of Theory and Research on Psychological-Sociological Dissatisfaction" (mimeo, 1967); David G. Swartz, "A Theory of Revolutionary Behavior" (mimeo, 1967).

¹⁷ Eric Hoffer, The True Believer (New York, 1951), ii.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 29-56.

Sociological studies can be described generally as two kinds, one that refers to social institutions such as the family and peer groups, and the other refers to large scale structural types of explanations. Many studies of student activists (both left and right) see the family as the key factor in producing the activist-prone student.¹⁹ Flacks' data show that activists are not "converts" to a "deviant" adoption, but are people who have been socialized to that viewpoint by their family.²⁰ At a social structural level, Smelser identifies six determinants which when combined in a definite "value-added" pattern result in collective behavior: structural conduciveness; structural strain, e.g., ambiguities among values and norms; generalized belief that recommends action to reduce the problem; precipitating or concrete events toward which collective action can be directed; and mobilization by leadership and communication. The sixth determinant, "operation of social control"²¹ can occur any time to prevent or interrupt the accumulation of the determinants.

¹⁹Among the many articles on student activism are Ira S. Rohter, "The Genesis of Political Radicalism: The Case of the Radical Right," (mimeo, 1967) and "Some Personal Needs Met by Becoming a Radical Rightist," (mimeo, 1965); Daniel Goldrich, Radical Nationalism: The Political Orientation of Panamanian Law Students (East Lansing, Michigan, 1961); Kenneth Keniston, "The Sources of Student Dissent," Journal of Social Issues, XXIII (1967); Edward E. Sampson, "Student Activism and the Decade of Protest," Journal of Social Issues, XXIII (1967); and Seymour M. Lipset, (ed.), Student Politics (New York, 1967).

²⁰Richard Flacks, "The Liberated Generation: An Exploration of the Roots of Student Protest," Journal of Social Issues, XXIII (1967).

²¹Smelser, op. cit., passim.

Sorokin's cyclical theory states that societies move between sensate and ideational cultural poles and a cycle of societal integration.²² A sensate culture is dominated by naturalism, reason, mechanical contrivances and realism whereas an ideational culture is dominated by mysticism, sentiment, religion and symbolism. As complete saturation of either cultural pole increases, the society becomes less integrated and discontent and disorder increase to the point where widespread collective behavior supplants much of the established institutional behavior. Some of the research on student activists' orientations are suggestive of a swing toward the cultural ideational pole of Sorokin.²³

A review of a number of works on collective behavior, particularly on social movements and student protests, show studies at either the social or psychological level and less often interlevel and interdisciplinary. One interlevel study which proved to be a source of ideas to this research is Hadley Cantril's The Psychology of Social Movements.²⁴ Cantril uses a socio-psychological approach but it might be more accurate to label it closer to the psychological end of the

²² See Turner and Killian, op. cit., and Wilbert E. Moore, Social Change (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1963).

²³ Flacks, op. cit., p. 72.

²⁴ Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Social Movements (New York, 1941). For another excellent theoretical approach see Daniel Katz, "Group Process and Social Integration: A System Analysis of Two Movements of Social Protest," Journal of Social Issues, XXIII (1967), 3-22.

continuum. Briefly, he uses three main organizing ideas: a) the individual's mental context; b) motivation in social life; and c) pressures from the environment. An individual's mental context consists of standards of judgments, frames of reference and attitudes which guide individuals in their interaction with others and in responding to the environment. A lack of a structured mental context is said to cause individuals to be dissatisfied, anxious and bewildered until meaning is obtained. To Cantril this crisis (confusing, ambiguous, unfamiliar situations) leads to suggestibility, a loss of critical ability and a readiness to join various forms of collective behavior. The second organizing concept, motivation in social life posits that individuals are constantly striving to maintain or enhance his self-regard and/or social status. Self-regard and social status are sometimes challenged by the environment and these pressures from the environment lead to discontent and tension and add to the individual's predisposition to join social movements.

A review of the literature pointed to the utility of a social and psychological unit approach and theory although the race problem may be seen as rooted in a challenge to certain cultural values, their inconsistency, ambiguity and disparities with practices which have much to do with a biologically determined racial characteristic. The initial design of analysis and explanation is psychological-social or individual-environment, although alternative models are presented--one using only psychological variables at the individual level and another using structural aggregate variables.

The approach used here is most closely identified with Milton Yinger²⁵ who borrowed heavily from Kurt Lewin's field theory of behavior.²⁶ The central concept of field theory is that there is a constant interaction between the individual acting in and being acted upon by the environment. To Lewin, "the totality of coexisting facts . . . are conceived of as mutually interdependent."²⁷ Coutu has coined the term "tinsit" for "tendency-in-situation" to express the concept of "constant reciprocity of inner and outer events." If we know certain of John's tendencies-in-situation, we can say with some degree of assurance that John will tend to exhibit behavior B in situations of type X; but we cannot, merely by knowing John, say with any assurance that John will exhibit behavior B. That would be prophesy."²⁸ Also by merely knowing situation type X, we cannot predict John's tendencies and behavior. Thus situational and social influence variables together with individual variables are elements of Lewin's field theory.

In this dissertation behavior is seen as a function of individual characteristics and predispositions and ecological-social environment, i.e., Lewin's field theory of behavior states Behavior = f(Individual and Environment). Possibly a full model would include

²⁵Yinger, op. cit., passim.

²⁶Kurt Lewin, A Dynamic Theory of Personality, trans. by Donald K. Adams and Karl E. Zener (New York, 1935), and Field Theory in Social Science, ed. by Dorwin Cartwright (New York, 1951).

²⁷Yinger, op. cit., p. 49.

²⁸Walter Coutu, Emergent Human Nature: A Symbolic Field Interpretation (New York, 1949), 33, cited in Yinger, ibid., p. 39.

a time dimension and a feedback loop. The field concept is interpreted schematically below:

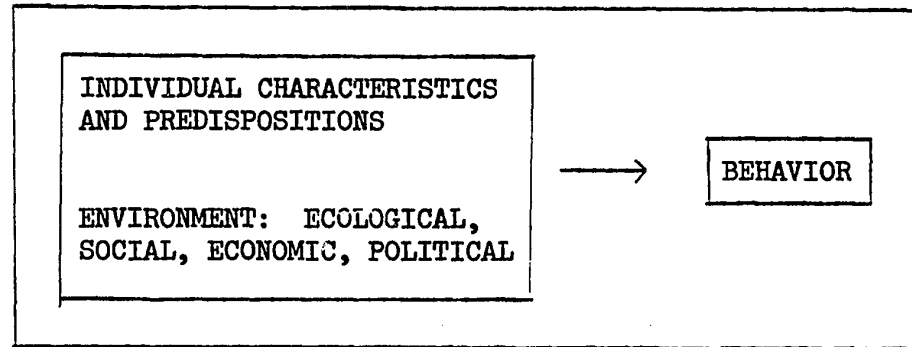


Figure 1.b Field Theory

In this study, situation or environment is different from the usual definition given by social psychologists, i.e., the experimental situation and on-going interpersonal interaction. Environment is here conceptualized and operationalized as ecological, political, economic, and social variables at an aggregate level using as the unit of analysis the locus of a particular subject, namely the county in which the student's college is located. Interpersonal interaction type of social environment (or as some would say the "intimate" environment of "significant others" such as peers, parents), is included in the data obtained from the individuals' perceptions or attitudes about these persons and groups. These data were regarded as individual data partly because of the manner of data gathering (questionnaires) and having the individual as the focus and unit, whereas "environmental" variables were obtained from a different type of source (mostly

published census data) and pertained to the county as the unit. In the section on regression analysis in Chapter IV, this operationalization of "situation" is changed to include this type of interpersonal situation.

The data to be used in this dissertation are those of Donald Matthews and James Prothro.²⁹ The type of data is categorized for this study into two:³⁰

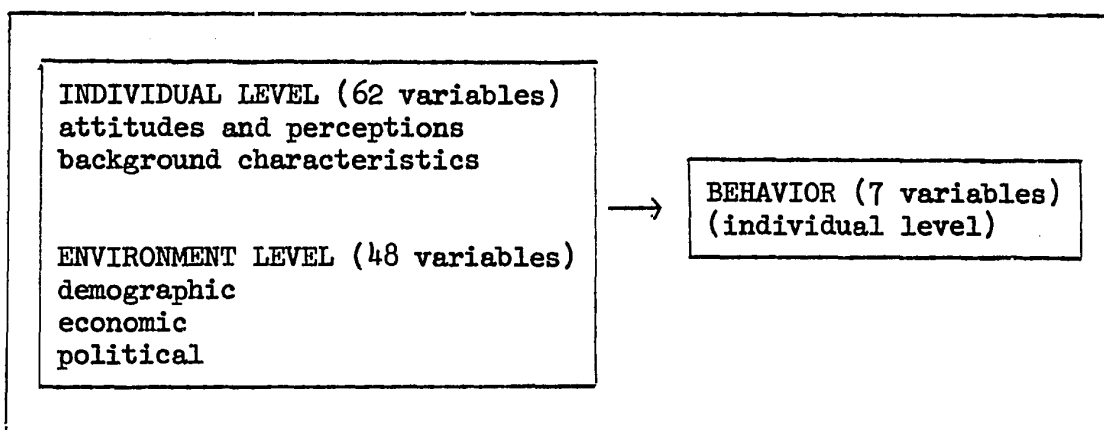


Figure 1.c Field Theory and Data

At the individual level, the variables are organized into three groups: a) attitudinal variables that include questions which the original authors termed as psychological and attitudinal. These dealt with perceptions or orientations to the political system and process,

²⁹ Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York, 1966).

³⁰ See Appendix B and Appendix C for a complete description of the survey questions and the county variables.

to themselves, and to other individuals and interrelationships. On a surface content meaning examples of these variables include community race relations, civic competence, change orientation, party identification, party image, racial stereotype, conservative-liberalism, awareness of intimidation, alienation, etc.; b) behavioral variables that include those questions that asked subjects to report on past overt political action such as talking about political matters, voting, helping in a campaign, protest activities; and c) background characteristics or attributes such as questions on age, sex, educational attainment, parents' occupation and education, income, religious affiliation. Examples of environment variables at the county level are % non-white, population density, median age, % Democrat, % population who voted, % population registered. Most of the data at the county level were obtained from the Matthew-Prothro study although a number were added from the 1960 Census.

The environment variables are expected to delineate various characteristics of the areas in the South on the basis of demographic, economic, social and political factors using the county as the unit. "The most convenient unit of local government for which there are comparative and complete figures is the county unit. Although every county may have some variation within its borders, the type of underlying economy that dominates tends to enforce itself throughout the county and to be reflected in the characteristic social organizations. In many cases in the south in particular, the county appears to be a

county in itself and to reflect a natural history of development."³¹

To this researcher, the county variables are expected to have some influence on individual behavior. Murray makes "an essential distinction" between two types of influences or "presses" on the individual which he terms alpha and beta presses. To Murray, the alpha press is made up of "those elements in the objective environment, as seen or inferred by the trained observer, that can affect behavior . . . the beta press is made up of the forces acting upon an individual or group as perceived by them."³² The alpha press includes such things as social structure, the economy, interaction patterns of a group, the political party system, calcium intake, the condition of the individual's kidney, etc. The beta press is made up of those things perceived or cognized by the individual and can include the same content of variables as are included in the alpha press although there is no necessary congruence of the two presses. Using Murray's terminology one could identify attitudinal questions at the individual level as the beta press and the sociological and aggregate variables as the alpha press. The distinction and assignment might be usefully considered as another way in which the field model and the data are related.

³¹Charles Johnson, Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties: Listing and Analysis of Socio-Economic Indices of 1104 Southern Counties (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1941).

³²Yinger, op. cit., p. 20.

This dissertation departs from the Matthew-Prothro study in several ways: a) sample focus; b) model; c) definitions and operationalization of political participation and its inclusion as an aspect of a social movement; and d) techniques of analysis. The original study focused on adult Southerners while this study concentrates only on their subsample of Negro college students.³³

The Negro college students were interviewed in 1962 (a year after the adult sample was taken): the sit-ins, wade-ins, freedom rides, etc. had begun in 1960 among this group of Negroes and thus the timing of the questionnaire seems appropriate. The county data were mostly 1960 data collected by Matthew and Prothro with about 20 additional variables collected by this researcher.³⁴

The Matthew-Prothro model or analytic scheme is composed of five categories of variables: 1) historical events; 2) individual socio-economic attributes; 3) community structure; 4) political system; and 5) cognitions and attitudes. This dissertation categorizes their variables into two main levels (environment and individual) and

³³Orbell, a student of Prothro, did a secondary analysis of the same sample of college students. This present study differs from Orbell's in much the same way as it differs from the original study particularly in his focus on college attributes. His main hypothesis is that proximity to the dominant white culture increases the likelihood of protest involvement. See John Orbell, "Protest Participation Among Southern Negro College Students," American Political Science Review, LXI (June, 1967) and "Social Protest and Social Structure: Southern Negro College Student Participation in the Protest Movement" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1965).

³⁴See Appendices A, B, and C. The variables with asterisks in the county codebook were collected by this researcher from County and City Data Book 1962: A Statistical Abstract Supplement (U.S. Dept of Commerce 1962). A list of sources used by Matthews and Prothro may be obtained from the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

attempts to test the utility of the field explanation of behavior:
 $B = f(I,E)$.³⁵ The operational definition of political participation of Matthew and Prothro consisted of a Guttman-type cumulative scale of four groups of variables pertaining to informal/formal electoral (legitimate) forms of participation, namely: talked politics, voted, campaigned, held office or belonged to a political group. This writer's conceptualization of political participation includes the four categories used by the original authors but with the addition of protest activity variables. These activities are further regarded as activities within a social movement. To quote the original authors who are among many scholars to agree on the importance and definition of the early 1960 sit-ins in the South:³⁶

On Monday, February 1, 1960, four Negro teen-agers walked into a five-and-ten-cent store in Greensboro, North Carolina, sat down at the lunch counter, and ordered a cup of coffee. When they were refused--local custom permitted Negroes to purchase merchandise in the store but not to eat there--they continued to sit at the counter, silently waiting for service. For a while everyone tried to ignore them. Then the Negro cooks came out of the kitchen and urged the boys to return to their dormitories at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, where they were freshmen. Thus began the 'sit-ins'--a movement that was to plunge the South into turmoil for many months and revolutionize the pace and tactics of Negro civil rights activities in the United States from that day onward.

Consistent with the idea of a multi-level complex of influences on behavior, the techniques of analysis will also draw heavily on various multivariate techniques. Cross-tabulation was the major

³⁵Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., pp. 9-34.

³⁶Ibid., p. 407.

technique used by Matthew and Prothro and is also used in one section by this writer but the limitations of bivariate analysis in analyzing over a hundred variables and the hypothesized multiple influences and interdependencies required a heavy reliance on multivariate techniques of analysis for the most part.³⁷

For both data sets we will determine the major variations among the variables and build a typology of Individuals and a typology of Environments. With these findings it will be possible to combine the two levels into one unit of analysis and test their relationships and utility in explaining political behavior. Specifically then, the major research questions asked in the present study are: what are the various dimensions of counties and of students? what are the various types of counties and students? and finally, how useful is field theory in explaining protest behavior?

³⁷Two excellent examples of books dealing with these areas are Fred Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York, 1964), and W. W. Cooley and P. R. Lohnes, Multivariate Procedures for the Behavioral Sciences (New York, 1962).

CHAPTER II

THE STUDENT: INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

This chapter will describe the data as they relate to the questions asked of the student sample; the next chapter concerns the county data, and the chapter following will attempt to relate these levels to each other in a field approach and test the utility of field theory.

Major Dimensions of Student Attitudes, Background Characteristics and Behavior

Initially it was decided to describe all the variation among the student sample on their attitudinal, behavioral and background characteristics. The sample was obtained by a near-random sample of 264 Negro students enrolled in thirty accredited predominantly Negro institutions of higher learning in eleven states of the South.¹

The original data contained some interval scales such as age, dichotomous scales such as the agree-disagree attitude questions, and nominal or category-type data and the techniques of analysis chosen required at the minimum, dichotomous data or "dummy variables." A set of criteria used to scale the data into dichotomous variables was decided upon for this secondary analysis with data, research questions and techniques of analysis taken into consideration. (1) The choice of what and where to dichotomize had to be at least semantically

¹See Appendix A for a complete description of the sample and listing of the colleges and counties.

comprehensible or meaningful and to produce potentially conclusive categories. For example, professional father = 1, and non-professional father = 0, rather than 0 = household head. (2) The degrees of freedom should not be over-determined, e.g., if there are three categories a) freshman b) senior and c) graduate student, freshman and non-freshman are dichotomized, and senior and non-senior are dichotomized, then dichotomizing graduate and non-graduates is not necessary as it is already determined. (3) The choice as to where to "cut" or the decision of the distribution of 0 and 1 was partly determined by looking at the frequency distribution of the variables across the various categories, e.g., if agree strongly = 30, agree = 10, disagree = 2, disagree strongly = 0, then the decision to dichotomize the variable was decided as agree strongly = 1, other = 0. As much as possible, if it made any sense content wise, variables were dichotomized near the median and in no case were variables included in the analysis where the splits were greater than 90-10. Missing data were not too severe per variable or per case and so the researcher used a table of random numbers and if such was an odd number zero was inserted to fill in the missing values. The reason was to randomize missing data rather than systematically produce error.

A total of 69 dichotomous variables were entered into a factor analysis program to delineate and describe all the variation among the student sample. Factoring was accomplished with the MESAI program on

a 360 computer.² Unities furnished the communalities and a phi-correlation matrix transformation was used. The number of factors was decided by using a scree test, a criteria suggested by Cattell.³ The dimensions were rotated to an orthogonal varimax solution.⁴ The rotated factors delineate distinct clusters of inter-relationships and orthogonal rotation defines patterns which are uncorrelated with each other. While orthogonal rotation defines uncorrelated patterns, oblique techniques search out patterns regardless of their correlations. The factors in both analyses were identical in interpretation and the correlation between the oblique factors were very close to zero or zero.⁵

²This program was prepared at the University of Chicago by Florence Bradford and is included in the library of programs of the Dimensionality of Nations Project, University of Hawaii.

³"There is no such thing as the 'true number of factors to extract,' since the only possible assumption is that both the number of substantive and the number of error common factors each exceed n , the number of variables." The scree test, recommended as one of the criteria, requires an examination of the number of factors plotted against the percent of total variance accounted for; where this percentage drops off to a more or less straight line the decision can be made to include those factors above this "rubble factor variance." Using this criteria, seven factors were used in the rotation. See Raymond B. Cattell, "Extracting the Correct Number of Factors in Factor Analysis," Educational and Psychological Measurement, XVIII (Winter, 1958), 791-838; and also "The Scree Test for the Number of Factors," Multivariate Behavioral Research, I (Fort Worth, Texas, 1966).

⁴See Harry H. Harman, Modern Factor Analysis (Chicago, 1960) for a complete discussion of factor analysis and particularly on the techniques for orthogonal rotation.

⁵See Appendix D for the oblique factor matrix.

The seven orthogonal factors delineated are descriptive of patterns of all the variation among the 69 variables and are presented in Table 1 on the following pages. The seven factors have been labelled 1) Protest Politics; 2) Moderate Integration; 3) Electoral Politics; 4) Isolation; 5) Respects Leaders; 6) Older; and 7) Conservative-Cynical.

TABLE II.2

FACTOR I: PROTEST POLITICS
(27.2% of the common variance)

sit-act	.913
sit-deg	.871
sit-adm	.837
sit-prof	.820
sit-par	.687
naacp	.396

The two variables loading highest on this dimension were (sit-act) actual participation in sit-ins and (sit-deg) estimation of their degree of personal activity in the sit-ins. The next three variables dealt with support or approval of the sit-in by administrators, professors, and parents, perhaps tapping the concept of "significant others." The last variable (naacp) is membership in the NAACP, a variable which is logically related to protest politics. Since all the variables loading on this dimension pertain directly to the sit-in, it has been labelled "Protest Politics."

TABLE II.1
ORTHOGONALLY ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX 264 STUDENTS 69 VARIABLES

Variable	h^2	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
1 age	0.577	0.066	-0.174	-0.176	-0.176	0.040	<u>0.686</u>	-0.092
2 city	0.195	0.119	0.099	0.133	0.115	0.073	-0.131	<u>-0.343</u>
3 mar	0.317	-0.103	-0.145	-0.055	-0.042	0.012	<u>0.491</u>	-0.199
4 fresh	0.272	-0.235	-0.017	-0.108	-0.043	0.168	<u>-0.414</u>	0.057
5 head	(0.144)	0.061	0.017	0.258	0.147	0.227	-0.005	0.019
6 prof	(0.035)	0.010	-0.023	0.031	-0.053	-0.093	-0.077	-0.125
7 w. class	(0.095)	-0.116	0.028	0.210	0.053	0.121	-0.136	0.015
8 inter	0.386	0.024	-0.192	-0.132	-0.272	0.109	-0.118	<u>-0.480</u>
9 y fam	(0.116)	0.181	0.056	0.213	0.065	-0.032	-0.149	<u>-0.085</u>
10 sex	0.200	0.105	-0.040	-0.245	<u>-0.345</u>	-0.070	0.031	0.056
11 campus	0.197	0.004	-0.034	-0.104	<u>0.089</u>	-0.093	<u>-0.411</u>	-0.009
12 fam t	(0.137)	-0.045	-0.108	0.208	-0.233	0.061	<u>0.068</u>	-0.131
13 com t	(0.236)	0.126	-0.077	0.211	-0.285	0.209	0.042	-0.207
14 wht t	0.461	0.049	0.007	0.203	<u>-0.617</u>	-0.140	-0.016	-0.128
15 elec 1	0.470	0.026	-0.033	<u>0.649</u>	-0.070	-0.013	0.084	0.185
16 elec 2	0.419	0.062	-0.152	<u>0.622</u>	-0.047	0.060	-0.003	0.002
17 elec 3	0.450	0.176	-0.001	<u>0.635</u>	-0.101	0.053	-0.050	0.004
18 elec 4	0.249	0.097	-0.074	<u>0.454</u>	-0.002	0.023	0.026	-0.165
19 parint	0.400	-0.004	-0.027	<u>0.137</u>	0.167	0.326	<u>-0.443</u>	-0.223
20 naacp	0.352	<u>0.396</u>	-0.072	0.318	-0.065	0.013	<u>-0.079</u>	-0.280
21 sch int	(0.241)	<u>-0.183</u>	0.177	0.137	0.251	-0.118	0.154	0.239
22 sch act	(0.077)	0.104	-0.004	-0.005	<u>-0.227</u>	0.002	0.043	-0.112
23 sch govt	(0.126)	-0.169	0.041	-0.001	0.023	0.190	0.065	0.235
24 sch rat	0.254	0.133	<u>-0.375</u>	-0.020	-0.161	-0.152	-0.120	-0.179
25 resp	0.507	0.045	<u>0.011</u>	-0.033	-0.013	<u>0.696</u>	-0.123	0.063
26 resp y	0.530	-0.086	-0.016	0.075	-0.049	<u>0.689</u>	-0.173	-0.095

Table II.1 (Continued)

Variable	h^2	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
27 resp a	0.438	-0.038	0.027	0.160	0.025	<u>0.637</u>	0.004	0.065
28 resp w	0.350	0.112	0.003	0.193	-0.001	<u>0.475</u>	0.255	0.098
29 resp wy	0.231	0.096	-0.042	-0.005	-0.026	<u>0.343</u>	0.313	0.061
30 resp wa	0.213	0.031	0.070	0.117	-0.010	<u>0.202</u>	<u>0.334</u>	0.202
31 sit-in	0.381	0.240	-0.109	-0.008	-0.258	-0.095	<u>-0.203</u>	<u>-0.441</u>
32 si-act	0.856	<u>0.913</u>	-0.012	0.027	-0.126	-0.041	0.009	<u>-0.069</u>
33 si-deg	0.785	<u>0.871</u>	-0.039	0.034	-0.112	-0.072	-0.025	-0.070
34 si-par	0.538	<u>0.678</u>	-0.091	0.162	-0.126	-0.046	0.116	-0.106
35 si-prof	0.695	<u>0.820</u>	0.019	-0.026	-0.105	0.098	0.027	-0.023
36 si-adm	0.714	<u>0.837</u>	-0.019	0.064	-0.045	0.032	0.074	-0.029
37 rides	0.338	<u>0.134</u>	-0.210	-0.008	-0.289	0.072	-0.156	<u>-0.404</u>
38 par-vt	0.295	0.054	-0.052	0.288	-0.048	0.175	-0.057	<u>-0.412</u>
39 no vote	(0.184)	0.124	0.001	-0.073	0.016	0.017	0.401	<u>0.042</u>
40 integ n	(0.205)	0.091	-0.117	-0.095	-0.070	0.162	-0.232	-0.298
41 segr w	(0.101)	-0.259	-0.051	-0.048	0.028	-0.130	-0.037	0.098
42 w frnd	0.340	0.026	-0.113	0.232	<u>-0.479</u>	-0.154	-0.043	-0.131
43 w stud	0.300	0.213	0.174	0.310	<u>-0.336</u>	0.023	-0.068	-0.104
44 w boss	0.427	0.029	-0.039	-0.165	<u>-0.564</u>	0.176	0.164	0.147
45 w wrk	0.542	0.097	-0.013	-0.032	<u>-0.716</u>	0.035	0.123	-0.043
46 w beh	(0.142)	-0.046	-0.169	0.205	<u>0.120</u>	-0.222	-0.066	-0.042
47 w amb	(0.228)	-0.091	-0.141	0.110	0.263	-0.210	-0.124	0.242
48 equality	0.238	-0.044	<u>-0.400</u>	0.029	-0.194	0.052	-0.152	0.109
49 r sch	0.593	-0.018	<u>-0.759</u>	0.081	-0.020	-0.015	0.095	0.006
50 r chch	0.373	-0.065	<u>-0.505</u>	0.133	0.112	0.045	0.229	-0.169
51 r accom	0.523	-0.062	<u>-0.703</u>	0.121	0.093	0.036	0.014	-0.024
52 r job	0.437	-0.041	<u>-0.621</u>	0.123	-0.146	-0.015	0.107	0.030
53 r house	0.262	0.074	<u>-0.461</u>	-0.051	0.097	0.089	0.111	-0.109
54 r soc	0.313	0.040	<u>-0.450</u>	0.071	-0.209	-0.201	-0.069	-0.121
55 s now	(0.105)	0.057	<u>-0.243</u>	-0.176	0.007	-0.092	0.060	-0.007
56 past +	(0.060)	-0.114	-0.030	-0.058	0.011	-0.079	0.190	-0.011

Table II.1 (Continued)

Variable	h^2	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
57 liv now	0.227	0.129	-0.041	0.114	0.178	0.049	-0.085	<u>0.393</u>
58 why vte	(0.115)	0.021	0.001	0.016	0.191	0.143	-0.040	<u>0.237</u>
59 g job	(0.221)	0.099	-0.189	-0.165	0.091	0.231	-0.134	<u>0.262</u>
60 g school	0.298	0.127	<u>-0.304</u>	-0.098	-0.109	0.074	-0.276	<u>0.294</u>
61 g med	(0.168)	0.169	-0.210	-0.095	-0.181	-0.008	-0.112	<u>0.201</u>
62 w prej	0.354	-0.138	0.050	-0.132	-0.054	0.012	-0.120	<u>0.546</u>
63 no chg	0.329	-0.112	-0.064	-0.005	-0.116	0.060	0.014	<u>0.543</u>
64 worse	0.187	-0.077	-0.063	0.040	0.166	0.026	-0.085	<u>0.375</u>
65 old	0.335	0.015	0.105	0.001	0.131	0.031	-0.200	<u>0.515</u>
66 forefa	(0.158)	0.089	0.166	0.066	-0.012	0.046	-0.241	<u>0.241</u>
67 wisdom	(0.113)	0.166	0.011	0.047	0.084	0.036	-0.141	<u>0.195</u>
68 stereo	0.231	-0.101	0.093	-0.185	-0.054	0.140	0.050	<u>0.391</u>
69 info	0.262	-0.045	-0.085	0.208	<u>-0.329</u>	0.011	-0.090	<u>-0.304</u>
factor number		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
sum squares over variables		4.344	3.105	2.701	2.897	2.594	2.506	3.498
Common Variance		27.2	15.9	13.5	12.8	11.2	10.4	9.0
Total Variance		8.5	5.0	4.2	4.0	3.5	3.3	2.8

TABLE II.3

FACTOR II: MODERATE INTEGRATION
(15.9% of the common variance)

r sch	-.759
r accom	-.703
r job	-.621
r church	-.505
r home	-.461
r soc	-.450
equal	-.400
sch rat	-.375
g sch	-.304

The six highest loadings on this dimension deal with types, aspects and rates of ideal inter-racial contact or integration, e.g., (r sch) Inter-racial contacts ideal and rates with respect to schools: 0 = mixed, moderate, or complete segregation; 1 = rapid and full integration. Thus the negative signs in front of the six loadings indicate that this dimension may be best called "Moderate Integration." The seventh variable (equal) asked what the respondent thought to be the ideal or goal motivating such types of contacts such as equality, tolerance, and affection, since equality as the ideal was loaded negatively on this dimension.

TABLE II.4

FACTOR III: ELECTORAL POLITICS
(13.9% of the common variance)

elec 1	.649
elec 3	.635
elec 2	.622
elec 4	.454

This dimension was labelled "Electoral Politics" since the only four electoral activity variables all loaded on this dimension. These variables asked the students whether they had given money, attended political rallies, worked for a candidate and asked others to vote for any candidate. Because most of the students were about 20 and 21 years of age, very few had ever voted and thus the only public participation possible are these electoral types of behavior and more recently confrontation or protest politics. It was expected that behavior variables such as electoral and protest type of activity would be differentiated and load on separate dimensions. The distinction between these two dimensions seems to be on such criteria as legitimate-illegitimate, indirect (representational government) and direct (confrontation politics), perhaps also non-violence and potential violence and a host of other criteria. The full meaning of either of these dimensions is difficult without bringing in other relationships, which will be attempted in later discussion.

TABLE II.5

FACTOR IV: ISOLATION
(12.8% of the common variance)

w wrk	-.716
w tlk	-.617
w boss	-.564
w frnd	-.479
sex	-.345
w student	-.336
info	-.329

Most of the variables loading on this dimension concern various types of contacts with white people. An example is the question (w wrk) "Do you often come into contact with white people like those at work?" 0 = no, 1 = yes. As all the variables on contacts with white fellow workers, white employers, friends, students or teachers had negative signs it was decided to call this dimension the "Isolation" Dimension. Two other variables which relate to this concept and which load on this dimension are a lack of information and being female.

TABLE II.6

FACTOR V: RESPECTS LEADERS
(11.2% of the common variance)

resp	.696
resp y	.688
resp a	.637
resp w	.475
resp wy	.343

An example of one of the "respect" variables is "How much do you respect the Negro leaders in the town or place where you grew up?" These variables concern their own respect for Negro leaders (resp), how Negro adults respect Negro leaders (resp a), how they themselves respect white leaders (resp w), and finally how other Negro youths respect white leaders (resp wy). It was expected that respect for white leaders and respect for Negro leaders would be separate dimensions as it is possible that respect for one may detract from respect

from the other, particularly if we view Negro leaders as espousing different values than white adult leaders. However, this dimension may be operationalizing a concept that does not have to do with race, namely adult leadership. The dimension could be tapping respect for adults, respect and possible submission to this leadership as legitimate. Walker and others have remarked that the young Negro protesters often felt that adult Negroes leaders, Uncle Toms, were as much their enemies as segregationist whites. In Atlanta and other places, the initial sit-ins took place virtually without the prior knowledge of the adult leadership.⁶ With this in mind, it was decided to call this dimension "Respects Leaders."

TABLE II.7

FACTOR VI: OLDER
(10.4% of the common variance)

age	.686
mar	.491
fresh	-.410
parint	-.443
campus	-.411
resp w a	-.334

The previous dimensions included mostly attitudinal and behavior variables but the majority of variables loading on Factor 7 are background characteristics. This dimension has been labelled "Older" as it

⁶Jack L. Walker, "Protest and Negotiation: A Case Study of Negro Leadership in Atlanta, Georgia," Midwest Journal of Political Science VII (May, 1963), 121-122.

has variables that describe older and perhaps more stable students: older, married, non-freshman, lives off campus. The only respect variable left out of Factor V Respect, is the one about how Negro adults respected white leaders, a question that may have been answered with themselves in mind.

TABLE II.8

FACTOR VII: CONSERVATIVE-CYNICAL
(9% of the common variance)

w prej	.546
no chng	.543
old	.515
int neg	-.480
sit-in	-.441
par vte	-.412
rides	-.404
livnow	.393
stereo	.391
worse	.375
city	-.343

Most of the variables included in Factor VII were categorized by Matthew and Prothro as psychological variables and were questions from scales of alienation, conservatism-liberalism, cynicism, and sets of questions tapping hostility, stereotype notions about white people, job aspirations, etc. This dimension has been labelled "Conservative-Cynical" partly because the highest loading variables were from these scales. Aside from these psychological attitudinal type variables, there are other variables that indicate an apolitical or cynical attitude to civil rights protest politics and perhaps action

itself; little interest in "how Negroes as a whole are getting along in this country" (inter), does not strongly approve of sit-ins (sit-in), freedom rides (rides). Another variable that loaded negatively (par vt) indicates that their parents did not vote, and remembering the importance of family socialization it seems logically included in a dimension that relates to an apolitical attitude cluster. The only background characteristic loading on this factor is (city) indicating that having been born in a farm, town or small city (as contrasted to a large city) is related to this Conservative-Cynical dimension.

A Typology of Students

From these seven orthogonal dimensions which describe all the variation among the variables in the student sample, factor scores were computed. The factor score matrix gives a score for each student on these seven patterns, i.e., each student "will have high or low factor scores as their values are high or low on the variables entering a pattern."⁷ Since the component factor model was used in obtaining the dimensions, exact estimates are obtained. Factor scores are interpretable as data for each case. These data embody "phenomena with a functional unity," a composite of 69 variables.⁸

⁷Rudolf J. Rummel, "Understanding Factor Analysis," Research Report #7, Dimensionality of Nations Project, University of Hawaii (mimeo, 1968), 32.

⁸Ibid.

One of the objectives of the analysis was to define groups of students on these dimensions. Factor scores for 250 students⁹ over seven orthogonal factors were entered into a program that calculated the distances between cases by means of a standard distance formula which "measure both elevation (profile average) and scatter (profile standard deviation) similarity as well as similarity in profile shape."¹⁰ These distances were then rescaled to a similarity matrix which was input to a direct factor analysis program in order to delineate groups.¹¹

The eight groups defined by factor analysis are without much meaning unless the characteristics of one group can be distinguished from the others. This can be done by looking at the means and standard deviations of each group and comparing them to each other and to the total sample. Plots of these groups on the seven dimensions can be considered "profiles" and are presented in Figures II.a through Figure II.h. Since the student data are standardized, "0" represents the standardized average for all students, $n = 250$. Group averages above the zero line indicate that the group was more positive than average, while group averages below the line indicate how negative they are in relation to all other students. The group standard

⁹The student sample was reduced from an n of 264 because of computer program limitations of FACTAN and PROFILE programs.

¹⁰Warren Philipps, "Patterns of International Conflict," Research Report #33, Dimensionality of Nations Project, University of Hawaii (mimeo, 1969), 76.

¹¹The factor analysis program used is called FACTAN and was written by Elsie Ahern, University of Hawaii.

deviation for each dimension is a measure of group variance and serves as an indicator of group cohesion or spread on a dimension.¹² In the figures, the center profile line traces the group profile scores while the other two lines mark one standard deviation confidence interval--the range within which two-thirds of the members scored would vary if their scores were normally distributed about the profile score. The summary table below shows the direction (+ or -) of the means and also their magnitude (X or XX); none of the means of each group was greater than one standard deviation, showing considerable cohesiveness.

TABLE II.9
SUMMARY OF STUDENT PROFILES

Dimensions	Student Groups							
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1. Protest Politics								XX
2. Moderate Integration						X	-XX	
3. Electoral Politics	-XX	-X	XX	-X				
4. Isolation	XX	-XX	-X			X		
5. Respect Adults	-XX			X		X		
6. Older		-X		XX		-X		
7. Conservative-Cynical						XX	-X	

X = .5 to .7 mean
 XX = .8 to 1.0 mean
 () = greater than one standard deviation

¹²Dennis R. Hall, "Computer Program Profile," Research Report #14, Dimensionality of Nations Project, University of Hawaii (mimeo, 1968).

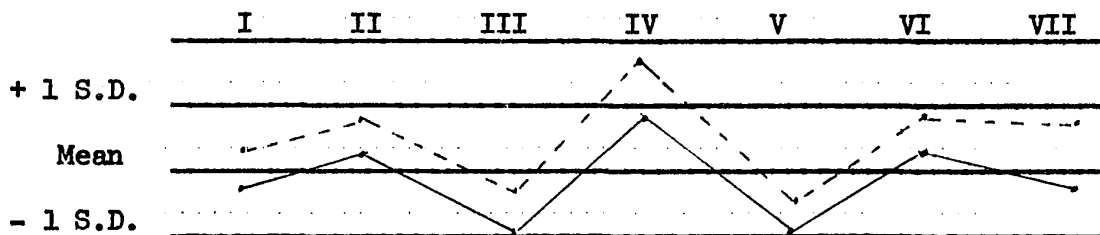


Figure II.a Student Profile Group A

In Group A, three dimensions show very high means, Isolation and negative Electoral Politics and negative Respect for Adults. This mix of dimensions seems to characterize students who are apolitical in that they do not have much contact with whites, do not engage in electoral politics and do not respect adult leaders, possibly because of no or little contact with them. This group has been labelled "Apolitical."

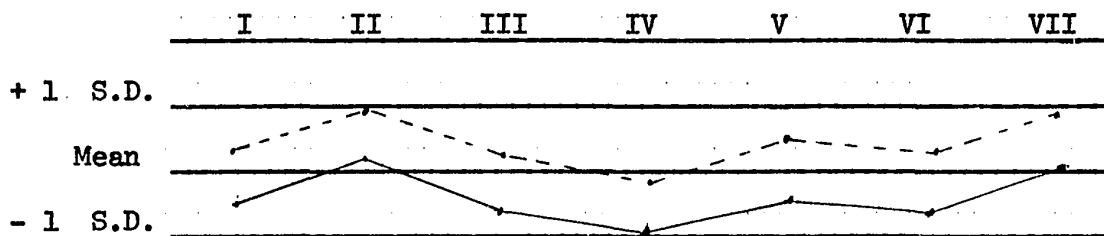


Figure II.b Student Profile Group B

Group B is the opposite to Group A on the dimension Isolation. This dimension dealt with various types of contacts with white people. Two other dimensions that are negatively and moderately above the population mean are Electoral Politics and Older. This combination of

dimensions seems to characterize Group B as students who do have contacts with whites, are young and do not engage in electoral behavior. This group has been labelled "Contacts with whites."

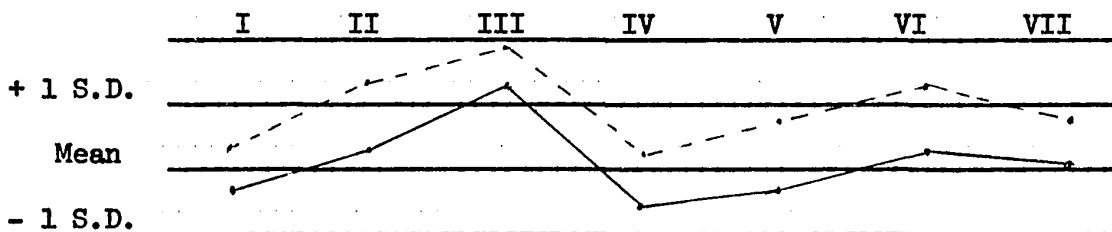


Figure II.c Student Profile Group C

Group C is similar to B in that this group is moderately high on Contacts with whites but is dissimilar to B in that its highest mean is on the Electoral Politics dimension. This group shows opposite signs on Electoral Politics and Isolation to Group A (Apolitical). This group is high positive Electoral Politics and negative Isolation, while Group A is high negative Electoral Politics and high positive Isolation. It is interesting to note that electoral behavior is associated with white contacts (and the reverse) although protest behavior is not necessarily associated with white contacts or negative white contacts. Group C has been called "Electoral."

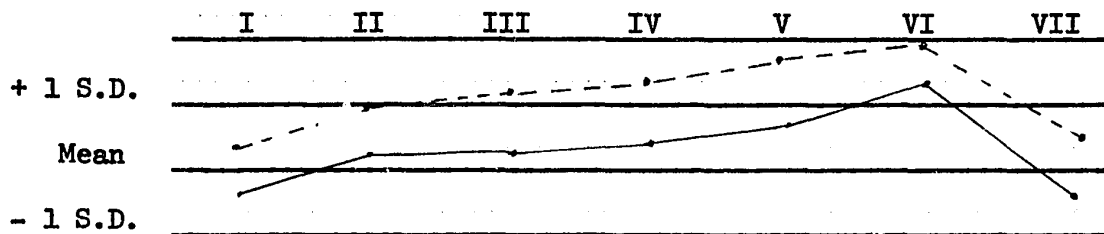


Figure II.d Student Profile Group D

The dimension on which Group D has its highest mean is dimension six, Older. As noted earlier, this dimension included mostly background type variables that describes an older, married, non-freshman student who lives off-campus. The other dimensions that characterize this group are a moderately high negative Electoral Politics and moderately high positive Respect for Adults. This group is labelled "Older," and is characterized by students who are older, respect adults and do not engage in electoral behavior.

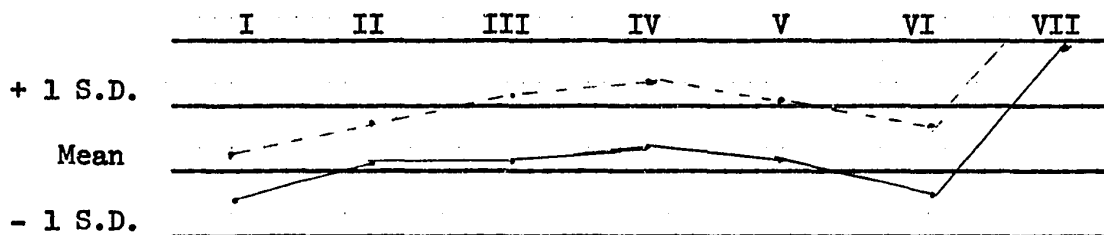


Figure II.e Student Profile Group E

Group E has only one outstanding characteristic--a very high mean on the Conservative-Cynical dimension and is thus called "Conservative-Cynical." It is interesting to note that no other dimension has a high or even moderately high mean for this group and that this dimension does not describe any other group.

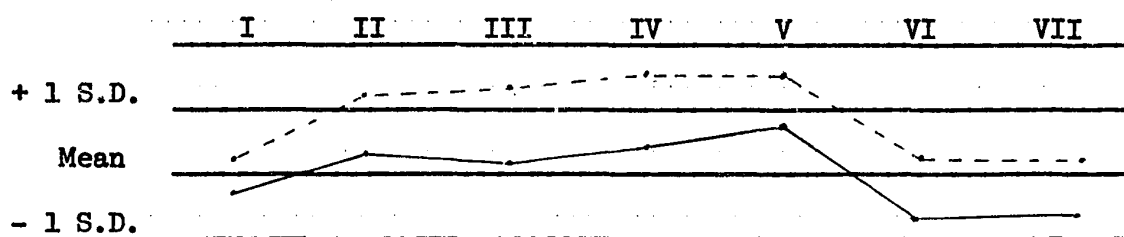


Figure II.f Student Profile Group F

Group F does not have any very high means on any of the dimensions but has moderately high scores for five of the seven dimensions-- Moderate Integration, Isolation, Respect, Older, Conservative-Cynical. Because of this variety and moderate loadings on these characteristics it has been labelled "Moderate."

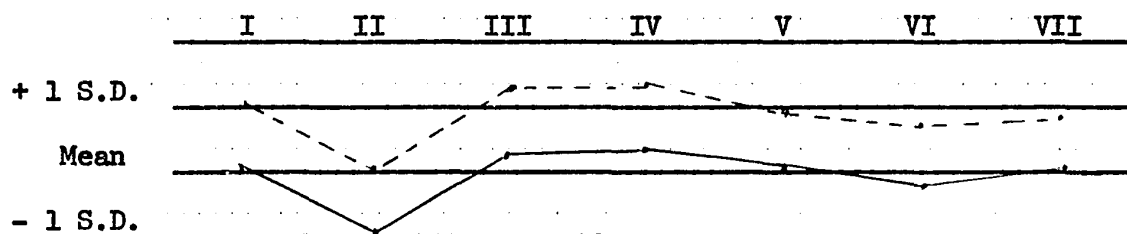


Figure II.g Student Profile Group G

Group G has a negative high mean on the dimension Moderate Integration. Remembering the manner in which the original data were dichotomized, this group has been labelled "Rapid Integration."

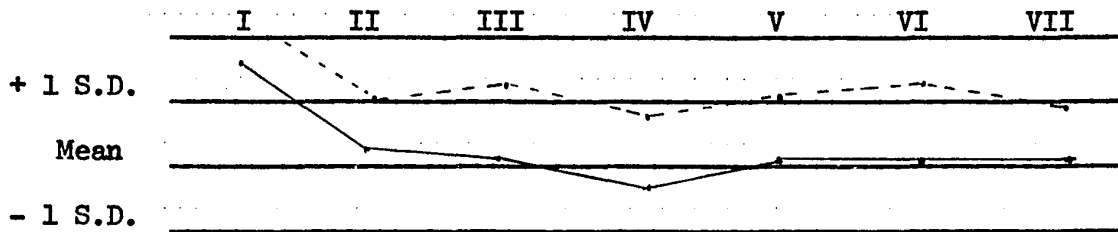


Figure II.h Student Profile Group H

Group H is named the "Protest" group because its only highest mean is on the dimension Protest Politics, a dimension on which no other group had even a moderately high mean. This dimension has variables on protest participation and support of others (professors, administrators and parents) of the sit-ins.

In summary, the number of students included in the groups delineated and the dimensions characterizing them are: Group A "Apolitical," (n = 35); Group B "Contacts with whites," (n = 33); Group C "Electoral," (n = 17); Group D "Older," (n = 33); Group E "Conservative-Cynical," (n = 28); Group F "Moderate," (n = 45); Group G "Rapid Integration," (n = 27), and Group H "Protest" (n = 32).

CHAPTER III

THE COUNTIES: ENVIRONMENTAL LEVEL

Major Dimensions of Counties on Their Ecological, Social, Economic, Political and Racial Characteristics

This chapter describes the major variation among county variables, delineates and describes groups of counties, i.e., replicating the type of analysis performed in Chapter II on student data. The county data, which are used to operationalize "environment," were collected for 997 counties in eleven states in the South.¹ Most of the variables were collected by Matthew and Prothro with a few additional variables collected by this researcher. A total of 48 variables are included in the analysis.² Since most of the data are census-type data, the scale of measurement is interval and the unit of analysis is the county, e.g., "per cent male unemployed in county x." The argument for caution on interpreting ecological correlations has been noted by this researcher, but generally the points brought up do not apply since the unit of discussion is the county and not individuals.³

Most of the variables were complete although missing data on some variables were estimated, using a newly written program that

¹See Appendix A.

²See Appendix C.

³W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," American Sociological Review, XV (June, 1950), 351-57.

utilizes a multiple regression method.⁴ The same criteria used in the preceding chapter for the orthogonal student factors have been used for the county data analysis. The factors and loadings are presented in Table III.1 on the following pages. The six orthogonal dimensions have been labelled: 1) Cosmopolitan 2) Mixed Income/Size 3) Negro Poor 4) Stable 5) Good Economy and 6) Rural Negro.

TABLE III.2

FACTOR I: COSMOPOLITAN
(29.0% of the common variance)

telephones	.974
completed h.s +	.970
median sch year	.948
% Jewish of total church	.938
white median Y: families	.838
% desegregated schools	.817
unemployed	.714

The variables loading on this dimension cover a wide range of topics--telephones, high education, Jewish church membership, white income of desegregated schools and unemployment figures. This mix of variables reminded this researcher of variables used to describe countries in the literature of comparative or developmental politics.

⁴Charles Wall and Rudolf J. Rummel, "Estimating Missing Data," Research Report #20, Dimensionality of Nations Project, University of Hawaii (mimeo, 1969).

TABLE III.1
 ORTHOGONALLY ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX
 997 COUNTIES, 48 VARIABLES

Variable	h^2	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1 Area						-0.379	
2 Pop			0.998				
3 Popml							-0.340
4 Pop&6							-0.410
5 Urb							-0.596
6 Rural							-0.604
7 Nonwte							0.653
8 Adults						-0.906	
9 Brth			0.972				
10 Death			0.980				
11 Mar					0.876		
12 Famil					0.972		
13 Y Fam						-0.638	
14 Y AGG			0.993				
15 Med sch		0.948					
16 HS		0.970					
17 Colenr					0.820		
18 Labor					0.980		
19 Unemp		0.714					
20 Malemp						-0.927	
21 Aglabr			0.997				
22 Wrkout						0.889	
23 Facil							
24 Per/RM				-0.900			
25 Owner			0.986				
26 Tel		0.974					

Table III.1 (Continued)

Variable	h^2	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
27 Y Govt			0.991				
28 X Govt					0.969		
29 MFT/100			0.975				
30 Retail			0.997				
31 Farm				-0.728			
32 Frminx		0.752					
33 Wcolnn				-0.961			
34 Mftlab						0.625	
35 Rten		0.819					
36 Negcol						0.836	
37 W Reg							
38 N Reg				-0.929			
39 Rep/60				-0.964			
40 Schseg							
41 Jewish		0.938					
42 Cath						0.776	
43 Sect						0.390	
44 Chyrch							
45 Y Wht		0.838					
46 Y Neg				-0.950			
47 W Sch						0.801	
48 N Sch				-0.950			
	FACTOR NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6
SUM SQUARES OVER VARIABLES		7.230	9.187	6.783	4.820	6.428	2.272
Common Variance		29.0	26.3	16.3	12.9	10.5	5.0
Total Variance		22.2	20.1	12.4	9.9	8.0	3.8

One of the categories that seems suitable is that which describes a "developed society"--schools and telephone facilities. The presence of "number of desegregated schools," and "% Jewish of total church membership" give some hint at openness or tolerance to minorities. For these reasons the label "Cosmopolitan" was chosen to suggest a meaning which included high communication facilities, education, white income and tolerance of minorities.

TABLE III.3

FACTOR II: MIXED INCOME/SIZE
(26.3% of the common variance)

population	.998
civilian labor in agric	.997
retail trade estabs	.997
aggregate income	.993
local govt revenue	.991
owner-occupied housing	.986
deaths	.980
manuf 1958 with 100 empl	.975
births	.972

This dimension has been labelled "Mixed Income/Size." The variables, population, agricultural labor, retail trade, aggregate income, government revenue, birth-death rates, all seem related if we view them as inputs or income to a county. Jack Sawyer, using Dimensionality of Nations data, describes three dimensions--size, wealth and politics--which can by themselves predict many other national characteristics.⁵ Indexing these three dimensions are

⁵Jack Sawyer, "Dimensions of Nations: Size, Wealth, and Politics," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXIII (September, 1967).

three variables also uncorrelated: population, gross national product per capita and political orientation. Dimension II in this study seems to be a mix of the dimensions size and wealth and has been labelled "Mixed Income/Size."

TABLE III.4

FACTOR III: NEGRO POOR
(16.3% of the common variance)

% Republican of majority vote '60	-.964
% white collar of non-white labor	-.961
non-white median Y	-.950
non-white median school years	-.950
% Negro registered	-.929
lands in farm	-.728

All the variables loading on this dimension have a negative sign indicating that these variables are negatively related to the dimension. Four of the six variables refer to non-white population, i.e., Negroes: white collar, income, education and voter registration. The highest loading variable "% Republican of major party vote in 1960" is also negative. % Democrats are then positively related to this dimension. The last variable "lands in farm" may indicate a county which is not agricultural and possibly industrial and/or urban. The mix of these variables presents a picture of a county with a large number of poor, uneducated and non-voting Negroes in a non-rural setting. This dimension has been named "Negro Poor."

TABLE III.5

FACTOR IV: STABLE
(12.9% of the common variance)

civilian labor force	.980
marriages	.972
local govt expend '57	.969
families	.876
% college enroll	.820

This dimension has been labelled "Stable" largely because variables like marriage, families, civilian labor force, government expenditure and college education present a picture of a community/county of working and rather affluent, educated families. Marriages and families do not generally characterize Negro populations and may indicate that these variables refer mostly to whites and a small group of Negroes.

TABLE III.6

FACTOR V: GOOD ECONOMY
(10.5% of the common variance)

male unemployed	-.927
population over 21	-.906
work o/s county	.889
Negro colleges	.836
white median sch	.801
# families less 3 thous	-.638
% in manuf labor	.625
area	-.379

This dimension has many economic related variables--male unemployed, work outside county, % in manufacturing, and # families with less than \$3,000. The direction in which these variables loaded indicated a dimension describing a "Good Economy." Associated with this concept of Good Economy are such things as "area" indicating a small size county. The two education variables are interesting in that one refers to whites (white median school years) and the other refers to Negroes (Number of Negro colleges), this may indicate that as education for both races increases, separate educational facilities also are required.

TABLE III.7

FACTOR VI: RURAL NEGRO
(5.0% of the common variance)

non-white population	.653
rural population	.604
urban population	-.596
population change	-.410
density	-.340

Dimension VI has been labelled "Rural Negro," since the two highest loading variables refer to Negro population and rural population. The other variables on this dimension strengthen this association--negative urban population, low density, and decrease in population (perhaps city and/or northern migration).

A Typology of Counties

In delineating these six major dimensions, a total of 997 counties was used. In the next portion of the analysis, however, only 25 counties will be used. It must be remembered that the aim of this research is to show the joint relationship of individual and environment data in explaining and predicting individual political behavior and thus only the counties in which the students' colleges are located were used in the delineation of groups of counties. There was also a limitation to the matrix size in the program used for a direct factor analysis of the distances between counties, i.e., 997 x 997 was too large, and also too large an n for the profile analysis program. Again using factor scores, a similarity matrix was computed and entered into a direct factor analysis. Three orthogonal dimensions or groups were found.

These three county groups or types were entered into a profile analysis program to allow interpretation of the characteristics of each group. The means and standard deviations are presented in a summary form in Table III.8 on the following page and the profile plots of these groups are shown in Figures III.a, III.b and III.c.

TABLE III.8

SUMMARY OF COUNTY PROFILES

Dimensions	County Groups		
	I	II	III
1. Cosmopolitan		-XX	XX
2. Mixed Income		-X	(XX)
3. Negro Poor			
4. Stable		-X	(XX)
5. Good Economy	-X		X
6. Rural Negro	-X	XX	-X

X = .5 to .7 mean
 XX = .8 to 1.0 mean
 () = greater than 1 standard deviation

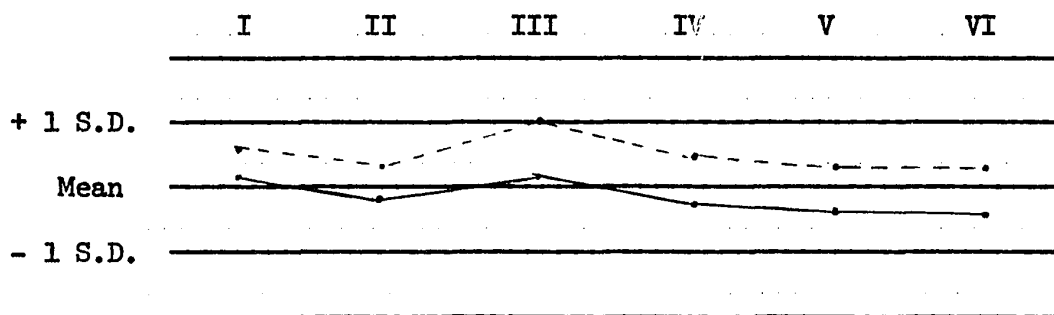


Figure III.a County Profile I

County Group I does not have a very high mean on any of the six dimensions but has moderately high and negative means on the Good Economy Dimension and Rural Negro Dimension. This group has been labelled "Poor Urban."

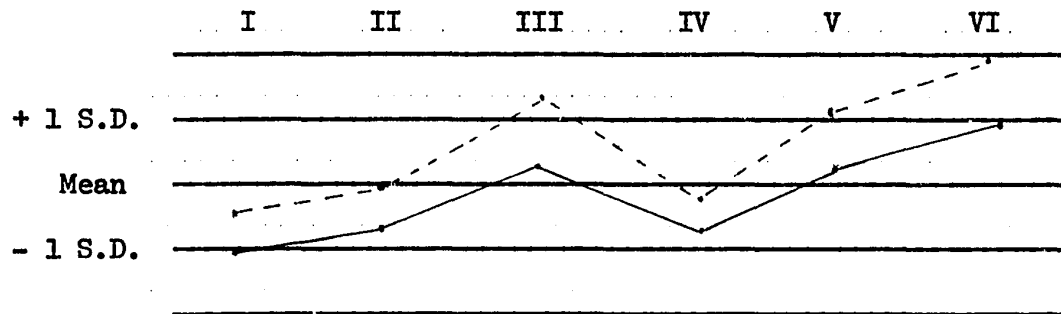


Figure III.b County Profile II

Group II shows very high means for Rural Negro and negative Cosmopolitan. These dimensions describe a county type that may be called "Parochial Rural Negro." Perhaps the term "parochial" is too value-laden although it is used with the hope that it indicates the opposite to Cosmopolitan, a dimension which had variables like education, telephones and desegregation. There are two moderate and negative scores along with the two just mentioned--Mixed Income and Stable, which do not contradict but elaborate on the characterization of a Parochial Rural Negro county.

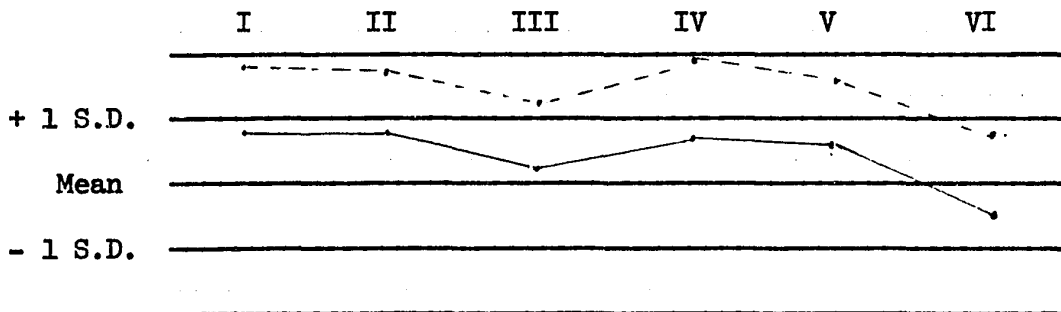


Figure III.c County Profile III

Three dimensions characterize this group, high positive means on the dimensions Cosmopolitan, Mixed Income and Stable. Of these means, the highest mean was on the Stable dimension. This dimension included variables such as families, aggregate income, marriages, etc. Cosmopolitan and Mixed Income add to the characterization of a stable relatively affluent and developed county and has been labelled "Stable." The negative moderate mean on the Rural Negro dimension indicates that this county type is moderately non-Rural and non-Negro population, etc.; the mix of dimensions gives this researcher the picture of a county type which is like a suburb--affluent, educated, families, non-rural and a small percentage of Negroes.

In order to add more to the description of these three county types, it was decided to pick the highest loading county on each group to identify a particular county in a particular state. Group I (Poor Urban) shows Volusia, Florida, as the county loading highest. Bethune-Cookman College is the college where the student sample was taken and is located in the resort city of Daytona Beach. The highest loading county in Group II (Parochial Rural Negro) is Macon, Alabama in which the college Tuskegee Institute at Itta Bena is located. Group III (Stable) shows Chesterfield, Virginia, with Virginia Union University in Richmond as the college from which the student sample was taken. Using a two-fold common classification--Deep South and Peripheral South, it is seen that County I (Poor Urban) and County III (Stable) have Peripheral South counties loading highest in each group. Alabama, in which is located the highest loading county in County II

(Parochial Rural Negro) is one of the states considered in the "Deep South." "The heart of the southern black belt and of the southern way of life is found in five contiguous states: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina."⁶

A typology of Southern states which made use of many similar variables as the present research is that by Charles Johnson, Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties: Listing and Analysis of Socio-Economic Indices of 1104 Southern Counties published in 1941.⁷ Counties were classified according to a) Agriculture: the major crop, subcrop and degree of diversification in basic economic activities; and b) Industrialization and Urbanization based upon the extent of urbanization and industrialization or trade activities.

County and State	This classification	Johnson's classification
Volusia, Florida	Poor Urban	a) predominantly non-farm b) large town
Macon, Alabama	Parochial Rural Negro	a) single crop: cotton b) non-industrialized, rural
Chesterfield, Virginia	Stable	a) predominantly non-farm b) rural, industrial

Figure III.d County Typologies

⁶Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., p. 169.

⁷Johnson, op. cit., passim.

The remarkable similarity of findings can be seen in the above chart. The group defined as Parochial Rural Negro is similar to Johnson's "Cotton County." Johnson describes a "Cotton County" as a distinct "culture" area and contrasts it with a "Metropolitan County." Some of the characteristics of a cotton county which may help describe more fully our Parochial Rural Negro County type are: large percent of Negroes, agricultural employment, spend less for education of Negro children, and spend comparable sums to other county types for education of white children. The opposite to the "Cotton County" is the "Metropolitan County," with higher population density, growth, high education standards for both white and Negroes, and higher incomes. These three county types will be used in the next analysis to operationalize the term "environment" in field theory.

CHAPTER IV

A FIELD APPROACH: STUDENTS AND COUNTIES

In this chapter the students and the counties are related to each other through various techniques of analysis: contingency analysis of the two nominal scales of student types and county types; discriminant function analysis with county types as categories and student factor scores as the ratio scale; and finally, multiple regression analysis using student and county factor scores. The data have been rearranged such that each of the 250 students is matched to the county type in which his college is located and also all the factor scores of that county.

Contingency Analysis of Student Types and County Types

With the use of a particular kind of multivariate economic procedure, the preceding chapters have defined eight student types and three county types because it is felt that phenomena need to be "arranged in an orderly fashion as a necessary first step in analysis."¹ A cross-tabulation of the students by their student type and county type was performed to test the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between the two sets of categories. This

¹Robert E. Pendley, "Multiple Discriminant-Function Analysis in Political Research," Northwestern University (mimeo, 1969).

null hypothesis was rejected since the X^2 computed was larger than that expected by chance at the 10% level of significance. This test of significance is not necessary even though the student sample is a near-random sample but is used here only to indicate the risk involved in accepting and interpreting the results of this cross-tabulation. Since the hypothesis of no relationship is rejected, it is in effect saying that there exists some association between the two sets of data, student and county types our operationalization of Individual and Environment levels.

The cross-tabulations of the student categories and county categories are presented in the tables on the following pages: Table IV.1 is a frequency table, Table IV.2 is a table of percentages using the student type (each column) as the base, Table IV.3 is a table of percentages using county type (each row) as the base and finally Table IV.4 is a table of percentages using as the base the total sample of students ($n = 250$).

The pattern or ordering in frequency and percentages based on student types (Table IV.1 and IV.2) is helpful in interpreting these contingency tables, e.g., there are more Conservative-Cynical types in Parochial Rural County than there are in Poor Urban, which in turn has more than Stable County. Four different patterns delineated are shown in Table IV.5.

TABLE IV.1
STUDENT-COUNTY FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

County Type	Student Type*							
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Poor Urban	12	12	7	12	10	20	11	8
Parochial Rural Negro	15	17	3	9	13	15	7	9
Stable	8	4	7	12	5	10	9	15

*Student Types: A Apolitical
 B Contacts with Whites (no electoral behavior)
 C Electoral Politics (contacts with whites)
 D Older (respect)
 E Conservative-Cynicism
 F Moderate
 G Rapid Integration
 H Protest Politics

TABLE IV.2
PERCENTAGES BASED ON EACH STUDENT TYPE

County Type	Student Type*							
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Poor Urban	36	37	41	37	38	44	44	25
Parochial Rural Negro	45	51	17	26	43	33	22	28
Stable	23	12	41	37	19	22	33	47
(n)	(35)	(33)	(17)	(33)	(28)	(45)	(27)	(32)

*Student Types A Apolitical
 B Contacts with Whites (no electoral behavior)
 C Electoral Politics (contacts with whites)
 D Older (respect)
 E Conservative-Cynicism
 F Moderate
 G Rapid Integration
 H Protest Politics

TABLE IV.3
PERCENTAGES BASED ON EACH COUNTY TYPE

County Type	Student Type*								(n)
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
Poor Urban	13	13	17	13	11	22	13	8	(92)
Parochial Rural Negro	7	20	3	10	15	17	7	10	(88)
Stable	10	6	10	17	7	14	19	23	(70)

*Student Types: A Apolitical
 B Contacts with Whites (no electoral behavior)
 C Electoral Politics (contacts with whites)
 D Older (respect)
 E Conservative-Cynicism
 F Moderate
 G Rapid Integration
 H Protest Politics

TABLE IV.4
PERCENTAGES BASED ON TOTAL STUDENT SAMPLE

County Type	Student Type*								(n)
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
Poor Urban	6.0	6.8	1.2	3.6	5.2	6.0	2.4	3.6	(250)
Parochial Rural Negro	4.8	4.8	2.8	4.8	4.0	8.0	4.8	3.2	
Stable	3.2	1.6	2.8	4.8	2.0	10.0	3.6	6.0	

*Student Types: A Apolitical
 B Contacts with Whites (no electoral behavior)
 C Electoral Politics (contacts with whites)
 D Older (respect)
 E Conservative-Cynicism
 F Moderate
 G Rapid Integration
 H Protest Politics

TABLE IV.5
ORDERING OF FREQUENCIES

Student Type	County with the largest number	County with the second largest	County with the fewest
A. Apolitical	II. Parochial	I. Poor Urban	III. Stable
B. Contacts	Rural Negro		
E. Conservative-Cynical			
C. Electoral	I. Poor Urban		II. Parochial
D. Older			Rural
G. Rapid Integration			Negro
			III. Stable
F. Moderate	I. Poor Urban	II. Parochial	III. Stable
		Rural Negro	
H. Protest	III. Stable		II. Parochial
			Rural
			Negro
			I. Poor Urban

Parochial Rural Negro county type has the largest number of Conservative-Cynical, Apolitical and Contact student types, whereas Stable county has the fewest number of these student types. The three student types seem to have a basic similarity in that none are participation oriented and instead hint at an apolitical stance, their presence in this county type confirms some studies of political behavior. Much of the literature on political participation (mostly electoral behavior of white adults) indicate that rural areas have low participation rates and that participation is highest in non-rural or urban areas (County I and II).

Going back to the variables and dimensions characterizing County II (Parochial Rural Negro), some variables stand out as confirming the relationship between participation and the size of the Negro population, and rural-urban distinctions. This county type was characterized as high on the Rural Negro dimension which included the variables % non-white population and % rural population.

V. O. Key states that the "character of the politics of individual states will vary roughly with the Negro proportion of the population."²

A large concentration of Negroes in an area has been shown to be negatively associated with Negro voting and Negro registration. The argument or explanation for this relationship is that "as the proportion of N in southern communities increases, so do the racial anxieties and fears of southern whites. These white attitudes engender race relations and political practices that inhibit Negro political activity..."³

Contacts (with whites) was least dense in Stable County and most dense in Parochial Rural Negro, a finding which is unusual because of the very much larger percentage of Negroes in County II. It has been hypothesized by Orbell that contacts with whites and particularly proximity to the dominant white culture increases the likelihood of protest involvement,⁴ yet the distribution of Contact types and Protest

²V.O. Key, Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York, 1949), 5.

³Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., p. 117. This finding and interpretation is taken by many students of Southern politics such as H. Douglas Price, The Negro and Southern Politics (New York, 1957), 27-58.

⁴Orbell, op. cit., passim.

student types differ. It would seem that the type of white contact is important and must be specified. These findings may be explained by Matthews and Prothro's interpretation that "the Negro economic dependence on local whites in the rural South serves as a potent inhibition to those few who are not otherwise discouraged from voting. Rural whites who oppose Negro voting are in a better position to do something about it than are their urban kin."⁵

Parochial Rural Negro county (which has been likened to Johnson's "Cotton County") with its highest county loading one of the Deep South States has the least behavior types. Matthews and Prothro in their analysis of adult Southerners concluded that "the bimodal distribution found for the entire South turns out to have resulted from the fantastically low levels of participation by Negroes of the Deep South."⁶

Table IV.2, with each student type as the base for the percentages, shows that 47% of the Protest types are found in County type III (Stable), compared to 25% and 28% in the other two county types. Stable county type which is so important for political protest behavior types is a county that has high means on the dimensions Stable, Cosmopolitan and Mixed Income. The mix of dimensions presented a picture of a county type which is like a suburb--affluent, college

⁵Matthews and Prothro, op. cit., p. 123.

⁶Ibid., pp. 169-173.

educated, families, non-rural and with a small percentage of Negroes. Since this county type has the highest number of student Protest types, it is possible that the ecological variables describe an environment that is not inhibitive but encourages such political activity in that (a) less sanctions are expected, and (b) a more capable Negro population exists. Some of the variables found to characterize this county type which lead us to make such explanations for the association of Protest types in the Stable county type are: (a) college education rate, (b) desegregation and other minority variables, (c) low concentration of Negroes, (d) families and marriages, (e) good economy, and (f) communication facilities.

Many students of prejudice consider an increase in the educational level of the population a force for tolerance and integration. Matthews and Prothro found surprisingly that education does not reduce prejudice "for the average white education in Southern counties is too low for the usual increase to have great consequence for white attitudes"⁷ except at the very highest levels, college. The dimension Stable includes the variable college enrollment and thus one may infer that this variable does in fact relate to white tolerance and to Negro willingness to risk political activity. The dimension Cosmopolitan which was very high on this county type (and very high negatively for the Parochial Rural Negro county type) is one on which variables like communication, education, desegregation of schools and Jewish minority.

⁷Ibid., p. 129.

This mix of variables allows one to picture a less repressive, more tolerant environment to minority political activity or to political activity per se. Mixed Income dimension also characterizes this county and again indicates a more affluent environment and more capable of supporting politics, i.e., the common hypothesis that "people living in poverty are unlikely candidates for active citizenship."⁸ The relatively lower than average percentage of Negroes in this county type may again indicate less white anxiety and racial hostility to Negroes.

The second pattern in Table IV.5 shows three student types (Electoral, Older, and Rapid Integration) densest in County I (Poor Urban) and with the fewest number in Parochial Rural Negro county and Stable county. Electoral political types are surprisingly very sparse in Stable county, a county described earlier as possibly "conducive" and "non-sanctioning" to political activity and also Negro political activity. Also Protest types were most dense in Stable county. The three student types seem to refer to a clustering of an older group of people who participate, are political and use electoral and legitimate means of political expression. The students who scored highest on Rapid Integration may illustrate this interpretation. The dimension Rapid Integration on which they scored highest referred to types and rates of ideal inter-racial

⁸Ibid., p. 123.

contact and integration. Rapid Integration as an ideal and ideal rate, and protests to achieve integration, are the same in many respects yet one is composed of a set of attitude questions on ideals and rates and the other is a dimension that taps overt acts of protests for integration and support for these acts. The difference of attitude and overt act in terms of actualizing the same goal in a particular manner (direct and illegal confrontation) may explain in part the difference in the distribution of these student types.

If we view each student type as a variable, then the arithmetic differences from the mean may be considered as characterizing that county type, i.e., a profile analysis similar to that used in the preceding chapters. The mean in Poor Urban is 12, in Parochial Rural Negro 11, and 9 in Stable County. Thus Poor Urban county is characterized as high on Moderates and low on Electoral and Protest types. Parochial Rural Negro county type is characterized as high on Contacts and low on Electoral and Rapid Integration types. Stable county is characterized as high on Protest and low on both Contacts and Conservative-Cynical types.

Using these data and the simple profile analysis, the data may be interpreted within a field approach given the following assumptions: (a) initially there are the same number of student types in each county, i.e., each cell has an "average" number of student types, e.g., County I has 5 Protest types, II = 5, and III = 5; (b) if there are more or less students than the average, then this difference is a

measure of the county environment's "conduciveness"⁹ to such a student type. Thus if the distribution of our hypothetical data were County I = 2; County II = 5 and County III = 8, then the conclusions that could be drawn are (1) Environment I inhibits or discourages or is not conductive to student type Protest; (2) Environment II does not have much effect on Protest types; and (3) Environment III encourages or attracts Protest types. Looking at the data, we can indicate that between 8-10 Protest types are "typical" or "average" or "expected" in each county-environment and then see the deviation from this average.

TABLE IV.6
EXPECTED AND ACTUAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS
PER STUDENT AND COUNTY TYPE

County type	Expected/Average	Actual	Difference
I. Poor Urban	8-10	8	0
II. Parochial Rural Negro	8-10	9	0
III. Stable	8-10	15	+5

Given the assumptions we may conclude that Poor Urban and Parochial Rural Negro environments are neither conducive nor non-conductive to Protest types (for different reasons) and Stable county is a "very conducive" environment. The difficulty of course is that there is

⁹Smelser, op. cit., passim.

no bench mark for "expected" number of student types as the average may be a very poor measure. This type of analysis and interpretation could be done once parameters are decided. Some hypotheses that could be tested in such a study are: (a) Strong Individual predisposition to protest in a congruent environment (Stable) increases the likelihood of protest behavior; (b) Strong Conservative-Cynical types in a congruent environment (Parochial Rural Negro) increases the likelihood of no protest behavior; (c) weak Protest predisposition in a Stable county increases the likelihood of protest behavior; weak Conservative-Cynical predisposition in a Parochial Rural Negro county increases the likelihood of no protest behavior; (d) strong protest predisposition in a noncongruent (Parochial Rural Negro) environment leads to uncertainty; and (e) strong Conservative-Cynical predisposition in a noncongruent environment (Stable) leads to uncertainty.

This section on the distribution of student types and county types has shown the association of these two categories--the individual and environment levels. The next two sections will also focus on the relationships between students and counties but will differ in some respects from the contingency analysis and also from each other in the questions raised and in the techniques of analysis used to answer these questions.

Discriminant Function Analysis of Student Dimensions and Student's County Type

"There are really two questions which can be asked of a set of data for several groups of people. One of these is, 'How can I analyze these data so I may determine the group in which an individual will perform best?' To answer this question, multiple regression analysis is appropriate. The other question is, 'How can I analyze these data so I may determine the group which an individual is most like?' To answer this question, discriminant analysis is proposed as one appropriate technique."¹⁰ To answer the latter question, we have two different kinds of data available: (1) student factor scores and (2) county groups as the categorical variable. Discriminant analysis, the technique to be used here is one that can "deal simultaneously with explaining group membership (or equivalently with differences between groups in terms of the characteristics of their members) when several groups are involved, and potentially several dimensions on which the groups are established are involved."¹¹

Keeping in mind the three possible models or levels of analysis, namely (a) individual (characteristics and attitudes), (b) environment (county social, economic and political aggregate

¹⁰David V. Tiedman, "The Utility of the Discriminant Function in Psychological and Guidance Investigations," Harvard Education Review, XXI (Spring, 1951), 72-73.

¹¹Pendley, op. cit., p. 1.

characteristics), and (c) both individual and environment, separate analysis were performed in an effort to compare these three models.¹²

TABLE IV.7
DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS ACCOUNTING FOR DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN THE THREE GROUPS AND RELATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS
OF TWO BEHAVIOR DIMENSIONS

Variable	F #1	F #2	F #3	F value to enter/remove	U-Statistic
Protest	-0.14098	-0.13731	-.35849	5.6656	.9561
Electoral	-0.04430	-0.19101	.29835	4.4956	.9224

TABLE IV.8
NUMBER OF CASES CLASSIFIED INTO GROUP I, II, III

	Group I	Group II	Group III
Group I	<u>8</u>	45*	29
Group II	13	<u>55</u>	20
Group III	6	27	<u>37</u>

¹²The BMD07M Stepwise Discriminant Analysis computer program was used in the analysis. "This program performs a multiple discriminant analysis in a stepwise manner. At each step one variable is entered into the set of discriminating variables. The variable entered is selected by the first of the following equivalent criteria:

- (1) The variable with the largest F value (see computational procedure).
- (2) The variable which when partialled on the previously entered variables has the highest multiple correlation with the groups.
- (3) The variable which gives the greatest decrease in the ratio of within to total generalized variances."

For "Environment" only two behavior dimensions were included to see how well the three student groups based on their county environments discriminate from each other (see Table IV.7). Of the two behavior dimensions, Protest Politics contributed most in determining the discriminant function. The U-statistic tests the equality of group means and were found to show a significant difference among the groups. The summary table (Table IV.8) of the number of cases classified in the three groups was computed on the statistical probability that a given case belongs to a given group as a check on the possibility that different assignments of students to different county types would give even better differentiation. Thus if the groups are widely separated, then in row 3, the column will contain mostly column 3 values--or the diagonal should have the most cases in any row. Parochial Rural Negro, and Stable county have most of the cases in the appropriate cells (the diagonal is underlined), but Poor Urban has the largest number of "errors," or misclassifications. Most of Poor Urban cases are classified in Rural Negro. This indicates that the behavior dimensions do not discriminate well on these two county groups, particularly Poor Urban. We can conclude that student groupings according to county environment can predict behavior particularly well for Parochial Rural Negro and Stable counties.

In Table IV.9 the dimensions included are attitude and background dimensions. Since we are interested in predicting to behavior in model II using only the Individual level then county or environment should be excluded but this is not possible if we are to use these data with this technique. What we can look at in the second analysis

is the relationship between attitudes and characteristics of students as they relate to environment. The diagonals in Table IV.10 show that the groups are quite well separated on these six attitude/characteristic dimensions. This table can be compared with Table IV.8, where Environment and behavior are used, and shows that attitudes and characteristics are better than behavior in discriminating among the county types.

TABLE IV.9
DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS ACCOUNTING FOR DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN THE THREE GROUPS AND RELATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS
OF SIX ATTITUDE/ATTRIBUTE DIMENSIONS

Variable	F #1	F #2	F #3	F value to enter/remove	U-Statistic
Protest approval	-0.15889	-0.17737	0.43171	7.5982	.9420
Conserv-Cynical	-0.02311	.25527	-0.29055	4.7825	.9068
Rapid Integ	.07186	-0.25337	.22411	4.0888	.8775
Isolate	-0.08887	.25677	-0.20590	4.1729	.8485
Respect	-0.11955	.01910	.13299	1.2171	.8401
Stable	-0.00756	.05005	-0.05292	0.1818	.8388

TABLE IV.10
NUMBER OF CASES CLASSIFIED INTO GROUP I, II, III

	Group I	Group II	Group III
Group I	<u>38</u>	28	26
Group II	24	<u>44</u>	20
Group III	23	16	<u>31</u>

TABLE IV.11
 DISCRIMINANT FUNCTIONS ACCOUNTING FOR DIFFERENCES
 BETWEEN THE THREE GROUPS AND RELATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS
 OF NINE ATTITUDE/ATTRIBUTE/BEHAVIOR VARIABLES

Variable	F #1	F #2	F #3	F value to enter/remove	U-Statistic
Sit-in	1.59381	1.74065	2.65130	5.9408	.9541
class	1.75260	1.97027	2.69669	4.4607	.9207
sch-integ	2.40460	3.37932	2.28380	3.0770	.8982
electoral	1.86887	1.46463	2.15346	2.6230	.8792
freshman	2.11700	2.57745	2.21823	1.1363	.8711
naacp	0.52666	0.64054	1.01734	0.6864	.8662
no chng	0.98965	1.49182	1.25721	0.6238	.8617
w/wrk	1.88364	1.98273	2.08287	0.1551	.8606
p. approve	-0.13148	-0.33533	-0.10839	0.0648	.8601

TABLE IV.12
 NUMBER OF CASES CLASSIFIED INTO GROUP I, II, III

	Group I	Group II	Group III
Group I	<u>40</u>	28	24
Group II	25	<u>41</u>	22
Group III	12	17	<u>41</u>

Table IV.11 shows nine original variables (not factor scores), two of which are behavior variables and the other seven variables of attitudes and background characteristics. Since a step-wise discriminant analysis program was used, the dimensions are presented in their relative contributions in determining the discriminant function. The variable that contributes most in determining the functions is the behavior variable protest "sit-in." The diagonals in the last analysis show a good fit. Comparing Table IV.7-8 (Environment and Behavior), Table IV.9-10 (Environment and Attitudes/Characteristics), and Table IV.11-12 (Environment, Individual, and Behavior) It is possible to conclude that the third analysis discriminates among the groups best, i.e., the model that behavior is a function of Individual and Environment.

Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting to Protest Behavior

The first question asked "what can best predict/explain behavior?" can be appropriately answered by using regression analysis.¹³

¹³The BMD02R Stepwise Regression computer program was utilized. "This program computes a sequence of multiple linear regression equations in a stepwise manner. At each step one variable is added to the regression equation. The variable added is the one which makes the greatest reduction in the error sum of squares. Equivalently it is the variable which has highest partial correlation with the dependent variable partialled on the variables which have already been added; and equivalently it is the variable which, if it were added, would have the highest F value. In addition, variables can be forced into the regression equation. Non-forced variables are automatically removed when their F values become too low."

Given the three models or levels of analysis stated earlier, it is possible to assess their relative utility in predicting behavior. We can present separate regressions to operationalize the following equations:

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) | $B = f(I)$ | Individual data as predictors (or independent variables) |
| (2) | $B = f(E)$ | Environment data as predictors |
| (3) | $B = f(I,E)$ | Individual and Environment as predictors |
| (4) | $B = f(I) \text{ in } E_x$ | Individual data as predictors holding constant the county Environment. |

In order to assure the independence of the predictors so as to maximize variance accounted for, the variables were entered into an orthogonal factor analysis and the factor scores were used in the regression analysis. The county dimensions are the original six orthogonal dimensions in Chapter III namely Cosmopolitan, Mixed Income, Negro Poor, Stable, Good Economy, and Negro Rural. The behavior variables for the dependent variable were entered in a separate factor analysis which resulted in two dimensions--Electoral and Protest participation.¹⁴ Because Protest accounted for such a large amount of the common variance and also because it seems to be more related to civil rights participation by students, only Protest participation is used as the dependent behavior variable. The attitudes and characteristics factor scores were obtained from six orthogonal factors.¹⁵

¹⁴See Appendix F.

¹⁵See Appendix G.

These six dimensions from 62 variables are very similar to the original seven dimensions in Chapter II. The dimensions have been labelled: Protest Approval, Isolate, Conservative-Cynical, Respect, Stable, and Rapid Integration.

Because the tables are so detailed and numerous, a summary table has been prepared (Table IV.13) indicating the level of analysis used, the number of variables and the R^2 or percent of the variance accounted for in the dependent variable Protest.

For Table IV.13 with Individual attitudes and characteristics as predictors, the first dimension, Protest Approval (by parents, administrators and faculty) contributes 83% of the total variance of 86.5%. This is contrasted to the Environment model (Table IV.15) which shows a very low proportion (9%) of the variation explained. As was indicated in the earlier analysis in this chapter, the dimension Stable is closely related to Protest and accounts for 6% of the total 9% of the variance. Of the two regressions discussed, Environment Level Data as predictors are extremely poor.

Table IV.16 shows the six student dimensions and the six county dimensions arranged in the order of their contribution to the total variance. Of the four highest dimensions, only one is a county dimension--Cosmopolitan. The various "pitfalls" of multiple collinearity and use of the highest order partials and other techniques and problems associated with step-wise multiple regression cannot be completely discounted as the problems of the various levels of analysis, the ordering and concept of intervening variables of the independent variables are essentially problems of substantive

TABLE IV.13
SUMMARY OF REGRESSION ANALYSIS

$B = f(I)$	Individual Level Data (Six Student Dimensions)	86.5%	Table IV.14
$B = f(E)$	Environment Level Data (Six County Dimensions)	9%	Table IV.15
$B = f(I,E)$	Individual and Environment Level Data (Six Student and Six County Dimensions)	87%	Table IV.16
$B = f(I)$	Individual Level Data "Without Protest Approval" (Five Student Dimensions)	3%	Table IV.17
$B = f(I,E)$	Individual Level Data "Without Protest Approval" and Environment Level Data (Five Student Dimensions and Six County Dimensions)	12%	Table IV.18
$B = f(I)$ in E-I	Individual Level Data in Environment I (Six Student Dimensions in County Type I)	84%	Table IV.19a
$B = f(I)$ in E-II	Individual Level Data in Environment II (Six Student Dimensions in County Type II)	85%	Table IV.19b
$B = f(I)$ in E-III	Individual Level Data in Environment III (Six Student Dimensions in County Type III)	90%	Table IV.19c
$B = f(I)$ in E-I	Individual Level Data "Without Protest Approval" in Environment I (Five Student Dimensions in County Type I)	8%	Table IV.20a
$B = f(I)$ in E-II	Individual Level Data "Without Protest Approval" in Environment II (Five Student Dimensions in County Type II)	8%	Table IV.20b
$B = f(I)$ in E-III	Individual Level Data "Without Protest Approval" in Environment III (Five Student Dimensions in County Type III)	7%	Table IV.20c

TABLE IV.14
INDIVIDUAL LEVEL DATA AS PREDICTORS TO
PROTEST BEHAVIOR

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Partial Cor. Protest and Variable #1 holding others constant	F value each term	R	RSQ	Increase in RSQ
Protest Apprv.	.91174		1222.459	.9118	.8313	.8313
Isolate	-.15679	-.38177	733.702	.9252	.8559	.0246
Conservative- Cynical	.07285	.17740	508.922	.9280	.8612	.0053
Respect	-.05788	-.14091	391.058	.9300	.8649	.0003
Older	.01755	.01960	312.391			
Rapid Integrat.	.00805	.01960	259.403	.9300	.8650	.0001

TABLE IV.15
ENVIRONMENT LEVEL DATA AS PREDICTORS TO PROTEST BEHAVIOR

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Partial Cor. Protest and Variable #1 holding others constant	F value each term	R	RSQ	Increase in RSQ
Stable	.00075		15.386	.2417	.0584	.0584
Good Economy	-.00054	-.13548	10.115	.2751	.0757	.0173
Rural Negro	-.00037	-.08863	7.402	.2877	.0828	.0071
Mixed Income	-.00029	-.06570	5.900	.2964	.0879	.0051
Negro Poor	-.00011	-.04307	4.762	.2982	.0889	.0010
Cosmopolitan	.00007	.00209	3.962	.2985	.0891	.0002

TABLE IV.16
INDIVIDUAL AND ENVIRONMENT LEVEL DATA AS PREDICTORS TO PROTEST BEHAVIOR

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Partial Cor. Protest and Variable #1 holding others constant	F value each term	R	RSQ	Increase in RSQ
Protest Appr.(I)	.91174		1222.459	.9118	.8313	.8313
Isolate (I)	-.15679	-.38177	733.702	.9252	.8559	.8246
Cosmopolitan (E)	-.00032	-.17158	527.799	.9303	.8655	.0096
Respect (I)	-.05760	-.14091	405.761	.9321	.8688	.0033
Conserv-Cynic. (I)	.05397	.17740	331.319	.9336	.8716	.0028
Negro Poor (E)	-.00006	-.03402	275.735	.9338	.8719	.0003
Good Economy (E)	-.00007	-.14876	235.878	.9339	.8722	.0002
Rapid Integrat (I)	.01475	.01960	205.940	.9340	.8724	.0002
Rural Negro (E)	.00007	.06561	182.669	.9341	.8726	.0002
Mixed Income (E)	.00008	-.5619	164.352	.9344	.8730	.0004
Older (I)	-.00005	.04271	148.969	.9344	.8732	.0001
Stable (E)	.00001	-.08813	135.988	.9344	.8732	.0000

TABLE IV.17
 INDIVIDUAL LEVEL DATA (WITHOUT 'PROTEST APPROVAL')
 AS PREDICTORS TO PROTEST BEHAVIOR

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Partial Cor. Protest and Variable #1 holding others constant	F value each term	R	RSQ	Increase in RSQ
Isolate	-.15682		6.253	.1568	.0246	.0246
Conservative- Cynical	.07282	.07374	3.806	.1729	.0299	.0053
Respect	-.05791	-.05863	2.820	.1823	.0332	.0034
Older	.01753	.01775	2.127	.1832	.0336	.0003
Rapid Integ.	.00805	.00815	1.698	.1834	.0336	.0001

TABLE IV.18
 INDIVIDUAL LEVEL DATA (WITHOUT 'PROTEST APPROVAL') AND ENVIRONMENT
 LEVEL DATA AS PREDICTORS TO PROTEST BEHAVIOR

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Partial Cor. Protest and Variable #1 holding others constant	F value each term	R	RSQ	Increase in RSQ
Stable (E)	.00075		15.386	.2417	.0584	.0584
Isolate (I)	-.13531	-.13883	10.240	.2767	.0766	.0181
Good Economy (E)	-.00050	-.13548	8.225	.3019	.0912	.0146
Conserv-Cynic (I)	.10224	.11233	6.909	.3184	.1014	.0102
Rural Negro (E)	-.00036	-.08863	5.913	.3287	.1081	.0067
Respect (I)	-.05994	-.06904	5.089	.3341	.1116	.0036
Mixed Income (I)	-.00023	-.06570	4.482	.3388	.1148	.0031
Negro Poor (I)	-.00015	-.04307	3.983	.3417	.1168	.0020
Rapid Integrat (I)	-.02935	-.01831	3.555	.3430	.1176	.0008
Older (I)	.02359	.02139	3.203	.3438	.1182	.0005
Cosmopolitan (E)	.00007	.00209	2.905	.3441	.1184	.0002

TABLE IV.19a

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL DATA AS PREDICTORS TO PROTEST
BEHAVIOR IN POOR URBAN COUNTY TYPE

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Partial Cor. Protest and Variable #1 holding others constant	F value each term	R	RSQ	Increase in RSQ
Protest Approval	.97696		364.591	.8956	.8020	.8020
Isolate	-.12326	-.30153	202.749	.9055	.8200	.0180
Respect	-.10472	-.23210	145.237	.9121	.8320	.0119
Conserv-Cynic	.06831	.18963	111.858	.9150	.8372	.0052
Rapid Integ	.01605	.08990	88.648	.9152	.8375	.0003
Older	.01043	.05812	73.086	.9152	.8376	.0001

TABLE IV.19b

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL DATA AS PREDICTORS TO PROTEST
BEHAVIOR IN RURAL NEGRO COUNTY TYPE

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Partial Cor. Protest and Variable #1 holding others constant	F value each term	R	RSQ	Increase in RSQ
Protest Approval	.84997		286.589	.8779	.7692	.7692
Isolate	-.21944	-.55368	223.031	.9165	.8399	.0708
Rapid Integ	.08409	.16681	154.056	.9199	.8462	.0063
Conserv-Cynic	.05626	.18480	118.213	.9223	.8507	.0045
Respect	-.00780	-.05098	93.481	.9224	.8507	.0001
Older	.00682	-.08987	76.976	.9224	.8508	.0000

TABLE IV.19c

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL DATA AS PREDICTORS TO PROTEST
BEHAVIOR IN STABLE COUNTY TYPE

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Partial Cor. Protest and Variable #1 holding others constant	F value each term	R	RSQ	Increase in RSQ
Protest Approv.	.12871		543.577	.9428	.8888	.8888
Isolate	-.09734	-.21041	281.748	.9454	.8937	.0049
Respect	-.06156	-.17408	191.800	.9472	.8971	.0034
Older	.05246	.14326	145.539	.9485	.8996	.0025
Conserv-Cynic	.04933	.11978	116.391	.9492	.9009	.0014
Rapid Integ	-.03642	-.17213	96.752	.9498	.9021	.0012

TABLE IV.20a

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL DATA (WITHOUT 'PROTEST APPROVAL') AS
PREDICTORS IN PROTEST BEHAVIOR IN POOR URBAN COUNTY

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Partial Cor. Protest and Variable #1 holding others constant	F value each term	R	RSQ	Increase in RSQ
Conserv-Cynic	.18477		3.729	.1995	.0398	.0398
Rapid Integ	-.13330	-.14888	2.894	.2471	.0611	.0213
Isolate	-.12896	-.12563	2.570	.2838	.0805	.0195
Respect	-.04641	-.04326	1.965	.2878	.0829	.0023
Older	.02354	.01723	1.568	.2890	.0835	.0007

TABLE IV.20b

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL DATA (WITHOUT 'PROTEST APPROVAL') AS
 PREDICTORS TO PROTEST BEHAVIOR IN PAROCHIAL RURAL NEGRO COUNTY TYPE

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Partial Cor. Protest and Variable #1 holding others constant	F value each term	R	RSQ	Increase in RSQ
Older	-.20351		3.620	.2010	.0404	.0404
Isolate	-.13797	-.17042	3.114	.2613	.06833	.0279
Respect	-.07838	-.09350	2.283	.2746	.0754	.0071
Rapid Integ.	.07619	.08331	1.810	.2833	.0802	.0048
Conserv-Cynic	.04080	.05255	1.476	.2873	.0825	.0023

TABLE IV.20c

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL DATA (WITHOUT 'PROTEST APPROVAL') AS
 PREDICTORS TO PROTEST BEHAVIOR IN STABLE COUNTY TYPE

Variable	Regression Coefficient	Partial Cor. Protest and Variable #1 holding others constant	F value each term	R	RSQ	Increase in RSQ
Older	.21535		3.132	.2098	.0440	.0440
Respect	-.12025	-.11493	2.012	.2380	.0567	.0126
Isolate	-.12277	-.09189	1.515	.2538	.0644	.0078
Conserv-Cynic	.07599	.05740	1.179	.2601	.0677	.0032
Rapid Integ	--	--	--	--	--	--

interpretation rather than of mathematical statistics per se. These problems make interpretation of the contribution of each variable very difficult except in some general sense.

In comparing Tables IV.14 and IV.16, it is clear that there is very little difference in the amount of variance explained (86.5% and 87%). This is partly due to the unusually large contribution of "Protest Approval" in both regressions. In an attempt to evaluate the model, it was decided to repeat the regressions without the variable "Protest Approval." Thus the variance accounted for are as follows: Individual Data without Protest Approval (3%), Environment Data (9%); and Individual Data without Protest Approval and Environment Data (12%). Thus, although the amount of variance is still extremely low in the interlevel model, this model predicts more than the other two regressions. Although there are twice as many variables in the third model, the rise or increase in explanatory power has to do not merely with the number of variables but their relationship to each other and their linear combination and relationship to the dependent variable.¹⁶ Also it can be seen in Table IV.18 that the Individual and Environment Level variables are more or less evenly spread between student and county contributions.

Another way of operationalizing the interlevel model is by looking at separate regressions of the three groups of students (defined by their county type) as shown in Tables IV.19a, 19b, and 19c. In a sense Environment is being held constant while white

¹⁶Robert A. Gordon, "Issues in the Ecological Study of Delinquency," American Sociological Review, American Sociological Review, XXXII (December, 1967), 937-44.

attitudes/characteristics are used as predictors to Protest behavior. These regressions can be compared to the first regression for the same model (which used the total sample, i.e., Table IV.14 shows a regression with the six student dimensions as predictors and accounts for 86.5% of the variance). Table IV.19a shows the same predictors as in Table IV.14 but only for a subgroup composed of the students whose counties were classified as Poor Urban; Table IV.19b is a regression within the Parochial Rural Negro subgroup; and Table IV.19c is for the subgroup in Stable county. Although the amount of variation explained does not differ too much from each other, when Environment is held constant prediction either increases or decreases indicating that the student sample is not completely homogeneous (as was shown in the discriminant function analysis). The most interesting county type is Stable which shows 90% of the variance accounted for compared to the total sample (87%) and the other two subsamples (84%, 85%).

It was also decided to do three separate analyses using only five student dimensions (excluding Protest Approval) in the subsamples, i.e., Individual Level (without Protest Approval) holding constant each Environment type. The 3% for the total sample more than doubles in each of the county types (Tables IV.20a, 20b, and 20c). This indicates that Environment and Individual level together are better than either model alone.

The dimension Protest Approval (of parents, administrators and faculty) was so important in the regression analyses and also in the various discriminant function analyses that it occurred to this

researcher that the field concept of "Environment" might be better operationalized to mean something similar to an environment-situation of "significant others." What constitutes an environment-situation is difficult when one is dealing with attitudes of approval and support. For example it may be argued that the support by these persons comes after protest participation and thus can not be regarded as a situation that encourages protest participation. Even if support and approval came after the actual protest activity, it may be argued that participation was in part predicated on "expectation" of support or at least expectation of only mild sanctions. It was decided that re-conceptualizing environment to include this type of interpersonal interaction and attitudes of approval--an "intimate environment" rather than an ecological one--may be fruitful. One can do this and still use the above regressions and re-interpret the variable Protest Approval as the Environment. If one compares all regressions "Without Protest Approval" (Tables IV.17, 18, and 20) with regressions that include "Protest Participation," (Tables IV.14, 16 and 19) the difference or increase in R^2 is remarkable--an 80% increase.

This chapter has explored the relationships between the two levels and also their relationship to protest participation with the use of contingency analysis, discriminant function analysis and step-wise multiple regression analysis. It is encouraging to find that the various methods of analysis converge well enough to allow one to state that the Environment level and the Individual level are closely related and that the interlevel model predicting to protest participation is also useful.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This dissertation started with the central concept of Kurt Lewin's field theory that behavior is a function of individual and environmental influences. These constructs were operationalized with data on attitudes and background characteristics of Southern Negro students for the Individual level and county aggregate data for the Environment level. Throughout the research many and varied techniques of analysis were utilized in an attempt to understand the ways in which these levels either singly or together explain or help our understanding of protest politics. Some of the major specific questions asked were: what are the major dimensions of counties and of students? what are the various types of counties and of students? and finally, how useful is an interlevel field theory in explaining protest behavior?

In the course of the analysis, we have been able to provide reasonably satisfactory answers to each of these questions. Seven orthogonal factors were delineated in the student data, namely: Protest Politics, Moderate Integration, Electoral Politics, Isolation, Respect for Leaders, Older, and Conservative-Cynical. From these dimensions eight groups or types were extracted. Using the same procedure on the county data, six dimensions and three groups were delineated: Cosmopolitan, Mixed Income, Negro Poor, Stable, Good Economy, and Negro Rural. The three county types were labelled Poor

Urban, Parochial Rural Negro, and Stable. Students and counties, i.e., the Individual and Environment levels, were related to each other through various techniques of analysis.

The cross-tabulation of student types and county types showed that 47% of the Protest types were found in Stable County, a county described as high on dimensions constructed from variables like college education, white median income, telephones, number of desegregated schools, low Negro population, number of families and a variety of income variables. This mix of ecological aggregate data presented a picture of a structurally conducive and not too sanctioning environment. Conservative-Cynical, Apolitical and Contacts (with whites) student types were found to be most dense in the county type Parochial Rural Negro. This environment type was characterized as high on Negro population, rural population and low on the dimension tapping desegregation, and communication facilities. The two variables--percent rural population and non-white--have been found in this study and in other studies to be predictive of Negro political inactivity and also possible hostility and dominance of the white population. Student data were very good in discriminating between groups defined by county aggregate data; this was particularly true for the discriminant function analysis using both behavior variables and student background characteristics and attitudes. The last analysis was a series of regression analyses which compared the utility of three models: (1) the proportion of variance explained in protest behavior using only Individual data; (2) using only Environment data; and

(3) using both Individual and Environment data. The dimension "Protest Approval" (i.e., by parents, faculty, and administration) contributed most to the variance explained leading this researcher to see the importance and possible utility of this dimension as an operationalization of the field concept of Environment. The relationships between the Individual and Environment levels were found to be relatively strong and meaningful in the contingency and discriminant function analyses and also but to a more limited degree in predicting to protest behavior.

In this concluding chapter we will again raise questions and attempt answers. We will evaluate this study and state possible improvements and directions for future research by attempting to answer the following questions:

- (a) Were the techniques of analysis and data operationalization adequate to the specific research questions raised? That is, with the same questions how could we give "better answers"?
- (b) Are there theoretical variables left out? other questions that might have been asked?
- (c) What other problems or areas could or have been used to help establish the extent to which these findings may be generalized? in what other empirical domains might worthwhile replications be conducted?
- (d) How does this dissertation add to field theory, research in political science and to an understanding of the civil rights movement?

(a) The central concepts of Individual and Environment could be operationalized and interpreted in many ways. Other than the one used here, three possible data operationalizations for Environment that seem suitable for a study of political behavior and social movement participation are: (1) community attitudes and characteristics in aggregate terms possible with the county as the unit of analysis, e.g., % conservative-liberal, % hostile to Negroes, variables that may be obtained by aggregating the sample of attitudes in the county; (2) using a meaning of Environment similar to the definition of "significant others," data could be collected from persons such as classmates, teachers and parents as to their perceptions on various topics and particularly their relationship to the particular subject-student. The subject-student could also be asked questions as to his perception of these persons, possible influence, respect and also congruence of responses; and (3) use the same ecological aggregate data such as used in this dissertation but change the unit of analysis to nation, state, city, municipality, or census tract and see the relative sensitivity to the change of the unit.

One shortcoming in the aggregate data was that many of the variables were means and medians and perhaps the extremes or actual distribution or some other refinement in the summary figure would be more discriminating in predicting to the dependent variable.¹ The white-Negro differences on a single variable are nearly always important and were lost when combined in one variable, e.g., % male unemployed or % in

¹Gordon, op. cit., pp. 937-944.

agriculture would be made more precise or give a different meaning if the variables % non-white male unemployed or % non-white in agriculture were added. On the whole, however, this was done on most variables used in this study.

For the Individual level, one useful operationalization would be the various tested personality scales (e.g., Cattell) so that the findings would be more comparable to other studies. Also, the exclusion of specifically racial questions might lead to a more unbiased and general definition of the Individual level.

With respect to the techniques of analysis chosen, it seems to this researcher that they were adequate in answering the research questions asked. The interdependence of theory, data and methods of analysis in a sense limited the choice of the techniques used. The ideal is to use many varied techniques of analysis and see if the findings and relationships change or converge. For example we could have used a Q-analysis of the raw data, hierarchical grouping techniques, small-space analysis and Guttman scales to build the typologies of students and counties. We could have divided the student sample and the county sample and do a factor comparison, or use a variance component model to estimate the contribution of the two levels.

(b) One theoretical variable left out and of importance to the subject-matter and approach used is "sanction" or expectation, perception and experience of sanction. Although there were some direct questions asked the student sample tapping this concept, it was not used in a central way in this research and did not load highly on any of the

dimensions. If one can measure or operationalize sanction from the aggregate data directly it would add to the explanatory power of Environment. However, the concept was used indirectly such as high Negro Concentration, but it is dangerous to make a psychological interpretation of this variable. County data on communication, e.g., quality of newspapers, number of T.V. sets, stations, National links, etc., were not given the importance that they probably deserve as argued in many studies on protest behavior. Many studies on protest politics have identified the importance of the mass media for recruitment, evaluation of the legitimacy and success of the movement and generally as central to minority group political activity. Although some of the variables included touched on the concept of sanctions and communication, their theoretical value was not included in this analysis.

(c) Since field theory claims to be applicable to all types of human behavior whether it be small groups, collective behavior, religious behavior or such topics as mental illness, delinquency, alienation, studies of these topics or empirical domains would help establish the extent to which these findings can be generalized. Because the field theory interpretation employed by this researcher is particularly used in its simplest form, and because many relationships and hypothesis were not spelled out, it would be difficult to make such comparisons and generalizations. It would be interesting to see the comparative utility of the operationalization used in this study for say the economic behavior of these students, their religious

behavior, their political behavior in campus politics, etc. by having additional variables measuring income, type(s) of work, spending habits, church activities, political stance on curriculum changes, etc. Given a large range of different research areas and also the same or different operationalizations one may be able to indicate the degree of generality of the theory.

(d) It is ambitiously contended that this dissertation has added to field theory in that: (1) it has provided an operationalization and application of the field unit; (2) it has organized empirical evidence to confirm to some degree the utility of this approach; (3) it has indicated and shown the applicability of various multivariate techniques of analysis; and (4) it has raised questions as to the possible empirical domains, other operationalizations and techniques of analysis that would help establish the extent to which field theory may be applicable. With respect to topics in political science and the literature of political science, it is contended that the findings are significant in that social movement participation has been included in the concept and literature of political participation; two distinct types of political behavior--protest and electoral--have been delineated; and the utility of both individual and environment levels in the study of political behavior have been demonstrated. And substantively, it is hoped that the study has contributed to an understanding of the civil rights movement and particularly the student participation in the early and important sit-ins with respect to the participants and also the environment in which these protests occurred.

"The field view carries a powerful moral and action implication...the total effect of field theory" on the civil rights movement "will be to keep before us the full range of interacting factors that must be changed if desired goals are to be achieved."²

²Yinger, op. cit., p. 48.

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APPENDIX A: Matthews and Prothro Data Collection
Procedures for the sample of Southern Negro College Student Survey

1. Student Sample Data Collection:^a

Southern Negro college students were among the most prominent actors in the "Negro revolution" of the early 1960's. Since only a few of them fell within our southwide sample, we conducted a separate southwide survey of Negro college student opinion during 1962. In the fall of 1961 we modified the standard interview for Negro adults for use with a student population. We added a few new questions of particular relevance to the students.

The persons interviewed in this survey are a representative cross section of Negro students from southern homes working toward degrees at accredited, predominantly Negro institutions of higher learning in the 11 states of the former Confederacy. The survey population included part-time as well as full-time students, graduate students as well as undergraduates, and students living away from campus as well as those on campus; it excluded the handful of Negroes in "integrated" institutions of higher learning in the region. Non-Negroes and non-southerners attending these institutions who appeared in the sample were not interviewed. (This exclusion of individuals who do not qualify as members of the sample population is common--e.g., election surveys normally exclude aliens who appear in samples of voting-age populations.)

The sample of students was drawn by the authors. We selected 340 student names from the colleges' lists of degree candidates in the following way: starting at random, we counted N names down a list of all Negro college students in the region and added the next ten names to the sample; then we skipped N names and took the next ten; and so on. (So long as the exact enrollment of the college or university was known, it was not necessary even to know the actual names of the students. In a few cases, interviewers merely received the sample number of the students to be interviewed.) The clustering in this sample design reduced the number of institutions at which interviews were conducted to 30, a manageable number. On the other hand, by departing from pure random sampling, sampling error was increased.

The Negro field staff of 1961 was reactivated to conduct the student interviews. Travel costs--the 30 institutions in our student sample were not all in or near the PSU's in which our Negro interviewers lived--required that this staff be supplemented by eight new interviewers recruited from the student bodies of institutions represented in the sample. A special four-day interviewer training session was held for these new interviewers immediately before they began work in January 1962.

The results of this survey were as follows:

	Percentage	Number
Completed interviews	84	264
Noninterviews	16	52
No longer in school	10	33
In school but not interviewed	6	19

Interviews were completed during the winter, coded during April by essentially the same staff that had coded the adult interviews, and punched and verified on IBM cards by early summer of 1962.

We have computed no special tables of sampling error for this survey; the values in Tables A-1 and A-2 may be used for purposes of roughly estimating the size of sampling error. The student sample is actually less clustered than the two adult ones.

2. Institution, city, county.^b

<u>Institution</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>State</u>
Alabama A & M College	Normal	Madison	Ala.
Alabama State Teachers' Col.	Montgomery	Montgomery	Ala.
Alcorn A & M College	Lorman	Claiborne	Miss.
Arkansas A M & N College	Pine Bluff	Jefferson	Ark.
Bennett College	Greensboro	Guilford	N.C.
Bethune-Cookman College	Daytona Beach	Volusia	Fla.
Claflin College	Orangeburg	Orangeburg	S.C.
Coahoma Jr. College	Clarksdale	Coahoma	Miss.
Fayetteville State Teachers' Col.	Fayetteville	Cumberland	N.C.
Florida A & M College	Tallahassee	Leon	Fla.
Fort Valley State College	Fort Valley	Peach	Ga.
Grambling College	Grambling	Lincoln	La.
Jackson State College	Jackson	Hinds	Miss.
Johnson C. Smith University	Charlotte	Mecklenburg	N.C.
Mississippi Vocational College	Itta Bena	Leflore	Miss.
Morehouse College	Atlanta	DeKalb	Ga.
Morris Brown College	Atlanta	DeKalb	Ga.
N.C. A & T College	Greensboro	Guilford	N.C.
N.C. College at Durham	Durham	Durham	N.C.
Prairie View A & M College	Prairie View	Waller	Texas
St. Augustine's College	Raleigh	Wake	N.C.
St. Philip's Jr. College	San Antonio	Bexar	Texas
Shorter College	Little Rock	Pulaski	Ark.
S.C. State College	Orangeburg	Orangeburg	S.C.
Southern University	Baton Rouge	East Baton R.	La.
Spelman College	Atlanta	DeKalb	Ga.
Tennessee A & I State Univ.	Nashville	Davidson	Tenn.
Tuskegee Institute	Tuskegee Ins.	Macon	Ala.
Virginia State College	Petersburg	Dinwiddie	Va.
Virginia Union University	Richmond	Chesterfield, Henrico	Va.

^aMatthews and Prothro, op.cit., pp.496-497.

^bCommunity and Civic Participation Study: Schedule Z Code Book (February, 1962), p2-z (mimeo).

APPENDIX B

STUDENT DATA CODE BOOK

- 01 AGE
What is your age?
0. 21 and below
1. 22 and older
- 02 CITY
Were you brought up mostly on a farm/town/small or large city?
0. farm, town, small city
1. large city
- 03 MAR
Marital status
0. single
1. married
- 04 FRESH
What year of college are you in?
0. non-freshman
1. freshman
- 05 HEAD
Who was head of the household in which you grew up?
0. other than father
1. father
- 06 PROF
Head of household's primary occupation
0. non-professional
1. professional and related occupations
- 07 W. CLASS
(Which class do you consider yourself belonging to?)
0. other than working class
1. working class
- 08 INTER
How much interest would you say you have in how Negroes
as a whole are getting along in this country?
0. some to not much at all
1. good deal

- 09 Y FAM
How much income die you and your family make altogether
in 1961? (before taxes and including income of everyone
in the family?)
0. less than \$5,000
1. \$5,000 and more
- 10 SEX
Sex of the respondent
0. female
1. male
11. CAMPUS
Respondent's residence
0. outside campus
1. campus housing
12. FAM T
Do you ever talk about public problems with your family?
0. no
1. yes
13. COM T
Do you ever talk about public problems with Negro community
leaders?
0. no
1. yes
14. WHT T
Do you ever talk about public problems with any white
people?
0. no
1. yes
15. ELEC 1
Have you ever given any money or bought tickets or anything
to help someone who was trying to win an election?
0. no
1. yes
16. ELEC 2
Have you ever gone to any political meetings, rallies, etc.
0. no
1. yes
- 17 ELEC 3
Have you ever done any work to help a candidate in his
campaign?
0. no
1. yes

- 18 ELEC 4
Have you ever talked to people to try to get them to vote for or against any candidate?
0. no
1. yes
- 19 PARINT
How about your parents, how interested are they in politics?
0. somewhat/not much
1. great deal
- 20 NAACP
(NAACP membership)
0. no
1. yes
- 21 SCH INT
Suppose that you are married and have small children. Then you decided that the white school closest to where you live is much better than the Negro school. Would you want your children to go there, even if they were among the first few Negroes to attend the school?
0. indefinite
1. definitely would want child to go
- 22 SCH ACT
Mode of action (re. school integration)
0. none or talk
1. direct personal or organizational action
- 23 SCH GOVT
Person to talk to (re. school integration)
0. government official
1. non-governmental influentials
- 24 SCH RAT
"Rationality" of potential action: degree to which stated action is an efficient means to R's goal.
0. indeterminant or irrational
1. rational
- 25 RESP
How much do you respect the Negro leaders in the town or place where you grew up?
0. some/not much
1. a lot

- 26 RESP Y
What about the other Negro youths there, how much do you think they respect the Negro leaders?
0. some/not much
1. a lot
- 27 RESP A
What about the Negro adults where you grew up, how much do you think they respect the Negro leaders?
0. some/not much
1. a lot
- 28 RESP W
How do you feel about the white leaders in the town or place where you grew up?
0. some/not much
1. a lot
- 29 RESP WY
What about the other Negro youths there, how much do you think they respect the white leaders?
0. some/not much
1. a lot
- 30 RESP WA
What about the Negro adults where you grew up, how much do you think they respect the white leaders?
0. some/not much
1. a lot
- 31 SIT-IN
What is your feeling about the sit-ins?
0. does not strongly approve
1. strongly approve
- 32 SI-ACT
Have you taken part in the sit-in demonstrations?
0. no
1. yes
- 33 SI-DEG
Compared with other students active in the sit-ins, would you say that you have been very active, fairly or not?
0. not very active or not at all
1. very active
- 34 SI-PAR
Take your parents, for example, how did they feel about the sit-ins?
0. neutral or non-approval
1. approve

- 35 SI-PROF
What about your professors?
0. neutral or non-approval
1. approve
- 36 SI-ADM
What about the school administration?
0. neutral or non-approval
1. approval
- 37 RIDES
What are your feelings about the Freedom Rides?
0. moderate approval
1. strong approval
- 38 PAR-VT
Do you know whether either of your parents ever votes
in any elections or don't you remember?
0. does not remember or did not vote
1. voted
- 39 NO VOTE
Have you ever voted, or aren't you of voting age?
0. voted or under voting age
1. no, but of voting age
- 40 INTEG N
In general, how many of the Negroes in the South would
you say are in favor of integration?
0. 50% or less
1. more than 50%
- 41 SEGR W
How many white people would you say are in favor of
strict segregation of the races?
0. 50% or less
1. more than 50%
- 42 W FRND
Have you ever known a white person well enough that you
would talk to him as a friend?
0. no
1. yes
- 43 W STUD
Do you often come into contact with white people like
students or teachers?
0. no
1. yes

- 44 W BOSS
Do you often come into contact with white people like
people you work for?
0. no
1. yes
- 45 W WRK
Do you often come into contact with white people like
those at work?
0. no
1. yes
- 46 W BEH
In general, do you think white people behave better than
Negroes, Negroes behave better, or the same?
0. Negro better or same
1. white behave better
- 47 W AMB
On the whole, do you think white people try to get ahead
more than Negroes, Negroes try more than white people,
or about the same?
0. Negroes try to get ahead more or the same
1. white try to get ahead more
- 48 EQUALITY
Community ideals regarding race relations
0. ideals other than equality (e.g., tolerance/affection)
1. equality
- 49 R SCH
Inter-racial contact ideals/rate: school
0. mixed, moderate, complete segregation
1. rapid integration
- 50 R CHRCH
Inter-racial contact ideals/rate: churches
0. mixed, moderate, complete segregation
1. rapid integration
- 51 R ACCOM
Inter-racial contact ideals/rate: public accommodations
0. mixed, moderate, complete segregation
1. rapid integration
- 52 R JOB
Inter-racial contact ideals/rate: jobs and employment
0. mixed, moderate, complete segregation
1. rapid integration

- 53 R HOUSE
Inter-racial contact ideals/rate: residential areas
0. mixed, moderate, or complete segregation
1. rapid integration
- 54 R SOC
Inter-racial contact ideals/rate: social intercourse
0. mixed, moderate or complete segregation
1. rapid integration
- 55 S NOW
Where on this ladder (10 point scale) would you put the South today?
0. between 4-9 (top third)
1. between 0-3 (lowest third)
- 56 PAST +
Improvement of the race relation during the last 5 years
0. top 2/3
1. bottom 1/3
- 57 LIVNOW
Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
0. disagree
1. agree
- 58 WHY VTE
There's not much use in people like me voting because all the candidates are usually against what I want.
0. disagree
1. agree
- 59 G JOB
The government in Washington ought to see to it that everybody who wants to work can find a job.
0. disagree
1. agree
- 60 G SCH
If cities and towns around the country need help to build more schools, the government in Washington ought to give them money they need.
0. disagree
1. agree
- 61 G MED
The government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost.
0. disagree
1. agree

- 62 W PREJ
All white people in the South are prejudiced against
Negroes.
0. disagree
1. agree
- 63 NO CHG
I have seen so much unfairness to Negroes that I don't
believe you can ever change the attitudes of white people
in the South.
0. disagree
1. agree
- 64 WORSE
If you start trying to change things very much, you usually
make them worse.
0. disagree
1. agree
- 65 OLD
It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying
new things you really don't know about.
0. disagree
1. agree
- 66 FOREFA
We must respect the work of our forefathers and not think
that we know better than they did.
0. disagree
1. agree
- 67 WISDOM
A man doesn't really get to have much wisdom until he's
well along in years.
0. disagree
1. agree
- 68 STEREO
All white people are alike.
0. disagree
1. agree
- 69 INFO
Number of information questions answered correctly
0. less than three
1. three or four

APPENDIX C

COUNTY DATA CODEBOOK

01	AREA area
02	POP total population
03	POP/ML population per square mile
04	POP INC population change 1950-60
05	URBAN population in urban areas
06	RURAL population in rural-farm areas
07	NON WHT population non-white
08	ADULT population 21 and over
09	BIRTH live births
10	DEATH deaths in 1959
11	MAR marriages
12	FAM families
13	Y FAM number of families under \$3,000 y
14	Y AGGR aggregate income (in million \$)

15	MED SCH median school year completed of population 25 yrs and over
16	HS completed highschool or more
17	C ENRL college enrollment of population 5-34 yrs of age
18	LABOR* total civilian labor force
19	UNEMP* unemployed
20	M UNEMP* male unemployed
21	AG LBR* civilian labor force in agriculture
22	WRK OUT* worked outside county of residence
23	FACIL* housing with all plumbing and sound facilities
24	HSE PER* housing with 1.01 or more persons per room
25	OWNER* owner-occupied housing units
26	TEL* housing units with telephones
27	Y GOVT* local government total revenue (in \$1,000)
28	X GOVT* local govt expenditure in 1957 (in \$1,000)
29	MFT/100* manufacturers in 1958 with 100 or more employees
30	RETAIL* retail trade establishment
31	FARM* 1959 land in farms

32	F INDEX*	farm-operated family level of living index
33	N. WCOLL*	% white collar of non-white labor force
34	MFT LAB*	% labor force in manufacturing
35	TEN*	% farms operated by tenants
36	N COLLEGE	number of Negro colleges in county
37	W REGIS	% white population of voting age registered
38	N REGIS	% Negro population of voting age registered
39	REPUB	% Republican of major party vote in 1960
40	DESEG	county schools desegregated
41	JEWISH	% Jewish of total church membership
42	CATH	% Roman Catholic of total church membership
43	SECT	% Holiness sects of total church membership
44	CHURCH	% church membership of total population
45	Y WHT	White median income of families and unrelated indiv
46	Y NEG	non-white median income, families and unrelated indiv
47	W SCH	White median school yrs. complete
48	N SCH	Non-white median school yrs. completed

APPENDIX D

OBLIQUELY ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX, 69 STUDENT VARIABLES

FACTOR				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	1	1	1			0.6717				
1	2	1	2							
1	3	1	3			0.4006				
1	4	1	4			-0.4437				
1	5	1	5							
1	6	1	6							
1	7	1	7							
1	8	1	8	0.4799						
1	9	1	9							
1	10	1	10							
1	11	1	11							
1	12	1	12							
1	13	1	13							
1	14	1	14						0.5721	
1	15	1	15		0.6077					
1	16	1	16		0.6145					
1	17	1	17		0.6462					
1	18	1	18		0.4625					
1	19	1	19			-0.5158				
1	20	1	20		0.4505					
1	21	1	21	-0.3752						
1	22	1	22							
1	23	1	23							
1	24	1	24	0.3666						
1	25	1	25					0.6272		

Appendix D (Continued)

FACTOR				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	26	1	26					0.5641		
1	27	1	27					0.4979		
1	28	1	28					0.4181		
1	29	1	29							
1	30	1	30	-0.3563						
1	31	1	31	0.5888						
1	32	1	32	0.4272						
1	33	1	33	0.4348						
1	34	1	34		0.4185					
1	35	1	35					0.4203		
1	36	1	36		0.3779					
1	37	1	37	0.4773						
1	38	1	38				-0.3321			
1	39	1	39			0.3788				
1	40	1	40	0.3442						
1	41	1	41							
1	42	1	42							0.4438
1	43	1	43							
1	44	1	44							0.4575
1	45	1	45							0.5958
1	46	1	46							
1	47	1	47							
1	48	1	48						0.3873	
1	49	1	49						0.7097	
1	50	1	50						0.4926	
1	51	1	51						0.6742	
1	52	1	52						0.5907	
1	53	1	53						0.3989	
1	54	1	54						0.4015	
1	55	1	55							
1	56	1	56							
1	57	1	57							
1	58	1	58							

Appendix D (Continued)

FACTOR				1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	59	1	59							
1	60	1	60				0.4360			
1	61	1	61							
1	62	1	62				0.4079			
1	63	1	63	-0.4129						
1	64	1	64							
1	65	1	65				0.3970			
1	66	1	66							
1	67	1	67							
1	68	1	68	-0.3440						
1	69	1	69							0.3363
	7	1	SUM							
	7	1	SUMSQ							

APPENDIX E

OBLIQUELY ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX, 48 COUNTY VARIABLES

FACTOR				1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	1	1	-0.3430					
1	2	1	2		0.9098				
1	3	1	3					-0.3876	
1	4	1	4					-0.3913	
1	5	1	5	-0.5091					
1	6	1	6					0.5184	
1	7	1	7						-0.5623
1	8	1	8	-0.8969					
1	9	1	9		0.8859				
1	10	1	10		0.8926				
1	11	1	11				0.6904		
1	12	1	12				0.8181		
1	13	1	13					0.7038	
1	14	1	14		0.9364				
1	15	1	15			-0.4350			
1	16	1	16	0.4383					
1	17	1	17				0.6939		
1	18	1	18				0.8328		
1	19	1	19	0.5942					
1	20	1	20	-0.8289					
1	21	1	21		0.9058				
1	22	1	22	0.7888					
1	23	1	23						
1	24	1	24			0.7420			
1	25	1	25		0.8993				
1	26	1	26						0.4420

APPENDIX E (Continued)

FACTOR				1	2	3	4	5	6
1	27	1	27		0.9037				
1	28	1	28				0.8281		
1	29	1	29		0.8896				
1	30	1	30		0.9097				
1	31	1	31			0.6674			
1	32	1	32	0.8204					
1	33	1	33			0.8451			
1	34	1	34	0.5539					
1	35	1	35					0.5289	
1	36	1	36	0.8733					
1	37	1	37						
1	38	1	38			0.8118			
1	39	1	39			0.8426			
1	40	1	40	0.8402					
1	41	1	41	0.6241					
1	42	1	42	0.7669					
1	43	1	43	0.4406					
1	44	1	44						
1	45	1	45						0.4901
1	46	1	46	0.4275					
1	47	1	47	0.7353					
1	48	1	48			0.8322			
1	6	1	SUM						
1	6	1	SUMSQ						

APPENDIX F
 ORTHOGONALLY ROTATED BEHAVIOR VARIABLES
 (7 Variables)

Variable	Communality		
	2 Factors		
1 Elec 1	0.784		
2 Ect 2	0.686		
3 Elec 3	0.752		
4 Elec 4	0.550		
5 Si/Act		0.968	
6 Si/Deg		0.964	
7 Novote			
	Factor Number	1	2
	Sum Squares Over Variables	1.958	1.930
	Common Variance	32.4	
	Common Variance	58.4	41.6
	Total Variance	32.4	23.1

APPENDIX G

ORTHOGONALLY ROTATED ATTITUDES, CHARACTERISTICS (62 Variables)

Variable	h^2	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1						0.643	
2							
3						0.410	
4							
5							
6							
7							
8			-0.572				
9							
10							
11						-0.366	
12							
13			-0.363				
14			-0.490				
15						-0.553	
16		0.460					
17			0.455				
18							
19							
20							
21					0.654		
22					0.645		
23					0.641		
24					0.568		
25					0.397		
26							

APPENDIX G (Continued)

Variable	h^2	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
27			-0.525				
28		0.905					
29		0.874					
30		0.727					
31		0.792					
32		0.841					
33			-0.562				
34							-0.360
35							
36							
37			-0.424				
38							
39						0.433	
40			-0.534				
41							
42			0.366				
43							
44				0.797			
45				0.531			
46				0.721			
47				0.587			
48				0.422			
49				0.400			
50							
51							
52			0.370				
53							
54							0.422

APPENDIX G (Continued)

Variable	h^2	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
55							0.529
56							0.396
57							0.521
58							0.449
59							
60							0.487
61							
62							
	FACTOR NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6
	SUM SQUARES OVER VARIABLES	4.408	3.804	2.836	2.625	2.568	2.396
	Common Variance	30.1	17.1	14.8	14.1	13.0	10.9
	Total Variance	9.0	5.1	4.4	4.2	3.9	3.3