A Comparative Analysis of Values, Attitudes, Opinions and Behavior Patterns of Blacks and Whites and Chicago

James R. Neal
Loyola University Chicago

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF VALUES, ATTITUDES, OPINIONS AND
BEHAVIOR PATTERNS OF BLACKS AND WHITES IN CHICAGO

by

James R. Neal

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty
of the Department of Sociology
in Candidacy for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Recognizing that the traditional segregation of blacks from whites and that the social, political, educational, and economic discrimination against blacks has contributed to the development of two somewhat separate systems of social class, the writer will make no direct attempt to show that this obvious caste-like social system does in fact exist.\(^1\) However, the question of whether class values and attitudes will vary with race will be investigated as well as some possible relationships among race, education, occupation, and income.

The object of this study then is to determine whether blacks and whites of a similar socio-economic status in the middle class have similar or dissimilar values, attitudes, and behavior patterns. The thesis of this study is that social class position has a more significant influence than race upon selected values, attitudes, and behavior patterns. That is, the

\(^{1}\) "Class" is used in the same sense that Dahrendorf defines it: "'Classes' are interest groupings emerging from certain structural conditions which operate as such and effect structure changes." Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. ix.
subjects' position, as indicated by occupation and level of education, will be more decisive than race in affecting certain attitudes, values, and behavior patterns in areas such as income; occupation; public school education; educational aspirations for children; political-economic liberalism-conservatism; labor union membership; and labor union membership as it relates to political-economic liberalism-conservatism.

Review of the Literature--Definitions of Social Class

A review of the literature indicates that certain constellations of values and attitudes are attributable to people of given socio-economic categories. Such socio-economic categories or statuses involve the returns of occupations and have consequences in the privileges, restrictions, and relative control that the members of such categories can or cannot exercise over community processes affecting the interests and well-being of themselves and their families.²

There has been much research dealing with social class and the many facets of it, but there has been no consensus as to a definition of social class. Several traditional and contemporary theorists and researchers who have devoted a great deal

of effort to the concept of social class have been selected, and their theoretical, semantic, and operational definitions or discussions will be presented very briefly in order to provide a background for the theoretical framework for this dissertation. The persons selected are Karl Marx, Max Weber, Thorstein Veblen, Talcott Parsons, William Lloyd Warner, August B. Hollingshead, and Gerhard E. Lenski.

Karl Marx

Karl Marx's treatment of social class and the hierarchical arrangement of persons within the social structure was based primarily on economic position and relationship to the means of production. His theory of social class was of great importance in his work and has had very profound influence on modern social thought. He believed that the adverse position and conditions of the proletariat's relation to the means of production would be unacceptable to them; eventually they could and would be swayed into a mass rebellion against the system, destroy it, and replace it with the more favorable system of communism.

Marx believed that the social structure was divided into three major classes: the owners of labor-power, the owners of

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capital, and the landlords. These classes, resting upon the capitalist mode of production, received incomes respectively from wages, profit, and ground-rent. These inequalities of the market place and the resulting effect on one's whole life, according to Marx, would give rise to growing class consciousness and inter-class antagonisms.

In addition to one's source of income and one's relation to the means of production as criteria for membership in a class, Marx believed that class identification was inevitable because millions of families lived under economic conditions of existence that divided their mode of life, interests, and culture from those of other classes and put them in hostile contrast to the latter. Since all people satisfied these three criteria for social class and because the proletariat far outnumbered the other classes, Marx believed that the ultimate goal of revolution and a society founded on communism was inevitable.

Even though Marx divided the capitalist society into

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5 Marx, "Are the Peasants a Class?" ibid., p. 396.
two major camps he identified other classes that were enemies of the bourgeoisie but not part of the proletariat. These included the petty bourgeoisie, the lower strata of the middle class, remnants of absolute monarchy, landowners, and the non-industrial bourgeoisie.6

Disregarding the political implications of his theory, it is important to note that Marx was one of the first theorists to point out the effect a person's social (economic) position had on his social and political way of life, and is supportive of the thesis of this dissertation.

Max Weber

Max Weber's analysis of social stratification within society was essentially an analysis of the distribution of power. He defined power as one's chance to realize one's own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who participate in the action. Power, according to Weber, is distributed

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in accordance with "class," "status groups," and "party." 7

"Class" is stratified according to its relations to the production and acquisition of goods, and "status group" is stratified according to the principle of its consumption of goods as represented by special styles of life. The locale for "class" is in the economic order, for "status groups" within the social order which is the sphere for the distribution of "honor." The third element of "party" has as its action the acquisition of social power in order to influence a communal action no matter what its content may be. 8

According to Weber, a class represents a number of people who share "a specific causal component of their life chances... economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and are represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor markets." 9 Within the class categories is one which apparently could be referred to as middle class in contemporary society. That class situation is defined as economic

8Ibid., pp. 56-57
activities including

Ownership of domestic buildings, productive establishments; warehouses; stores; . . . disposition over mobile instruments of production, or capital goods of all sorts especially money or objects that can be exchanged for money easily and at any time; disposition over products of one's labor or of other's labor. . . ; dispositions over transferable monopolies of any kind--all of these distinctions differentiate the class situation of the propertied just as does the 'meaning' which they can and do give to the utilization of property, especially to property which has money equivalents.¹⁰

Thus unlike Marx and, as we shall see, Veblen, Weber believed that the only valid conceptualization of social stratification must be multidimensional and that the essential factor in these dimensions was the subjective and objective evaluation of power and the "kind of power, or lack of such, to dispose of goods or skills for the sake of income in a given economic order."¹¹

Thorstein Veblen

Thorstein Veblen's conceptualization of social classes was based on the degree to which "conspicuous leisure," "conspicuous consumption," and "conspicuous waste" were available to individuals. Veblen saw society divided into two classes: those who worked and were productive and those who did not work and

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 400-401.

¹¹Ibid., p. 400.
were not productive. Those who worked and were productive could not avoid labor and therefore the imputation of labor was not greatly derogatory to them within their class. Since labor was their recognized and accepted mode of life, they took pride in a reputation for efficiency in their work. The superior pecuniary class of those who did not work and were not productive also had an incentive for diligence and thrift, but this incentive was so greatly qualified by the secondary demands of pecuniary emulation that any inclination in the direction of work was subordinate to the social requirement of abstention from productive work, which was a social index of superior social and pecuniary worth.  

Since Veblen divides society into only two classes he has little to offer for an understanding of the middle class, but as with Marx and Weber, we see that Veblen believes that one's position in the social hierarchy has a determining effect on one's behavior, attitudes, and values toward certain, if not all, aspects of one's social environment.

Talcott Parsons

Talcott Parsons presents a functionalist's approach to social stratification which is multidimensional and which is,

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according to Gordon,

concerned with the objective effects which particular societal patterns or structures have on the other patterns or structures or other units of society, and on the maintenances, integration, and continuity of the society as a whole.\textsuperscript{13}

Parsons defines stratification as "the ranking of units in a social system in accordance with the standards of the common value system."\textsuperscript{14} In accordance with this definition he has devised a schema\textsuperscript{15} "to classify a society by its paramount value standard and the relative priority given to the succeeding standards."\textsuperscript{16} This multidimensional approach seems to be inspired by Max Weber's multidimensional conception of social


\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., pp. 110-111.

\textsuperscript{16}Reissman, p. 78.
stratification and also is founded on some social evaluation of certain items or characteristics or abilities which the society deems worthwhile and does not address itself to any specific category such as the characteristics of the middle class.

Gerhard E. Lenski

Gerhard E. Lenski applies the Hegelian dialectic to past functionalist (Parson, Davis, and others) and conflict (Marx, Veblen, and others) theorists of social stratification for the purpose of developing a theory which would identify the basic outlines of an emerging synthesis of these theories. 17

According to Lenski, systems of social stratification are based on the distributive systems of societies and are defined by determining "who gets what, how, and why?" 18 The question focuses on why there is distributive inequality, how and under what conditions it operates, and how it varies in degree and kind. In the development of this theory Lenski is primarily concerned with the "nature of the phenomenon in question" and "the causes of its uniformities and variations." 19 He offers two laws of distribution to account for the process of social stratification: "Men will share the product of their labors to the extent required

18 Ibid., p. viii. 19 Ibid., p. 44.
to insure the survival and continued productivity of those others whose actions are necessary or beneficial to themselves," and "power will determine the distribution of nearly all of the surplus possessed by a society." Thus systems of social stratification reflect the values and interests of those who possess power. Class then is defined "in terms of power" and a person's place in a specific class (or caste in some cases) influences his chances of obtaining the things he seeks in life; and although members of a class do not always share certain common interests with one another or always act collectively on shared common interests, "these shared interests constitute a potential basis for hostility toward other classes." Although all classes are not alike in all respects, "if one takes a unidimensional view of social stratification, as has been customary, there is but one class system in any given society, and hence 'the class system' and the 'distributive system' are synonymous.  

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Thus a class system is a "hierarchy of classes ranked in terms of some single criterion" and "every member of American society holds simultaneous membership in some class within the occupational, property, racial-ethnic, educational, age, and sexual class systems." 23

William Lloyd Warner

Of all the American sociologists and social anthropologists who have studied social class in the United States, the one who has probably made the greatest scientific and social impact is William Lloyd Warner. Warner emphasizes in his research that these categories or strata within the social structure are not invented by social scientists to explain what they have to say, but that they are "real" levels recognized by the community as being higher or lower in the life of the city. 24

Warner defined class in Yankee City as "two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions." 25 In his work in Yankee City and Jonesville

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23Ibid., pp. 78-80.


he concluded that there were, respectively, six and five social
classes based on prestige, consumptive style, and interactional
networks. In later studies he determined that these classes
could be correctly designated by using the more accessible and
objective criteria of occupations, source of income, house type,
and dwelling area.

As commentary on the relationship between social class
and the organizational structure of society, Warner not only
asserts its existence but also the necessity of its existence:

When societies are complex and service large pop-
ulations, they always possess some kind of status system
which, by its own values, places people in higher or
lower positions. This happens primarily because, to
maintain itself, the society must co-ordinate the efforts
of all its members into common enterprises necessary for the
preservation of the group, and it must solidify and
integrate all these enterprises into a working whole. In
other words, as the division of labor increases and
the social units become more numerous and diverse, the
need for co-ordination and integration also increases
and, when satisfied, enables the larger group to survive
and develop.

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The effect which social class has on life chances is also commented upon by Warner:

We all know such perfect equality of position and opportunity does not exist. All Americans are not born into families of equal position. . . . Though everyone has the common right to success, it is not an equal "right"; though there is equality of rank for some of us, there is not equality of rank for all of us. 29

This differentiation of life chances and social organization has been treated in many of the studies dealing with social class. Numerous examples may be found in the sociological journals, textbooks or readers on social stratification. A perusal of the bibliography of this study will give the reader an indication of some of these. Warner's conceptualization of the middle class will be discussed later in this chapter.

August B. Hollingshead

August B. Hollingshead was very explicit about the effect social class had on behavior patterns in his research of the youth of Elmtown. Upon his arrival in Elmtown, he noted that Elmtowners think of themselves as members of classes and that they act in part toward one another on the basis of their judgments about each other's class position. Persons who possess a cluster of similar values tend to be grouped into more or less common prestige positions. Persons

29 Ibid., p. 3.
with other values and correlated traits are assigned other levels or "pegs."  

As a conclusion to his research, he stated:

There is a functional relationship between the class position of an adolescent's family and his social behavior in the community.  

Thus we infer that the family and neighborhood subcultures not only set the stage upon which the child acts, but they also provide him with ways of acting and definitions of action.  

Showing more directly the relationship between family conditioning and social class, Hollingshead concluded that if an adolescent has been trained in the home and the neighborhood to act, let us say, like a Class I person, and his clique associations are with Class I boys or girls, that adolescent will reveal a Class I behavior pattern in his non-family activities. We believe that this generalization will apply to each class and to each area of social behavior.  

Hollingshead's "Two Factor Index of Social Position" was used to determine the social class or socio-economic status of the participants in this research. It will be explained


\[31\] Ibid., p. 441.

\[32\] Ibid., p. 445.

\[33\] Ibid., p. 446.
extensively in the following chapter. See also Appendix C.

The brief treatment of these social scientists has certainly not presented an exacting and definite conceptualization of social class or social stratification, but it has indicated that social differentiations do exist within the social order, that people are aware of them, and that they can be delineated and recorded. Probably a more significant aspect of social class, implicitly or explicitly stated by all the above persons, is that it determines in various degrees the organizational structure of a society, and the behavioral patterns of those within the society along class and caste-like lines. Although all aspects of social class are important and would be interesting to investigate, the main focus of this research will be given to the analysis of the values, attitudes, behavior patterns, social orientation, and perspective of life of black and white persons of the middle class.

The Middle Class

With the exception of studies done by Allison Davis and Robert Havighurst (on socialization and child rearing processes), no comparative study could be located which was concerned with the attitudes, values, and behavior patterns of both
black and white persons of a selected social category or class. Some studies which have been written about the attitudes and values of the middle class are the rather popular books of Mills, Packard, Frazier, Drake and Cayton, Whyte, and Edwards.

While White Collar by Mills deals with the way of life, ideologies, and world of work of the middle class, its primary interest is in the transition of the old middle class to the new and the role of the new within the bureaucratic industrial structure. The methodology used by Mills includes an analysis of literature, extensive observations, and interviews.

The Status Seekers by Vance Packard is primarily concerned with the dilemma of the new middle class and resulting efforts to match its newly acquired material goods with an equal amount of status. The book presents the reader with many helpful insights into the motivations, values, and attitudes of the middle class.

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His methodology is an intensive review of the social science literature on the subject.

**Black Bourgeoisie** by E. Franklin Frazier was written primarily to analyze the role of the black middle class in contemporary American society. The study vividly points out the dilemma of a class that has objectively fulfilled the criteria for middle-classness but is not allotted the concomitant prestige and status by the white society. Frazier shows how this dilemma contributes to the insecurities, attitudes, and frustrations of these people. **Black Bourgeoisie** is based on observations, interviews, insights and an analysis of literature.

A work which deals empirically with black people in Chicago is **Black Metropolis** by St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton. Even though it offers only a superficial and limited coverage of the middle class, the data on values and associational membership are invaluable.

**The Organization Man** by William H. Whyte, Jr. is not directly concerned with the middle class but offers some

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37E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957). It is to be noted that the book was based on his recorded lectures in France, published there, (virtually without his knowledge or permission), then translated and published in English.

important insights into its values, style of life, and attitudes in and extensive discussion of the over-conformity of middle-management. 39

The Negro Professional Class by G. Franklin Edwards is a study of occupational mobility among a selected group of professional occupations in Washington, D. C. 40

The Middle-Class Negro in the White Man's World by Eli Ginzberg and associates is the result of intensive interviews of forty middle-class high school and college black youths and records their reactions to the social environments in which they live. The study concludes that socialization and education are conditioning factors for certain aspirations and attitudes. 41

All of these works deal in one aspect or another with the middle class, but, one might wonder, what is the middle class?


Indices of the Middle Class

The middle class has been defined as those two central segments of the population which are so designated by Warner in his six-class structure of society or by Hollingshead's class III in his five-class structure or Mills' white collar class. By culling statements from the works of these and other social scientists the writer hopes to operationalize what is meant by middle class and by middle-classness.

Although Warner admits that occupational and economic characteristics are some of the most important indices of social class, he notes that social class is not the same as economic class. Social class for Warner refers to levels which are recognizable in the behavior and attitudes of the people in the community where the levels exist. According to him economic factors are of "prime importance" and are some of the principal determinants of social class, but they cannot account for all social class behavior or for its presence in contemporary America. Thus the purpose of this section of the dissertation will be to present some factors, in addition to the economic, which will aid the reader in differentiating the middle class from other classes.

Kahl has described middle class people as "careerists," those who occupy "positions," and "salaried men." According to Frazier the middle class is composed of white collar workers and small businessmen. Rohrer and Edmonson say that it is composed of schoolteachers, skilled workers, (a significantly new category), managers, salesmen, and professionals, and that the hallmark of these people is "achievement, responsibility, respectability, politeness, industry, egalitarianism, and kindred virtues." For Mills the middle class is composed of office workers and those who "handle people and symbols."

Myrdal presents these characteristics: usually they have had primary or secondary education, but few, with the exception of school teachers, have been to college. They rank education

43 Kahl, p. 193.

44 Frazier, pp. 52-53.


46 Mills, pp. 64-65.
high on the scale of social values and desire for their children this means (education) of cultural emancipation. Their standards also include a stable family, thrift, independence, honesty, industriousness, and the avoidance of trouble with the law. For the men, extramarital relations are not uncommon, but it is expected that affairs shall be carried on in decent secrecy.\textsuperscript{47} The latter point is also made by Hollingshead.\textsuperscript{48}

In the middle class one finds the most energetic and ambitious people in the community; they are self-conscious and work assiduously to improve their status. They avoid identification with the lower class and resent the assumption of superiority of the upper class.\textsuperscript{49}

\textbf{The Upper Middle Class}

For the purpose of further clarification those characteristics peculiar to the upper and lower segments of the middle class will be presented.


\textsuperscript{48}Hollingshead, p. 99.

The upper middle class according to Warner

tries to maintain and reinforce the basic virtues of the society emphasizing pragmatic goals. The continued development of American society and its technological progress are highly dependent upon people who have been trained by the traditional value of the group. The emphasis upon putting off today's pleasures for tomorrow's gain are the very essence of the middle class ethic and have been principally responsible for maintaining the continuing drive of individuals to advance themselves.\(^5\)

In Elmtown Hollingshead discovered that the most highly educated adults in the community were in class II, the upper middle class. Since education was deemed desirable for a successful business career and indispensable in the professions, both college and non-college parents impressed on their children the desirability if not the necessity of a college education.\(^5\)

According to Warner, Junker and Adams, persons of this class try to keep up their dues in lodges and clubs and try to maintain good homes. They, more than the upper class, appear to exert effort in their drive to maintain respectability and to

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practice thrift and industry. They believe in themselves and in the American way of life. Not having too much respect for the past, they stress planning for the future, accomplishment, practical results, and individualistic achievement within the framework of group cooperation and collective responsibility. In this segment of the middle class, security more than wealth appears to be the economic goal. The family's income is usually earned by the male's practice of a large independent profession such as law, medicine, engineering, or dentistry; the operation of a family-owned business, executive position in a large business; or a salaried profession in a public office.

Thus the upper middle class is made up of professionals and people of similar occupations who may be characterized by their activity in civic affairs and interest in individual achievement.

The Lower Middle Class

The second segment, the lower middle class, as viewed


53Kahl, p. 201.

54Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth, pp. 91-92.
by Warner "tends to approach the ideal of the Protestant Ethic, being careful with their money, saving, farsighted, forever anxious about what their neighbors think, and continually concerned about respectability." \(^{55}\)

Hollingshead indicates that their income is derived from the efforts of both husband and wife. Frequently the men own and operate a small retail business, pursue the lesser professions, are highly skilled craftsmen, foremen, or clerks.\(^{56}\) Kahl pictures this segment as consisting of semiprofessionals, semimanagerial, petty businessmen, foremen, and skilled craftsmen, and as valuing very highly education, religion, home ownership, and respectability.\(^{57}\) In addition to these characteristics, they are ardent joiners of civic betterment groups, lodges and auxiliaries, patriotic societies, political party organizations, church groups, cliques, and social clubs.\(^{58}\)

Thus the lower middle class is made up of small businessmen, skilled craftsmen, clerks and others with similar occupations.

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\(^{56}\) Hollingshead, "Selected Characteristics of Classes in a Middle Western Community," 389.

\(^{57}\) Kahl, pp. 202-203.

\(^{58}\) Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, p. 100
who may be characterized as "joiners" and who are constantly concerned about respectability.

Summary

On the basis of the discussion and data just presented, it seems that certain conclusions can be validly drawn. First, the middle class as defined inferentially by the different social scientists as a distinct subculture, a way of life that is distinguishable from that of the other classes. Second, in order that one may be identified with the middle class, one must seemingly possess a constellation of appropriate traits such as an occupation acceptable to other members of the class, industriousness, an above average education, "respectability," and community mindedness. Third, members of the middle class participate in community activities in significantly different ways from the members of other classes. They interest themselves in and are depended upon by the other classes to lead and support civic affairs which they and others deem important.

Race and Class

In his comparison of 'touchables' and 'untouchables' in India with "Negroes" in the southern United States, Gerald Berreman presents evidence to show that a system of caste exists in both countries. He defines caste as "a hierarchy of endogamous
divisions in which membership is hereditary and permanent," and which restricts access to both goods and services. The castes are maintained by rigid rules of social avoidance, "great differences in power and privilege", and are economically interdependent. He concludes that the term 'caste system' is applicable in the southern United States as well as in India.

According to G. Franklin Edwards, if occupation is used as the criterion to determine social class membership, approximately "26 per cent of all non-white workers belong to the middle class." He uses "professional and technical, clerical, sales, and skilled occupations" as middle-class occupations. In these same categories white workers represent 64 per cent of all whites in the labor force. White and non-white workers do not achieve parity in any of the occupational categories associated with the middle class. It is apparent from the data that there are a far larger representation of whites in middle-class


60 Ibid., p. 80.


62 Ibid., p. 392.
occupations than there are blacks. Middle classness, however, is not defined solely by occupation and Edwards notes that it is the importance of recognizing that differences in the community life of blacks and whites cannot be measured solely by the objective indicators of occupation, income, and education. Such differences in institutions have evolved because of the segregation and isolation of blacks in the United States.  

In their discussion of black middle class youth, Ginzberg and associates include in the middle class those parents who have "incomes above the poverty level" and parents who have occupations from "lower middle-class service workers to upper middle-class professionals." This definition of the middle class encompasses about seven million blacks who have stable employment, "reasonable opportunities for education," and a non-poverty level of income. This wide range of occupations in the black middle class is also accepted by Kronus in his study of middle-class blacks in Chicago.  

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63 Ibid., p. 393.  
64 Ginzberg, pp. 5-6.  
Conclusion

Throughout this discussion of the indices of middle class and in general race and class it can be noted by glancing at the footnotes that the qualities, characteristics, and attitudes attributed to the middle class have been selected from studies of both black and white populations. This was done in a deliberate effort to show more vividly that these descriptive factors have been and can be applied to each racial group as a single criterion of middle-classness. Admittedly some of the factors of middle-classness used to describe black populations were not exactly the same as those used to describe white populations, but, as can be seen, the discrepancy found in these studies was that between the occupational structures of the two populations. In discussing differences between lower class and middle class blacks in Black Metropolis, the authors state that

neither occupation nor income is, in the final analysis, the decisive measuring rod. Rather, the middle class is marked off from the lower class by a pattern of behavior expressed in stable family and associational relationships, in great concern with "front" and "respectability," and in a drive for "getting ahead." All this finds an objective measure in standard of living--the way people spend their money, and in public behavior. 66

The findings of Frazier in Louisville, Kentucky also

66 Drake and Cayton, p. 66.
point out this occupational discrepancy. His study shows that many of the occupations which were previously cited in this dissertation as indicative of the middle class are considered to be upper class in the black community in Louisville. For example, a portion of the "upper class" as defined there consists of elementary school teachers, business supervisors, proprietors of small businesses, and post office employees. Old family retainers, some hotel employees, domestic servants to the wealthier families may be placed at the bottom of the upper class. The composition of the middle class which includes semiskilled industrial workers and the majority of female domestic servants would certainly not be included in the white middle class as it was previously depicted and yet Frazier found that such occupations were considered so among the black community in Louisville.67

Frazier's perspective was that of a sociologist looking at a subculture almost completely separate from the dominant culture. When considered as a separate group the social class system for blacks does seem to differ from that of whites in its inclusion and exclusion of certain occupations and other social characteristics for assignment to different levels. The question of how the social class structures of the two races align

67Frazier, Negro Youth at the Crossways, p. 23.
themselves when viewed as one complete structure is discussed by Warner and Myrdal.

Warner and associates stated in a study conducted in Chicago and published in 1941 that there was considerable evidence to show that Chicago's system of race relations was becoming more like that of the Deep South. They admitted that the black's position was different from that of the South, but a study of the city's entire community revealed that "if caste, as the term is here used, is not present in Chicago, then something very close to it definitely is. The situation must be described as at least a castelike system."68

After concluding his extensive study of blacks in the United States, Myrdal pointed out that a weakness of an attempt to diagram the class-caste structure as Warner has done69 is the assumption that the class structures of the two castes are exactly comparable, and they are not. It is assumed that white and black individuals with the same education, occupation, income, etcetera, are on the same class level in a class-caste diagram;


Myrdal states that it must be recognized that

the white does not "look across" the caste line upon the Negro, but he definitely looks down upon him. And this fundamental fact of caste is materialized in a great number of political, judicial, and social disabilities imposed upon Negroes somewhat independent of their class, and in the rigid rule that the Negro is not allowed to pass legitimately from the one side to the other. 70

Thus while Warner indicates that even in the North a caste line separates blacks of a given social class from whites of that same class, Myrdal goes even farther and states that not only are the color castes separate but that whites look down upon blacks regardless of social class. However, this does not necessarily mean that whites and blacks of a given social class do not have similar educations, values, and attitudes; it does mean that there is little, if any, social interaction or communication between the two groups.

Frazier notes the following:

The most mobile elements in the Negro population are likely, because of their incomes and education, to have upper class status within the Negro world. This means that they are drawn into a social world with certain values and style of life. These upper class values generally involve conspicuous consumption and forms of leisure and recreation which are characteristic of upper class white Americans. Therefore, a Negro with the same income and occupational and educational status as a middle-class white person is likely to live according to a different style of life. This

70 Myrdal, p. 693.
creates a barrier between the two races that is not broken down even when whites and Negroes are employed in the same institution in the community. For the Negro is still bound by the traditions and expectations of the class in the Negro community with which he and his family and friends are identified.\textsuperscript{71}

Frazier points out that the very fact that it has been deemed necessary to describe the social and cultural world of blacks is evidence that this world is not identical with the white world simply because "the Negro wears the same clothes and speaks the same language as the whites."\textsuperscript{72}

So it can be concluded that one's social status in the United States is subject to one's positions in the coexisting class and ethnic systems of social stratification and that one's manner of life, occupation, spouse, and general life style will be limited by and subordinate to these positions.\textsuperscript{73} However in spite of this very obvious racial segregation and discrimination, this study will attempt to demonstrate Shibutani


\textsuperscript{72}Frazier, \textit{Negro Youth at the Crossways}, p. 277.

and Kwan's proposition that: "If people in different ethnic groups who occupy similar subordinate positions communicate, they eventually develop a common culture and become alike. The extent to which members of a minority group become acculturated to the way of life of the dominant group depends upon the extent of their participation in the communication channels of their rulers." The primary focus of this study is on the similarities of values, attitudes, opinions, and behavior patterns of middle-class blacks and whites. Although no immediate references are offered in support of the statement, Heller states: "Another consistency in the sociological studies of race and class in the United States are the findings concerning the similarity between the patterns of behavior of the Negro middle class and the white middle class."  

So although the question of the similarity of the middle class for blacks and whites has not met with a consensus of sociological opinion, some writers suggest and this dissertation hypothesizes that when the two races are viewed as members of one social class system and the same criteria (in this case

74 Ibid., p. 573.

Hollingshead's Index of Social Position) are used, responses reflecting values, attitudes, opinions, and behavior patterns of blacks and whites of the middle class will be more dependent upon class than upon race.

This question would seem to be worthy of study for the following reasons: (1) to contribute to the background of knowledge pertaining to the relationships of values and attitudes to social class, (2) to investigate the extent to which the same theoretical concept of social class can be applied to both blacks and whites, (3) to provide a more realistic picture of the values and attitudes of blacks and whites of the same social class.

Since this study will treat many different areas and characteristics of social class, the literature related to each particular topic will be discussed when that topic is presented in the dissertation. The methodological consideration will be considered next.
CHAPTER II

RESEARCH ORIENTATION AND METHODOLOGY

Limitation of Problem

In order to limit this problem and to make investigation feasible the following steps were taken. First, it was decided to limit the study to a population of blacks and whites of the middle class. Second, certain values, attitudes, and opinions which were mentioned frequently in the literature as being characteristic of the middle-class were selected in order to determine whether the samples from two races were like one another in their expression of such values and attitudes. Although there are many values, attitudes, opinions, and social criteria mentioned in the literature which would be most worthy of investigation, the factors of finances, time, and general interest in the position of middle-class blacks and whites at this stage of the black protest movement offered the major rationale for the selection of particular social characteristics chosen to be studied. Third, it was decided to limit the population to middle-class blacks and whites residing in segregated census tracts in the same general area of Chicago. In order to keep the neighborhoods and populations as much alike as possible, census tracts with large numbers
of single-unit dwellings and similar educational, occupational, income, home ownership, and house value levels were selected. The rationale for selecting segregated census tracts was to choose whites and blacks who would be living in segregated neighborhoods, since integrated housing is not the general pattern in Chicago or the United States and a sample selected from an integrated area probably would be less representative of the total population.

**Operational Definitions**

The terms used in the hypotheses which demand specifying the conceptual issues involved are social class, area of residence, opinion, census tract, house value, race, value, house type, politico-economic conservatism, parental aspirations, attitude, segregated, occupational aspirations, educational level, income level, significance, and colored. These concepts will be considered below.

**Social Class**

The social class of the respondent will be determined by using August B. Hollingshead's "Two Factor Index of Social Position." This index was developed to satisfy a need for an objective and easily applicable procedure to estimate the
positions individuals occupy in the status structure of our society. The Index of Social Position, (ISP), utilizes occupation and education of the respondent and/or parents to determine his social position.

Hollingshead notes that occupation reflects the skill and power the individual possesses as he performs his maintenance functions in the society. Cultural tastes and knowledge are believed to be reflected in education, and the proper statistical combination of these two factors enables one to determine the position of an individual in the status structure of our society.

For further explanation of validity and reliability of the ISP and the rationale as to the use of these criteria, one may refer to Social Class and Mental Illness. A review of the literature also shows that these factors are the two most commonly used to determine the social class position of a person in the United States.

1August B. Hollingshead, "The Two Factor Index of Social Position," p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

2Ibid.

By using the occupational and educational categories devised by Hollingshead and assigning a weight of seven to occupation and a weight of four to education as the index requires, individual total scores from 11-17 are considered as representative of upper class (Class I); 18-27, upper middle class (Class II); 28-43, lower middle class (Class III); 44-60, upper lower class (Class IV); and over 60, lower class (Class V).  

4Ibid. The occupational scale is a modification of the Alba Edwards' Social-Economic Grouping of Occupations used by the United States Bureau of the Census. The essential differences between the Edwards system and the one used here is that Edwards does not differentiate among kinds of professionals or the sizes and economic strengths of business. The scale used in the Index of Social Position ranks professions into different groups and businesses by their size and value. The seven positions of the scale are: (1) executives and proprietors of large concerns, proprietors of medium business, (valued at $35,000-$100,000), and lesser professionals, (3) administrative personnel of larger concerns, owners of small independent businesses, (valued at $6,000-$35,000), and semiprofessionals, (4) owners of little businesses, (valued at $3,000-$6,000), clerical and sales workers, and technicians, (5) skilled workers, (6) semiskilled workers, and (7) unskilled workers.

The educational scale is premised upon the assumption that men and women who possess similar educations will tend to have similar tastes and similar attitudes, and they will also tend to exhibit behavior patterns which are similar.

The educational scale was divided into seven positions: (1) graduate professional training, (2) standard college or university graduation, (3) partial college training, (4) high school graduation, (5) partial high school, (6) junior high school, (7) less than seven years of school.
Area of Residence

In this dissertation the term area of residence refers to specific census tracts which are racially segregated but contiguous and located in the south east side of Chicago bounded by 87th Street on the north, 111th Street on the south, Halsted street on the west, and Cottage Grove on the east. (See Figure 1 on page 58).

Opinion

Opinion shall refer to particular views, appraisals, or judgments about an incident, issue, or anticipated behavior.

Census Tract

A census tract is defined by the United States Bureau of the Census as:

Small areas into which large cities and adjacent areas have been divided for statistical purposes. Tract boundaries were established cooperatively by a local committee and the Bureau of the Census, and were generally designed to be relatively uniform with respect to population characteristics, economic status, and living conditions. The average tract has about 4,000 residents. Tract boundaries are established with the intention of being maintained over a long time so that comparisons may be made from census to census.5

**House Value**

House value is an estimate of how much the house and property would sell for on today's market, (April, 1960).  

**House Type**

House type refers to owner-occupied single unit dwellings.

**Race**

Race refers to one of three racial groups -- Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid. Respondents are placed according to the group they check for themselves in the questionnaire.

**Value**

A value is "the quality of any object which causes it to be of interest to an individual or a group." A thing of value is considered to be important and worth striving for.

**Attitude**

An attitude is "an acquired or learned, and established

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6Ibid., p. 7.

7Ibid., p. 7.

tendency to react toward or against something or somebody." 9
Thus, an attitude is a positive or negative reaction to something
or someone.

**Politico-economic Conservatism**

Politico-economic conservatism, (PEC), refers to a position or location on a scale ranging from an extreme reactionary position to an extreme liberal position. The PEC scale was devised in an attempt to place individuals and groups of individuals at some point on a liberal-conservative continuum on the basis of their answers to statements which reflect validated liberal attitudes or conservative attitudes on political and economic questions. Adorno and his associates constructed it and correlated it with anti-Semitism, (A-S scale), ethnocentrism, (E scale), and fascism, (F scale), all of which were studied in an effort to understand the authoritarian personality. 10

Some of the qualities or trends attributed to conservatism by Adorno et al. are: (1) support of the American status quo, (2) resistance to social change, (3) support of conservative values; and support of the status quo is that "what is, is right."


According to such a philosophy the "American Way" is working very well and there is a tendency to idealize existing authority. If social problems develop, they are rationalized as something to be expected like a head-cold or backache or else they are caused by "agitators, fakers, or charlatans." In sharp contrast to the conservative philosophy is the liberal philosophy which is able to criticize existing authority.\(^{11}\)

The attitude reflected in the resistance to social change is a sincere belief in traditionalism and suspicion of innovation or change or existing politico-economic forms. "If things are basically good now, then any change is likely to be for the worse. . . in short, basic improvement of our politico-economic forms is not possible, man being what he is, and social change is therefore undesirable."\(^{12}\) The "liberal" on the other hand, may seek a mild or major reform of the status quo or even the complete ouster of the status quo.\(^{13}\)

The conservative value-system supports an ideology promulgating ambition, practicality, upward social mobility, rugged

\(^{11}\textit{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. } 153-54.\)

\(^{12}\textit{Ibid.}\)

\(^{13}\textit{Ibid.}, \text{ p. } 154.\)
competition, "charity and community service." This ideology is reflected in such beliefs as:

most people get pretty much what they deserve, ability will find its socio-economic rewards and that those who end up on the low end of the social ladder--since they did not have what it takes--are hardly to be pitied. On the other hand our religious tradition is one of charity and tolerance; if one cannot excuse the poor, one can at least soften their plight--with Christmas parties, Thanksgiving bazaars, orphanages, and the like.\textsuperscript{14}

For the "liberal" the answer for the poor is not charity but a correction of the system which causes the poverty. The liberal views charity as a means of "soothing consciences" and "maintaining an unjust state of affairs." According to Adorno it would appear that liberals tend to view social problems as symptoms of the underlying social structure, while conservatives view them as results of individual incompetence or immorality.\textsuperscript{15}

Adorno argues that the philosophy of individual freedom of the conservative is usually that economic functions of the government should be minimized. There is a very basic fear of government and union power and great concern for freedom of the individual businessman. This philosophy extends to social security, socialized medicine, and the other programs designed to

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., pp. 154-55.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 155.
help the "common man." It is based on the assumption that the individual has "freedom" economically to the extent that there are no government restrictions on him and overlooks the fact that economic freedom for most people today is limited by economic forces originating in huge bureaucratic institutions. The liberal differs from the conservative in respect to the liberal's desire for a change in balance of power among business, labor, and government--to decrease the power of business and/or to increase the power of labor in order to reduce existing political and economic differences between classes. 16

Segregated
A census tract will be considered segregated if 90 percent or more of the residents of that tract are identified by the census data as members of one racial group.

Parental Occupational Aspirations
Parental occupational aspirations will refer to the male respondent's occupational goals for his children as they relate to his own occupation.

Parental Educational Aspirations
Parental educational aspirations will refer to the male

16 Ibid., pp. 156-57.
respondent's educational goals for his children.

Educational Level

Educational level will be determined by responses to the instructions: Put a check on the correct line to show the highest school year or educational level completed by you and your father. Educational levels from "none" to "doctoral degree" are listed.

Occupational Level

Occupations will be determined by responses to the question: What is (or was) your main occupation? Occupational level will then be determined by placing the reported occupation according to the listing given it in categories developed by the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Colored

The term "colored" was used in the questionnaire as a neutral reference to Negroes. It was felt that for prejudiced white respondents "Negro" would seem a rather prestigious designation and since honest responses were desired every attempt was made to present a neutral position to the recipients of the questionnaires. We also believed at that time, (November, 1963), that the term was not offensive to black people.
Throughout this dissertation a test will be considered significant at the 5 per cent level or better; it will be suggestive at the 10 per cent level, and not significant or suggestive at any level greater than 10 per cent.

Thus, when the terms social class, area of residence, census tract, house value, house type, race, value, attitude, politico-economic conservatism, segregated, parental occupational aspirations, parental educational aspirations, educational level, occupational level, significance, and colored are used in this paper, they will be used in terms of the previous discussion.

Attention will now be turned to the null hypotheses and the methodology devised to investigate this problem.

In order to investigate this problem the following null hypotheses were formulated.

1. Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values, house types, and equivalent educational levels will not differ significantly in their annual family income.

2. Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values, house types, and equivalent educational levels will not differ significantly in their levels of occupation.
3a. Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses to or about the following:

b. . . . The migration of Negroes from the South and how this migration affects opportunities for Negroes who presently live in Chicago

c. . . . Colored people preferring to live only with colored people with the same values or opinions about life

d. . . . Moving into and living in an integrated apartment building

e. . . . Areas in which colored people experience the most discrimination in Chicago

f. . . . Rating the public elementary schools in their community

g. . . . Rating the public high schools in their community

h. . . . Sending their children to private elementary or high schools

i. . . . Reasons for sending or considering sending their children to private elementary or high schools

j. . . . On what the schools should place the most emphasis for their children

k. . . . The lowest level of education desired for their male children

l. . . . The lowest level of education desired for female children

m. . . . Financing their male children's college education

n. . . . Financing their female children's college education

o. . . . Saving for their male children's education

p. . . . The American Way
q. . . . Labor unions should become stronger
r. . . . Economic security
s. . . . The means to success
t. . . . Federal medical aid
u. . . . Scores on the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale
v. . . . Labor union membership
w. . . . Past labor union membership

4. Middle-class persons living in the same general area of Chicago but in racially segregated census tracts with similar house values, house types, and equivalent educational levels and are members of labor unions will not exhibit significantly different scores on the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale than those respondents who are not members of labor unions.

5. Middle-class persons living in the same general area of Chicago but in racially segregated census tracts with similar house values, house types, and equivalent educational levels and who have had past membership in labor unions will not exhibit significantly different scores on the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale than those respondents who have never been members of labor unions.

Methodology

In order to investigate these null hypotheses a questionnaire was drawn up in February, 1963, dealing with selected values, attitudes, opinions, and socio-economic characteristics; during April and May a sample was selected; in August a pretest was conducted; and in November, 1963 the actual research was initiated with 2,500 mailed questionnaires.
Procedure

Construction of the Questionnaire

A mailed questionnaire was used to elicit the desired information from the chosen sample. (See Appendix B for the questionnaire.) The medium of the mailed questionnaire was chosen for use for two reasons: (1) it was believed that personal interviews by the writer would bias the responses for at least one if not both of the racial groups, (2) finances were not available to train and employ interviewers. (The problems implicit in using a mailed questionnaire and the steps taken to counteract these problems will be discussed in the section dealing with the selection of the sample.)

The questionnaire developed sought to determine the social class position, values, attitudes, and opinions of the individuals comprising the sample. With the exception of five questions taken from Adorno and associates' Politico-Economic Conservatism Scale, the writer is responsible for the whole of the questionnaire. For purposes of analysis and discussion the items in the questionnaire were arbitrarily categorized as values, attitudes, opinions, and behavior patterns. An index to these items and the correspondent hypotheses follows.

The arrangement of the items within the questionnaire was as follows: first, general information such as years of residency in Chicago, number and ages and sexes of children, occupation, and such; second, questions which dealt with attitudes, values, opinions and politico-economic conservatism; third, personal information such as income, age, sex, religion, and voting habits. It was believed that the first question area would elicit interest but not frighten the respondent by being too personal, the second question area would heighten and sustain that interest, and that the final set would introduce those questions which would elicit necessary information but which were of such a personal nature that the questions may not have been answered or might have provoked the respondent to discard the questionnaire if they had been introduced earlier. This position is based on the assumption that if respondents had gone to the trouble of filling out the questionnaire up to that point, they would be more inclined to finish it even if they felt these questions too personal than if they had encountered them earlier.

Selection of the Sample

After the questionnaire had been designed, steps were taken to obtain a sample of middle-class blacks and whites who lived in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house value and house type. In order
## AN INDEX TO SELECTED QUESTIONNAIRE TOPICS AND ITEMS FOR THIS STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Question Numbers</th>
<th>Null-Hypothesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Values pertaining to the following:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perception of the residential desires of Negroes</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desirability of moving into and living in a racially integrated</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apartment building</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>educational opportunities for their children</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>content emphasis of education</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>educational aspirations for their children</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>financing college for their children</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attitudes about:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moving into and living in a racially integrated</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apartment building</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the &quot;American Way&quot;</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labor unions</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic security</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the means to success</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medical aid for all citizens</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opinions about:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>effect of the migration of Southern Negroes on the</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opportunities of the present Negro residents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Chicago</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>residential desires of Negroes</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perception of discrimination against Negroes</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public elementary schools</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public high schools</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Behavior patterns pertaining to:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saving for their children's education</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>union membership and political economic conservatism</td>
<td>10,13,18,20,24,51</td>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>union membership</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3v, 3w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## AN INDEX TO SELECTED QUESTIONNAIRE TOPICS AND ITEMS FOR THIS STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Question Numbers</th>
<th>Null-Hypothesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socio-economic characteristics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occupation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>income</td>
<td>47, 49, 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to select census tracts having these qualifications the 1960 census tract data were examined. Tracts which gave indications of providing large middle class populations were selected. The criteria used for this selection were similarities in tract data for the following items:

1. Median family income.
2. Median educational level.
3. Percentage of employed males in the occupational categories of sales, clerical, and kindred workers; managers and officials; professional, technical and kindred workers.
4. Percentage of owner-occupied housing units.
5. Median census tract values of owner-occupied housing units.

Further examinations showed that tracts 653Z, 682Z, 925, 661, 676, and 694 most nearly fulfilled these criteria. Table 1 compares the six tracts for these characteristics.

An analysis of Table 1 indicates that the tracts chosen are in fact racially segregated. There are no black residents in the three white tracts while the percentages of black residents in those tracts designated as black are 94 per cent in tract 653Z, 96 per cent in tract 682Z, and 97 per cent in tract 925. Median family income in the six tracts is quite similar, ranging

---

from $8,315 to $9,024. The median educational level is also similar, ranging from 11.4 to 12.2. The greatest discrepancies among the tracts occurred in the area of occupations. In the three white tracts 55 per cent, 50 per cent, and 47 per cent of the employed males were in the occupational categories of sales and professionals but in the three black tracts 34 per cent, 41 per cent, and 30 per cent of the employed males had occupations in these categories. This meant that the percentage of the sample who would be able to fulfill the stated criteria for middle-classness was smaller in the black tracts than in the white tracts.

The percentage of owner-occupied housing units was high for all six tracts, ranging from 92 per cent to 100 per cent. The median values of owner-occupied units for the six tracts were also quite similar, ranging from $18,200 to $20,000. From the information provided in Table 1 it would seem that the selected tracts are in fact segregated and quite similar to one another in regard to the listed socio-economic characteristics. The map labeled Figure 1 (page 58) shows the location and proximity to one another of these six tracts located on the south side of Chicago. Thus it would seem that census tracts 653Z, 682Z, 925, 661, 676, and 694 satisfy the requirements specified for areas to used in this study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Census Tracts</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>653Z</td>
<td>682Z</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>1,878</td>
<td>2,329</td>
<td>2,534</td>
<td>7,642</td>
<td>1,879</td>
<td>5,276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of black residents</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median family income</td>
<td>$8,379</td>
<td>$8,837</td>
<td>$8,315</td>
<td>$9,024</td>
<td>$8,575</td>
<td>$8,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median educational level</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of employed males in occupational categories of sales or above</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of owner occupied housing units</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median value of all owner occupied units</td>
<td>$18,200</td>
<td>$19,400</td>
<td>$19,600</td>
<td>$18,600</td>
<td>$20,000</td>
<td>$18,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Next the most recent voting lists (January, 1963)\textsuperscript{19} for precincts found in these tracts were obtained.

The sample was compiled by first deleting from the precinct voting lists all addresses with more than one family name at a given address. The name not deleted was male and hopefully was the head of household. The total number of persons over the age of 21 was 5,261 for the black census tracts and 9,506 for the white census tracts.\textsuperscript{20} After deleting the names as described above there were 1,408 names remaining for the black census tracts and 2,722 names remaining for the white census tracts. The rationale for this method of deletion was that this would improve the likelihood of getting a sample of home owners only or those who were buying their homes and who would be more likely to satisfy the requirements of the ISP for middle-classness than would apartment dwellers. There was, of course, a recognized risk of eliminating some single unit dwellings and home owners who had relatives living with them or who were renting part of

\textsuperscript{19}These were the most complete lists available for the areas, and since there were few addresses missing from them, and the population under consideration would very likely be registered voters it was felt that this method was acceptable.

CENSUS TRACTS OF THE SOUTHEAST SECTION CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

XXX Blacks
/// Whites

their homes to another person or other persons. It was felt, however, that this would be a minor occurrence although an admittedly incalculable risk.

Pretest

A pretest of the mailed questionnaire was conducted in August, 1963. Twenty-five persons from the black precinct voting lists and twenty-five persons from the white precinct voting lists were mailed questionnaires with one introductory letter and two subsequent appeal letters. As a result of the pretest several changes were made in the third appeal letter and in the questionnaire. The changes in the questionnaire involved a reduction in the bulk of the questionnaire from fourteen to seven pages by using off-set printing on both sides of the page, the deletion of some questions and the restructuring of others so that they could be understood more easily. (See Appendix B for the research questionnaire).

Mailing of the Questionnaires

On November 4, 1963 a personally addressed envelope containing a questionnaire, a letter of introduction and explanation of the questionnaire, and a stamped return envelope was mailed to 1,250 of the remaining 1,383 (25 names were used for the pretest) names on the precinct voting lists of the black
census tracts. The same material was sent to 1,250 of the remaining 2,697 (25 names were used for the pretest) names on the precinct voting lists of the white census tracts. The 2,500 names were selected by using every Kth name of those remaining on the lists. Since the white population was larger a greater number of those names were not used than was true for the black population. Except for a code for census tract number the mailed questionnaire was completely anonymous.

Since research has shown that a 40 percent return of mailed questionnaires, even in most favorable conditions, is rare,\textsuperscript{21} several techniques, suggested by research, were used to encourage those who received the questionnaires to fill in the information requested and to return them.

First, all of the envelopes were hand-stamped with two small denomination, decorative, commemorative stamps. The purpose of using two stamps instead of one was to impress upon the recipient the financial costs of each questionnaire to the researcher.\textsuperscript{22} Second, a large middle-class sample was used. Third, the envelopes were addressed to persons by name rather than


\textsuperscript{22}Donald L. Longworth, "Use of a Mailed Questionnaire," \textit{American Sociological Review}, XVIII. (June, 1953), 313.
to "occupant." Fourth, a letter of explanation and two subsequent follow-up letters of appeal, (each mailed to all of the original sample on November 13 and 19, respectively), stressing the significance of the survey to society and the community and the special role of each respondent in making the survey possible were sent to each individual receiving the questionnaire. The letters emphasized that the responses were needed in order to meet an academic deadline. (See Appendix A for the introductory and follow-up letters.) Finally, since research has shown that returns are increased when the letterhead of the university is used, the name of Loyola University was used in the return address. Because the university could not provide facilities to receive such a large volume of mail, all envelopes were directed to a rented box at the main post office where they were frequently claimed by the writer.

The socio-economic bias which is usually present in any


25Ferriss, op. cit.

26Longworth, op. cit.
survey using the mailed questionnaire would seemingly have no negative effect on this survey because the sample sought would occupy the educational, economic, and occupational levels of persons of middle-class status who have enough interest and literacy to answer the questionnaire. In a survey where all levels of all socio-economic characteristics were desired for representation, the over-representation of middle-class persons and the under-representation of others would possibly invalidate the findings. On this survey, however, the response of such persons serves only the best interest of the research.

Next the 1153 returned questionnaires were analyzed to determine which respondents fulfilled the aforementioned criteria for middle-classness. The questionnaires were separated according to race, tabulated, and analyzed for responses to the questions dealing with the chosen values, attitudes, and opinions. Tests of significance, (chi square, t, and lambda), were applied to determine whether the responses of the two racial groups were significantly different in regard to the various attitudes, values, and opinions.

A statistician advised that chi square and the likelihood ratio, or lambda tests of significance be used in all
computations. Both tests yielded similar results but only lambda is shown. Chi square is not shown in most cases because a sufficient number of the cases had a small sample and thereby small expected values. In such cases chi square is not considered reliable but since lambda is less subject to these aberrations of a small sample or small expected values it is generally used throughout the dissertation. A complete discussion of lambda can be found in Mood's *Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*. 28

Chapter III will deal with the number of returned questionnaires and the times of the returns by blacks and whites, and the occupational and educational characteristics of the middle-class respondents.

27 Mr. Harry Levine was formerly the statistician for and director of college educational research at the Chicago Board of Education. He is now the statistician for the Department of Surgical Research for Hextone Institute in Cook County Hospital, Chicago, Illinois.

CHAPTER III

OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE MIDDLE-CLASS RESPONDENTS

This chapter will discuss the returned questionnaires in respect to the number returned, when they were returned, the race and the occupational and educational characteristics of the respondents.

Returns

Of the 2,500 questionnaires mailed, 2,473 were delivered. Of those delivered, 1,153 or 47 per cent were returned, of which 1,115 or 97 per cent were answered. Five hundred fourteen, (514), or 42 per cent of those returned were returned by blacks, of which 17 or 3 per cent were unanswered. Six hundred thirty-nine, (639), or 52 per cent of those returned were returned by whites, 20 or 3 per cent of which were unanswered and one deliberately torn to shreds. (It was possible to identify the race of the unanswered questionnaires by the census tract codes.) Thus the data show that for delivered-returned questionnaires white returns surpassed black returns by 10 per cent, (see Table 2).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mailed</th>
<th>Delivered</th>
<th>Delivered-Returned</th>
<th>Returned-Answered</th>
<th>Returned-Unanswered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number Per Cent</strong></td>
<td><strong>Number Per Cent</strong></td>
<td><strong>Number Per Cent</strong></td>
<td><strong>Number Per Cent</strong></td>
<td><strong>Number Per Cent</strong></td>
<td><strong>Number Per Cent</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>1236</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>1237</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>2473</td>
<td>1153</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)This total will vary in later tables because not all questions were answered by the respondents.
Time of Returns

Nine hundred twenty-eight, (928), or 83 per cent of the total answered returns were received before the second reminder or appeal letter was mailed. (The first follow-up letter was mailed nine days after the initial mailing). Of this number 385 were black and 543 were white, which represent 77 per cent of returns answered by blacks and 88 per cent of those returned and answered by whites. After the third week and the second follow-up letter, 1,085 or 97 per cent of the answered returns had been received, 482 of those were from blacks and 603 were from whites. Thus 97 per cent of the responding blacks and 97 per cent of the responding whites had returned their questionnaires before the third week and after the second follow-up letter. Only twelve answered questionnaires, (six from each race), were returned during the fourth week and only eighteen thereafter, (nine from each race). The last answered questionnaire was returned thirty-eight days after the initial mailing, (see Table 3).

Since the returns were, in general, so prompt it would appear that it is unnecessary to analyze the returns on the basis of the time received and the characteristics of those who responded either early or late.

One methodological question which might be raised could possibly be about the characteristics of those who did not answer
or return the questionnaires. First, there was no way to determine who the non-respondents were without contacting the total 2,500, which would have required a considerable expenditure of time and funds. Second, since research has shown that the more educated segment of the population takes interest in and has the ability and time to complete a questionnaire, it can reasonably be assumed that these were the persons who returned the questionnaires and were the target of the research.³  Third, the

assassination of President John F. Kennedy occurred three weeks after the initial mailing and probably would have influenced the responses of the 30 who did respond and any of the other 1,320 who may have responded after that date. Therefore on the basis of these three factors -- finances and time, the selectivity of those of the population who did respond, and the assassination of the President of the United States of America, it was decided not to try to contact the non-respondents who were part of the original population in a third follow-up letter.

Returns According to Social Class

By using Hollingshead's Index of Social Class it was possible to separate 1,029 usable questionnaires, from the 1,115 returned, into five social classes. Seventy-seven (29 blacks and 48 whites) were placed in Class I, 130 (47 blacks and 83 whites) in Class II, 272 (106 blacks and 166 whites) in Class III, 423 (193 blacks and 230 whites) in Class IV, and 127 (82 blacks and 45 whites) in Class V (see Table 4).

As can be seen in Table 4, 272 or 26 per cent of the respondents were able to be placed in Class III. This group will represent the middle class or Class III (of the Hollingshead scale), which is the object of the study.

Although thorough statistical analyses were made for all the classes for some of the questions, comparisons of inter-racial
### TABLE 4

**THE SOCIAL CLASS POSITIONS OF BLACKS AND WHITES WHO RETURNED USABLE QUESTIONNAIRES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number Per Cent</td>
<td>Number Per Cent</td>
<td>Number Per Cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>1029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intra-class and intra-racial inter-class responses will not be included in all the analyses in the present paper. Such data will be discussed occasionally as supplemental material and hopefully will be used in the future for papers in scholarly publications.

**Occupational and Educational Characteristics of the Middle Class (Class III) Sample**

The occupational characteristics of the middle class sample reveal some interesting phenomena: (1) the greatest percentage of blacks were found in the occupational categories of professional, technical and kindred workers and clerical and kindred
workers. These categories represent 23 and 42 per cent, respectively, of the black middle class sample; (2) in comparison with blacks, the greatest percentage of whites were represented in the occupational categories of managers, officials and proprietors, except farm, and sales. These categories contained 41 and 22 per cent, respectively, of the white middle class sample (see Table 5).

These data indicate that blacks probably experienced employment difficulties in those occupations which would either place them in supervisory positions such as managers, where only 12 per cent of the middle class black sample is found as compared to 41 per cent of the white sample, or on an equal occupational plane with whites, such as in sales where there are only 9 per cent of the black sample but 22 per cent of the white sample. The occupational differences which exist between the two racial groups for all levels is significant ($\chi^2 = 64.2836, P < .001$).

A similar analysis of the educational achievement of the two racial groups in Class III shows that there are a greater proportion of blacks at higher educational levels. There are 2 per cent of the black sample who have professional degrees as compared to 1 per cent of the white sample; 2 per cent of the black but none of the white respondents had master's degrees; and 13 per cent of the black as compared to 2 per cent of the


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical and kindred workers</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, officials and proprietors except farm</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and kindred workers</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and kindred workers</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers, except private household</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total percentage</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=106)</td>
<td>(N=166)</td>
<td>(N=272)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* \( \chi^2 = 64.2836 \), \( P < .001 \), df = 6

*a* All statistical tests are calculated from whole numbers throughout the dissertation.
white respondents had attended some graduate school. The data would appear to indicate that any differences existing between the two groups occurs by chance.

When the educational levels are considered in relation to the occupational levels it is apparent that the absence of blacks at the higher occupational levels cannot be attributed to the lack of education. This position is supported by a study of the South by Geschwender and a study of the whole of the United States of America by Blau and Duncan.

Geschwender's analysis of census data show that in the South between 1940 and 1960, non-whites (... these data will not mirror the changing status of the Negro perfectly, although

2Although there are serious questions about it, within the scope of this research it must be assumed that equivalent educational levels mean that those who successfully complete a particular level of academic study essentially acquire the same degree of educational competence. An investigation into the validity of this assumption is not a subject of this dissertation. Also, the question of whether or not unequal education for the same level of academic study leads to unequal jobs and unequal income should be investigated but it too is not an object of study of this research.
### TABLE 6

*THE PERCENTAGE OF MIDDLE CLASS BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS, BY EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 - 9 Years</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11 Years</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Years</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15 Years</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Years</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Graduate School</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Degree</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Degree</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Percentage</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(N=106)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(N=166)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(N=272)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$t = .10879$  df = 266  $P > .50$

They will provide a very close approximation.\(^3\) increased their representation in the brackets of "some college and college educated" by 3.3 per cent but only increased their representation 1.6 per cent in the "professional-technical" occupations and 2.2 per cent in the "combined professional-technical and managerial-

"proprietor-official" occupations as compared to increases, in these same occupational groups, by whites of 5.4 per cent and 8.5 per cent respectively. The increase for non-whites represents "66.7 per cent of their educational increase" and 113.3 per cent of the educational increase for whites. This means that "whites translated a larger portion of their educational advances into occupational gains than did non-whites."4

Blau and Duncan's study contrasted the basic inequalities of occupational chances between non-whites (94 per cent of whom are Negroes) and whites, concluded that when educational category, (college, one or more years) father's occupation, and first job are controlled whites have a 9.3 point deviation from the mean advantage over blacks.5

Thus it can be seen that blacks experience some difficulties finding white collar jobs commensurate with their academic qualifications.

Since Hollingshead's index does not require an evaluation of levels of income for the placement of a subject into a social class that data has not been presented here, but for those

---

4Ibid., pp. 63-64.

readers who are interested, it can be found in Appendix E (Table 1). Data showing the percentage of working wives for middle class blacks and whites can also be found in Appendix E (Table 2).

It was not possible to test the second of third null hypotheses which were addressed to equivalence of education of middle-class blacks and whites, annual family incomes, and occupations because the data were too fragmented for meaningful analysis, i.e., the number of cases in most categories were just too small to treat them statistically. Grouping would have helped a little but would have distorted any possible analyses. The data, (Tables 3 and 4), are presented in Appendix E.

The null hypotheses not analyzed are:

Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values, house types, and equivalent educational levels will not differ significantly in their annual family income.

Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values, house types, and equivalent educational levels will not differ significantly in their levels of occupation.

After these presentations of the rationale for the study, the questionnaire and its organization, the selection of the sample, the occupational and educational characteristics of the middle class respondents, and the fragmented data and resulting impossibility for meaningful analyses of the data for two null
hypotheses our attention will now be given to an analysis of other data in the questionnaire.
CHAPTER IV

HOW THE MIGRATION OF BLACKS FROM THE SOUTH IS PERCEIVED
BY BLACK AND WHITE MIDDLE-CLASS CHICAGO RESIDENTS

The first null hypothesis probes the perceived effect that blacks migrating from the South will have on the opportunities of blacks presently in Chicago and is stated thusly—Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses about the migration of blacks from the South and how this migration affects opportunities for blacks who presently live in Chicago.

Item 15 in the questionnaire probed the area: "If colored people from the South would stop migrating to Chicago in such large numbers, the ones who are here now would have better opportunities." (See page 46 for the discussion of the use of "colored"). The responses were structured: I agree very much—pretty much—a little; I don't know—I disagree—a little—pretty much—very much.

The response patterns between the races were significantly different, ($\chi^2 = 29.6298 \ P < .001$), and thus the null hypothesis
is rejected, (see Table 7).

Over 65 per cent of the blacks in Class III responded negatively, in some degree, to the statement and over 75 per cent of the white respondents responded positively, in some degree. The extreme negativism of blacks to this question, (58 per cent disagreed very much), was almost equalled by the extreme positive response by whites, (59 per cent agreed very much).

Inter-class analyses among blacks show that differences in the responses between Classes I and III, and between Classes II and IV are neither suggestive nor significant. Thus blacks of Classes I, II, III, and IV gave similar responses to this statement, (see Table 7).

The responses of Classes I and III among whites were not significantly different, ($\lambda = 9.2688 \ P < .20$), but the responses between Classes II and IV were different and significant at the .02 level, ($\lambda = 11.5494 \ P > .02$), (see Table 7).

Inter-racial intra-class analyses reveal a very high level of disagreement for all classes. There appears to be an inverse relationship between the degree of difference and the level of social class, i.e., Class I exhibits the lowest degree of difference between the races and Class IV the highest. Class V does not follow this pattern but falls between Classes I and II in the degree of difference, (see Table 7).
TABLE 7.—A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 15: If colored people from the South would stop migrating to Chicago in such large numbers, the ones who are here now would have better opportunities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I Black</th>
<th>Class I White</th>
<th>Class I Total</th>
<th>Class II Black</th>
<th>Class II White</th>
<th>Class II Total</th>
<th>Class III Black</th>
<th>Class III White</th>
<th>Class III Total</th>
<th>Class IV Black</th>
<th>Class IV White</th>
<th>Class IV Total</th>
<th>Class V Black</th>
<th>Class V White</th>
<th>Class V Total</th>
<th>N=</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
<th>( p )</th>
<th>df</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I AGREE</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>216.8028</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very much</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>69.6</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty much</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DISAGREE</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>65.1</td>
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<td>33.8</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty much</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>very much</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>70.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.4</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>(77)</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(99.9)</td>
<td>(99.8)</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td>(100.1)</td>
<td>(100.1)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td>(100.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \lambda = )</td>
<td>29.6298</td>
<td>68.7378</td>
<td>115.7084</td>
<td>216.8028</td>
<td>67.4398</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( P = )</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df =</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>( \lambda = 9.2022 \ P &gt; .10; )</th>
<th>( \lambda = 9.4438 \ P &lt; .20; )</th>
<th>( \lambda = 9.2688 \ P &lt; .20; )</th>
<th>( \lambda = 11.5494 \ P &gt; .02; )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I and III Blacks</td>
<td>( \lambda = 9.2022 \ P &gt; .10; )</td>
<td>( \lambda = 9.4438 \ P &lt; .20; )</td>
<td>( \lambda = 9.2688 \ P &lt; .20; )</td>
<td>( \lambda = 11.5494 \ P &gt; .02; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Blacks</td>
<td>( \lambda = 9.4438 \ P &lt; .20; )</td>
<td>( \lambda = 9.2688 \ P &lt; .20; )</td>
<td>( \lambda = 11.5494 \ P &gt; .02; )</td>
<td>( \lambda = 9.2688 \ P &lt; .20; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I and III Whites</td>
<td>( \lambda = 9.2022 \ P &gt; .10; )</td>
<td>( \lambda = 9.4438 \ P &lt; .20; )</td>
<td>( \lambda = 9.2688 \ P &lt; .20; )</td>
<td>( \lambda = 11.5494 \ P &gt; .02; )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Whites</td>
<td>( \lambda = 9.4438 \ P &lt; .20; )</td>
<td>( \lambda = 9.2688 \ P &lt; .20; )</td>
<td>( \lambda = 11.5494 \ P &gt; .02; )</td>
<td>( \lambda = 9.2688 \ P &lt; .20; )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aAll calculations are made from raw data.
Thus it can be seen that the differences between blacks and whites in Class III are very significant and that when blacks and whites of all classes are compared to one another the response of blacks tend to be slightly more uniform to each other than the responses of whites to each other. Also when the data are analyzed according to social class, considering both racial groups as parts of each class, the pattern is similar to the results seen when Class III is analyzed alone, i.e., there are differences between the racial groups but the higher the class the lower the degree of difference.

The percentage of black respondents who agreed with the statement to any degree showed no pattern of response as related to social class. Class I had the lowest percentage of respondents who agree, (14 per cent), Class III had the highest, (27 per cent), and Class V, with 26 per cent placed in the middle.

The response pattern of agreement to any degree for whites does show an inverse relationship with social class position, i.e., the highest social class (I) reflects the lowest level of agreement (67 per cent) and the lowest class (V) shows the highest level (91 per cent) of agreement with the statement.

It was also observed that there was no consistent response pattern for blacks or whites in the "I Don't Know" category.

Since there is a rather wide dispersion of responses
among the classes, between the racial groups, and among the classes within each race one conclusion that can be derived from the data is that the null hypothesis would not only be rejected for Class III but for all classes. These data show that there is a significant difference in responses according to race and also that the responses cannot be attributed to social class position (except when comparing Classes II and IV among whites), i.e., the responses of blacks and whites in Class III are not significantly different from those in Class I, and the responses of those in Class II among blacks are not significantly different from those in Class IV.

Thus on the basis of the evidence presented, the null hypothesis, that the opinions of middle class blacks and whites, with the socio-economic and residential characteristics previously stated, will not differ significantly in their opinions about the migration of blacks from the South and how such migration would conceivably affect opportunities for blacks who presently live in Chicago, is rejected.

These findings which show some type of racial cohesion are contrary to the position taken by E. Franklin Frazier in *Black Bourgeoisie* where he states in several places and implies throughout the whole book that the "black bourgeoisie" over-identify with the white middle class and seek to escape from any
identification with the black masses.¹ The data presented here indicate that situations have changed since Frazier wrote this. This research is also contrary to research done recently by Parker and Kleiner which offered support for Frazier's position.²


CHAPTER V

THE CHOICES OF MIDDLE CLASS BLACKS AND WHITES ABOUT RACIALLY INTEGRATED LIVING AND THEIR PERCEPTION OF BLACKS CHOOSING TO LIVE ONLY WITH OTHER BLACKS

Segregated Living

This chapter will present and analyze: (1) the responses blacks express about living with other blacks and in various degrees of residentially racially integrated settings, (2) the responses of how white respondents expect blacks to desire some form of residential racial segregation, and (3) how white respondents react to the possibilities of living in various degrees of residential racial integration. The questions which deal with these topics are questions 23, 35, and 35a. Item 23 is stated as follows—"Colored people would prefer to live only with colored people with the same values or outlooks on life."

The structured responses are -- "I agree very much -- pretty much -- a little; I disagree very much -- pretty much -- a little."

It must be recognized that this statement could either be considered an opinion or a value, depending on the interpretation. The statement also has the limitation of being perhaps
too open to interpretation. It is probably ambiguous because one might read it as an assertion that "colored" people would prefer to live only with other "colored" people as well as the interpretation that "colored" people would only prefer to live with "colored" people who have the same values or outlooks on life as they possess.

The ambiguity is unintentional and there is no means of determining what interpretations were used by the respondents. So it shall be assumed that the interpretation derived by the respondents was that intended by the writer, i.e., that values and outlooks on life are more important than race in determining one's desired place of residence.

The null hypothesis is--Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house types will not differ significantly in their responses to the statement that "Colored people would prefer to live only with colored people with the same values or outlooks on life."

An analysis of the responses shows that among Class III blacks 63 per cent "disagreed very much" and 74 per cent disagreed to some degree with the statement. Among white respondents in Class III 26 per cent "disagreed very much" and 37 per cent disagreed to some degree. Only 8 per cent of Class III blacks
"Agreed very much" but 19 per cent of Class III whites, or almost two and one-half times the percentage of blacks, "agreed very much." The percentages of Class III blacks and whites who registered some degree of agreement with the statement were 18 per cent and 35 per cent respectively (see Table 8).

Thus the data does not support the null hypothesis with a level of probability of less than .001 (\(\lambda = 44.2868\) \(P < .001\)). So it can be concluded that Class III black and white responses to the statement that "Colored people would prefer to live only with colored people with the same values or outlooks on life," are neither the same nor similar.

Intra-racial inter-class analyses of the same statement show that social class does not appear to influence the responses between Classes I and III for blacks (\(\lambda = 1.0471\) \(P > .98\)) or whites (\(\lambda = 8.6277\) \(P < .20\)). Although the influence of social class between Classes I and III for whites is not significant it is much more important than it is between the same social classes among blacks. The differences between Classes II and IV among blacks are very significant (\(\lambda = 21.7604\) \(P > .001\)) while those between Classes II and IV among whites are merely suggested (\(\lambda = 11.4932\) \(P < .10\)). It is not, therefore, possible to make a clear-cut, definite generalization about what effect social class has on the responses to this statement.
TABLE 8.--A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 23: Colored people would prefer to live only with colored people with the same values or outlooks on life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I AGREE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I AGREE</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very much</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty much</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DISAGREE</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>48.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty much</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very much</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>λ = 14.2215</td>
<td>&gt;.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23.5123</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P = 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df = 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classes

I and III Blacks: \[\lambda = 1.0471 \text{ P > } .98; \text{ df = 6}\]

I and IV Blacks: \[\lambda = 21.7604 \text{ P > } .001; \text{ df = 6}\]

I and III Whites: \[\lambda = 8.6277 \text{ P < } .20; \text{ df = 6}\]

II and IV Whites: \[\lambda = 11.4932 \text{ P < } .10; \text{ df = 6}\]

All calculations are made from raw data.
Intra-class inter-racial analyses on the other hand, indicate a discernible pattern: the higher the social class the lower the differences between the races. Although the differences between the races are significant for all the classes and become more distinct as one moves from Class I to Class IV, the pattern does not follow through for Class V, which in terms of level of difference can be placed between Classes II and III (see Table 8).

On the basis of the data it seems appropriate to conclude that blacks and whites did respond differently to this statement but did not respond consistently along racial or class lines.

**Racially Integrated Residency**

In order to pursue the question of preferred residence in Chicago and the residential desires as they are affected by race, questions 35 and 35a were included in the questionnaire. Question 35 was stated: "If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four white residents and one colored resident, all of whom had occupations similar to yours, would you move in?"

Question 35a was essentially the same but the racial composition was reversed: "If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four colored residents and one white resident, all of whom had the
same occupations as yours, would you move in?"

The percentage of Class III blacks who answered "yes" to question 35 was 84 per cent (see Table 9), and to 35a was 85 per cent (see Table 10).

The high negative response of middle class blacks to question 23 about living with colored people (74 per cent) and the high positive response of the same sample of blacks toward blacks living with a majority of whites (question 35) or a majority of blacks (question 35a) indicate that some additional factors other than race influence the residential desires of middle class blacks. It may be suggested that some of these factors might be a similarity of values, outlooks on life, and occupational statuses. The suggestion may be valid and justified since these factors (similar values, outlooks on life, and occupational statuses) were included in the questions (35 and 35a) presented to the respondents. This evidence will also hopefully support the position taken earlier on the possible ambiguity and interpretation of item 23, i.e., that values and outlooks on life are more important than race in influencing one's choice of a place of residence.

Brink and Harris present data from their study of racial
TABLE 9.—A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 35: If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four white residents and one colored resident, all of whom had occupations similar to yours, would you move in?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th></th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th></th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th></th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th></th>
<th>Class V</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>86.2</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>93.6</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>83.8</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>84.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>N = 100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I and III Blacks</td>
<td>( \lambda = 1.8484 ) ( P &lt; .70; ) ( df = 3 )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Blacks</td>
<td>( \lambda = 2.6388 ) ( P &lt; .30; ) ( df = 2 )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I and III Whites</td>
<td>( \lambda = 6.6114 ) ( P &lt; .05; ) ( df = 2 )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Whites</td>
<td>( \lambda = 7.2298 ) ( P &lt; .05; ) ( df = 3 )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) All calculations are made from raw data.
attitudes in 1966. 1 Although the data are not exactly comparable, similar responses were given by blacks (the same data for whites are not presented) to the question: "In living in a neighborhood, if you could find the housing you want and like, would you rather live in a neighborhood with Negro families, or a neighborhood that had both whites and Negroes?" Brink and Harris show that 80 per cent of middle and upper income blacks who did not live in the South expressed a desire to live in a neighborhood in which there were both blacks and whites. Our research shows that the positive responses of blacks when asked about living in apartment buildings which were racially integrated in some degree (question 35 and 35a) was no less than 83 per cent for all classes (see Tables 9 and 10).

The area of residence is of interest for this research because residence is an important status symbol and is somewhat indicative of one's social position in a community. 2 Warner found that there was a direct correlation between a person's

---


TABLE 10.—A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 35a: If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four colored residents, and one white resident, all of whom had the same occupations as yours, would you move in?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black  White Total</td>
<td>Black  White Total</td>
<td>Black  White Total</td>
<td>Black  White Total</td>
<td>Black  White Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>82.8  22.9  10.4</td>
<td>93.6  10.8  40.8</td>
<td>84.8  6.0  36.5</td>
<td>83.9  7.0  42.1</td>
<td>90.2  6.7  60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>10.3  62.5  42.9</td>
<td>2.1  68.7  44.6</td>
<td>4.8  80.1  50.9</td>
<td>4.7  81.7  46.6</td>
<td>2.4  80.0  29.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>6.9  12.5  45.5</td>
<td>4.3  18.1  13.1</td>
<td>10.5  12.1  11.4</td>
<td>9.8  10.4  10.2</td>
<td>6.1  11.1  7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>•     2.1   1.3</td>
<td>•     2.4   1.5</td>
<td>•     1.8   1.1</td>
<td>•     1.6   1.2</td>
<td>•     1.2   1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.1</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.0</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.0</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.0</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(29)  (48)  (77)</td>
<td>(47)  (83)  (130)</td>
<td>(105)  (166)  (271)</td>
<td>(100)  (193)  (253)</td>
<td>(105)  (182)  (257)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- $\chi^2 = 336.2430$, df = 2, $p < .001$
- $\chi^2 = 212.6192$, df = 2, $p < .001$
- $\chi^2 = 97.5941$, df = 2, $p < .001$
- $\chi^2 = 28.3770$, df = 2, $p < .001$

Classes
- I and III Blacks: $\chi^2 = 1.8586$, df = 3, $p < .70$
- II and IV Blacks: $\chi^2 = 2.6722$, df = 2, $p < .30$
- I and III Whites: $\chi^2 = 10.8977$, df = 2, $p < .01$
- II and IV Whites: $\chi^2 = 4.9972$, df = 2, $p < .10$

$^a$All calculations are made from raw data.
social class and the value of his house.\(^3\) This not only reflects the value of living in and/or owning a "good" home in our society but, also, the necessity of getting a better home as one's status changes.

This can also be seen in Wilson's research on blacks in Chicago, where, because of segregation, black civic and political leaders move into upper class or upper-middle class dwelling enclaves like Kenwood, Lake Meadows, and Prairie Shores to try to psychologically escape the "manifestly lower-income areas" of the masses which surround them.\(^4\)

... For the Negro leader it is difficult to retreat physically from the life of the ghetto and contact with the Negro masses. They are everywhere around him visible and numerous. With a few exceptions, escape from the ghetto can only be psychological, reinforced by a style of life which endeavors to exclude from the senses as much as possible the evidence of life in decaying neighborhoods. Even psychological escape is difficult and anxious when physical escape is almost impossible, and the resulting tensions are reflected in the often bitter comments of Negro leaders about the quality of the Negro masses which everywhere and in everything seem to follow and engulf them.\(^5\)

---


\(^5\)Ibid.
Wilson's analysis adequately portrays the desire of most citizens of the United States of America to utilize the freedom of physical mobility to live in housing and communities commensurate with, and which complements any change in, social mobility.

Tilly's research, which shows that the quality or residence rises with occupational rank, is also an indication of this commonly held value in this nation. 6

Since the general housing pattern in Chicago is that of racial segregation, the investigation probed attitudes and values and compared the responses of Class III black and white homeowners about moving into and living in socially integrated apartment buildings.

It shall have to be assumed that the responses given by the participants about racially integrated apartment dwelling reflects their attitudes about racially integrated housing in general. This would include their present neighborhoods which are predominantly racially segregated.

Residency in a racially segregated neighborhood may have been their intent, the intent or design of real estate dealers and/or neighbors who possibly prevented racial integration, or

---

any combination thereof. The respondents may also have sought a house of their liking and found it only in this neighborhood. In any case, whatever the reason or reasons for the present area of residency for the respondents, that residency probably influenced the response to the questions under investigation.

The null hypothesis is--Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses to the question--"If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four white residents and one colored resident, all of whom had occupations similar to yours, would you move in?"

Eighty-four per cent of Class III black respondents and 36 per cent of Class III white respondents answered "yes". Almost three per cent of the black respondents and 45 per cent of the white respondents answered "no". In the "Don't Know" category the responses were very similar for the races, i.e., black 11 per cent and white almost 18 per cent. The level of significance is .001 ($\chi^2 = 83.9646 \quad P < .001$) and the null hypothesis is rejected (see Table 11).

An inter-class analysis of the responses among blacks reveals no significant differences between Classes I and III
TABLE II.--A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 35: If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four white residents and one colored resident, all of whom had occupations similar to yours, would you move in?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>86.2 54.2 66.2</td>
<td>93.6 41.0 60.0</td>
<td>83.8 35.5 54.2</td>
<td>84.5 28.4 54.0</td>
<td>85.4 31.8 66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>6.9 35.4 24.7</td>
<td>2.1 33.7 22.3</td>
<td>2.9 45.2 28.8</td>
<td>5.2 50.2 29.6</td>
<td>4.9 56.8 23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>6.9 8.3 7.8</td>
<td>4.3 20.5 14.6</td>
<td>11.4 17.5 15.1</td>
<td>9.3 20.5 15.4</td>
<td>7.3 9.1 7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>.2 1.3</td>
<td>.4 3.1</td>
<td>1.9 1.8 1.8</td>
<td>1.0 0.9 1.0</td>
<td>2.4 2.3 2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.0</td>
<td>100.0, 100.0 100.0</td>
<td>100.0, 100.0 100.0</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.0</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(29) (48) (77)</td>
<td>(47) (83) (130)</td>
<td>(105) (166) (271)</td>
<td>(193) (229) (422)</td>
<td>(82) (44) (126)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda & = 9.2075 \\
\rho & = .01 \\
df & = 2 \\
\end{align*}
\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda & = 38.1244 \\
\rho & = <.001 \\
df & = 2 \\
\end{align*}
\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda & = 83.9646 \\
\rho & = <.001 \\
df & = 3 \\
\end{align*}
\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda & = 158.6414 \\
\rho & = <.001 \\
df & = 3 \\
\end{align*}
\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda & = 48.8734 \\
\rho & = <.001 \\
df & = 3 \\
\end{align*}
\]

**Classes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>(\lambda)</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>df</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I and III Blacks</td>
<td>1.8484</td>
<td>&lt;.70;</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Blacks</td>
<td>2.6388</td>
<td>&lt;.30;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I and III Whites</td>
<td>6.6114</td>
<td>&lt;.05;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Whites</td>
<td>7.2298</td>
<td>&gt;.05;</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{a}\)All calculations are made from raw data.
There were significant differences in the responses between Classes I and III ($\lambda = 6.6114 \ P < .05$) and between II and IV ($\lambda = 7.2298 \ P > .05$) for white respondents (see Table 11).

Intra-class inter-racial analyses show extreme differences between the races in response to the question for each social class. As in previous questions the lowest degree of difference is found in Class I ($\lambda = 9.2075 \ P = .01$) and the highest in Class IV ($\lambda = 158.6414 \ P < .001$). Class V is again found between Class II and III (see Table 11).

On the basis of these analyses it can be seen that the responses to question 35 are greatly influenced by both race (blacks and whites), and social class (even though it is greater for whites than for blacks).

Question 35a was included in the questionnaire in order to determine whether or not a change in the racial composition of the apartment building would affect the responses of the sample. The racial composition in the previous question was four white residents and one "colored" resident. The racial composition in this question is four "colored" residents and one white resident.

The null hypothesis is--Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated
census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses to the question—"If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four colored residents and one white resident, all of whom had the same occupations as yours, would you move in?"

Eighty-five per cent of the black respondents answered "yes" but only 6 per cent of the white respondents (as compared to 36 per cent for the previous question) responded in the affirmative. Almost 5 per cent of the responses of blacks (as compared to 3 per cent for the previous question) were negative and 80 per cent of the white respondents (as compared to 45 per cent for the previous question) responded negatively. The "Don't Know" responses for both races remained similar and about the same as they were for the previous question—black 10 per cent and white 12 per cent.

The data reveal that there are significant differences in the responses to this question and the null hypothesis is rejected ($\lambda = 212.6192 \ P < .001$, see Table 12).

Inter-class analyses among black respondents suggest that the responses among Classes I and III ($\lambda = 1.8586 \ P < .70$) and Classes II and IV ($\lambda = 2.6722 \ P < .30$) were not significantly different. The same analyses of the differences in responses
TABLE 12. A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 35a: If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four colored residents, and one white resident, all of whom had the same occupations as yours, would you move in?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>82.8 22.9 10.4</td>
<td>93.6 10.8 40.8</td>
<td>84.8 6.0 36.5</td>
<td>83.9 7.0 42.1</td>
<td>90.2 6.7 60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>10.3 62.5 42.9</td>
<td>2.1 68.7 44.6</td>
<td>4.8 80.1 50.9</td>
<td>4.7 81.7 46.6</td>
<td>2.4 80.0 29.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>6.9 12.5 45.5</td>
<td>4.3 18.1 13.1</td>
<td>10.5 12.1 11.4</td>
<td>9.8 10.4 10.2</td>
<td>6.1 11.1 7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>2.1 1.3 1.3</td>
<td>2.4 1.5 1.5</td>
<td>1.8 1.1 1.1</td>
<td>1.6 0.9 1.2</td>
<td>1.2 2.2 1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL N</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.1</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.0</td>
<td>100.1 99.9 99.9</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.1</td>
<td>99.9 100.0 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 28.3770, \quad df = 2, \quad P < .001 \]
\[ \chi^2 = 97.5941, \quad df = 2, \quad P < .001 \]
\[ \chi^2 = 212.6192, \quad df = 2, \quad P < .001 \]
\[ \chi^2 = 336.2430, \quad df = 2, \quad P < .001 \]
\[ \chi^2 = 107.2825, \quad df = 2, \quad P < .001 \]

Classes

I and III Blacks \[ \chi^2 = 1.8586, \quad df = 3, \quad P < .70 \]
II and IV Blacks \[ \chi^2 = 2.6722, \quad df = 2, \quad P < .30 \]
I and III Whites \[ \chi^2 = 10.8977, \quad df = 2, \quad P < .01 \]
II and IV Whites \[ \chi^2 = 4.9972, \quad df = 2, \quad P < .10 \]

*All calculations are made from raw data.
between Classes I and III ($\lambda = 10.8977$ $P < .01$) among white respondents were significant, but merely suggestive between Classes II and IV ($\lambda = 4.9972$ $P < .10$), (see Table 12).

An intra-class inter-racial analysis of the responses show significant differences between the races in all social classes with an inverse relationship between social class position and level of difference between the races for Classes I through IV but finding Class V between Classes II and III in degree of difference.

Thus evidence would seem to support the conclusion that both race and class are important in determining the responses to this question.

Did the change in the racial composition affect the responses of the classes? Yes, it did. An analysis of the "yes" and "no" responses show these differences to be significant for Class III ($\lambda = 55.1355$ $P < .001$) and for Classes I, II, IV, and V (see Table 13).

**Summary**

It can be seen that the responses between black and white respondents of Class III in the area of residency are very dissimilar. The two groups differed from one another in their responses to the statement that "colored people would prefer to live only with colored people with the same values and outlooks
TABLE 13.—A comparison of the percentage of black and white positive and negative responses to item number 35: If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable building which had one vacancy, four white residents and one colored resident, all of whom had occupations similar to yours, would you move in?; and to item number 35A: If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable building which had one vacancy, four colored residents and one white resident, all of whom had the same occupations as yours, would you move in?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N(^b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(43)(\lambda = 10.0933)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35A</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(27)(p &lt; .02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(41)(df = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(62)(\lambda = 2071.0150)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35A</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(45)(p &lt; .001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(66)(df = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>96.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(134)(\lambda = 55.1355)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35A</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(94)(p &lt; .001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>93.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(143)(df = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>94.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(173)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(180)(\lambda = 509.4715)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35A</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(171)(p &lt; .001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>92.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(264)(df = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(39)(\lambda = 56.5366)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35A</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>97.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(76)(p &lt; .001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(39)(df = 3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)All calculations are made from raw data.

\(^b\)Since the "No Response" and "I Don't Know" categories are not included in this table N will not be equal to N in Tables 9, 10, 11, or 12.
on life," and also varied in their responses to the possibilities of living in two varying degrees of racially integrated apartment buildings.
CHAPTER VI

PERCEPTION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST BLACKS

In the early 1940's Gunnar Myrdal recognized that blacks and whites did not agree on which areas of discrimination were more important than others. Blacks showed the least resistance to discrimination by whites in matters related to sexual relations and social courtesies and the most resistance in matters related to their economic, legal, and political welfare.¹ A study of blacks in Columbus, Ohio ten years later, revealed essentially the same finding, i.e., blacks were more concerned about legal, political, and economic discrimination than they were about discrimination relating to sex and social courtesies.²

In order to examine the perception of some areas of discrimination in Chicago, this researcher requested his sample to indicate the two areas in which they felt that blacks experienced the most discrimination. The null hypothesis is--Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago


but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and
house types will not differ significantly in their responses to
the statement (Item 37): "Please check two areas in which you
feel that colored people experience the most discrimination in
Chicago." The areas which were presented for their reactions
were--Educational opportunities, Occupational opportunities,
Attending places of entertainment, Buying a good home, "I don't
think they experience discrimination." and "I really don't know."

The results reveal a very significant difference
(\(\lambda = 71.9882 \ P < .001\)) in response patterns for Class III respon­
dents and the null hypothesis is rejected (see Table 14).

Over thirty per cent (30.2) of Class III black respondents
felt that blacks experienced most discrimination in educational
and occupational opportunities whereas about four per cent (4.2)
of Class III white respondents felt that these were the areas
in which blacks experienced the most discrimination.

The areas in which white respondents felt blacks exper­
ienced the most discrimination were occupation and buying homes,
but even here the discrepancy between the races is striking.
Thirty-six per cent (35.8) of black respondents as compared to
15.1 per cent of white respondents indicated these areas as those
most fraught with discrimination.

For those respondents who checked only one category
TABLE 14.--A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 37: Please check two areas in which you feel that colored people experience the most discrimination in Chicago.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational opportunities and buying a good home</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational opportunities</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't think they experience discrimination</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational and occupational opportunities</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational opportunities and attending places of entertainment</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I really don't know</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buying a good home</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending places of entertainment</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational opportunities and buying a good home</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational opportunities and I don't think they experience discrimination</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational opportunities and I really don't know</td>
<td>. . . . .</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>2.4 1.5</td>
<td>. . . .</td>
<td>1.8 1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aAll calculations are made from raw data.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending places of entertainment and buying a good home</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending places of entertainment and I don't think they</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experience discrimination</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational opportunities</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't think they experience discrimination and I really</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending places of entertainment and I really don't</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buying a good home and I don't think they experience</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discrimination</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 14.--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational opportunities and attending places of entertainment</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>3.4 2.1 2.6</td>
<td>. 1.2 0.8</td>
<td>. 0.6 0.4</td>
<td>1.0 0.9 1.0</td>
<td>1.2 2.2 1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>99.9 (29) 100.1 (48) 100.1 (77)</td>
<td>100.0 (47) 100.0 (83) 100.0 (130)</td>
<td>100.0 (106) 99.9 (166) 100.1 (272)</td>
<td>99.9 (193) 100.0 (230) 100.1 (423)</td>
<td>100.0 (82) 100.0 (45) 100.1 (127)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- \( \lambda = 16.2944 \)  
- \( P = \frac{<.10}{10} \)

- \( \lambda = 20.3116 \)  
- \( P = \frac{<.01}{7} \)

- \( \lambda = 71.9882 \)  
- \( P = \frac{<.001}{13} \)

- \( \lambda = 154.3458 \)  
- \( P = \frac{<.001}{12} \)

- \( \lambda = 19.5892 \)  
- \( P = \frac{>.02}{9} \)

### Classes

- I and III Blacks  
  \( \lambda = 17.0989 \)  
  \( P < .02 \)  
  \( df = 7 \)

- II and IV Blacks  
  \( \lambda = 18.3616 \)  
  \( P > .01 \)  
  \( df = 7 \)

- I and III Whites  
  \( \lambda = 20.6208 \)  
  \( P < .10 \)  
  \( df = 13 \)

- II and IV Whites  
  \( \lambda = 28.1909 \)  
  \( P < .01 \)  
  \( df = 12 \)
(though asked to check two) as having the most discrimination for blacks, race apparently made little difference. These single responses revealed:

1. Educational opportunities--black 1.9 per cent and white "no response"
2. Occupational opportunities--black 16.0 per cent and white 16.3 per cent
3. Attending places of entertainment--black "no response" and white 3.6 per cent
4. Buying a good home--black 1.9 per cent and white 3.0 per cent

It should be noted that these areas had some semblance of agreement but the area of "I don't think they experience discrimination" is vastly dissimilar. White respondents who checked this category showed a response pattern of 24.1 per cent whereas only 1.9 per cent of blacks responded in this manner. Also, the "experience gap" between the races is shown by the fact that only 6.6 per cent of black respondents indicated they felt that "Attending places of entertainment" or any combination with other categories was the area or areas in which blacks experienced the most discrimination whereas 21.7 per cent of white respondents reacted in such a manner.

In summary, it seems obvious that race for Class III respondents plays an important role in the perception of discrimination against blacks in Chicago. So, as was stated before,
the null hypothesis that there would not be significant differences between the races is rejected ($\lambda = 71.9882 \, P < .001$).

Analyses within each race but among different social classes reveal some variations in the responses which seemingly are affected by social class position. The differences between Classes I and III among whites are merely suggestive ($\lambda = 20.6208 \, P < .10$) but those between Classes II and IV are significant ($\lambda = 28.1909 \, P < .01$). The differences between Classes I and III among blacks are significant ($\lambda = 17.0989 \, P < .02$) as are those between Classes II and IV ($\lambda = 18.3616 \, P > .01$).

Inter-racial analyses within the same class reveal that the differences within each class are very significant for Classes II, III, IV, and V and that the pattern of significance varies inversely with social class for Classes II, III, and IV.

Thus the perception of discrimination against blacks varies with both one's race and one's social class position.
CHAPTER VII

EDUCATIONAL OPINIONS AND VALUES

This chapter will present and analyze parental opinions and values about the quality and content of the education available to their children. In the questionnaire, several questions were concerned with education in general and the Chicago public schools in particular. Some of the reasons for the research in the area of education were:

1. Education is one of the indices of social class and thereby reflects the level of importance it has in our society.

2. Occupation is also one of the indices of social class for which education is usually of determining importance.

3. One's livelihood and life are greatly influenced by one's educational preparation in a metropolitan society.

4. In recent years the Chicago Public School System has been the object of severe criticism and two school boycotts by Civil Rights organizations and the black community.

The questions about education were concerned with a rating of the schools by the respondents; a query as to whether their children were now being sent or would be sent to private schools and reasons why; a general question as to the nature of
educational content and what areas should be of primary interest to the school for their children; and a question about parental educational aspirations for their children.

The first question (Item 33) was: "How would you rate the public elementary schools in your community?" The structured answers were: "The job done is excellent_good_satisfactory_poors_very bad_don't know_.

The null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses about the public elementary schools in their communities.

Analyses show that 57.2 per cent of Class III white respondents as compared to 34.0 per cent of Class III black respondents rated the elementary schools "good" or "excellent." Only 8.4 per cent of the white respondents rated them "poor" or "very bad" but 27.4 per cent of the black respondents rated them "poor" or "very bad," (see Table 15). The data do not support the null hypothesis and it is rejected ($\chi^2 = 24.3610$ $P < .001$). Thus, the ratings were significantly different.

A look at the data among blacks of Classes I and III show suggestive differences and II and IV show no significant differences. There is no significant difference between Classes
TABLE 15. A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 33: How would you rate the public elementary schools in your community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
<td>Black White Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCELLENT</td>
<td>13.8 14.6 14.3</td>
<td>14.9 14.5 14.6</td>
<td>8.5 14.5 12.1</td>
<td>8.8 20.4 15.1</td>
<td>13.4 22.2 16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOOD</td>
<td>20.7 29.2 26.0</td>
<td>42.6 32.5 36.2</td>
<td>25.5 42.8 36.0</td>
<td>29.5 41.3 35.9</td>
<td>31.7 37.8 33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SATISFACTORY</td>
<td>48.3 33.3 39.0</td>
<td>25.5 25.3 25.4</td>
<td>30.2 22.3 25.4</td>
<td>37.3 21.7 28.8</td>
<td>29.3 20.0 26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POOR</td>
<td>13.8 10.4 11.7</td>
<td>8.5 12.1 10.8</td>
<td>23.6 7.8 14.0</td>
<td>9.8 5.2 7.3</td>
<td>12.2 6.7 10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERY BAD</td>
<td>. . .</td>
<td>3.8 0.6 1.8</td>
<td>1.0 0.5</td>
<td>3.7 2.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>. 10.4 6.5</td>
<td>6.4 13.2 10.8</td>
<td>7.6 10.2 9.2</td>
<td>11.4 10.0 10.6</td>
<td>8.5 11.1 9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>3.4 2.1 2.6</td>
<td>2.1 1.2 1.5</td>
<td>0.9 1.8 1.5</td>
<td>2.1 1.3 1.7</td>
<td>1.2 2.2 1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0 100.1 100.1</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.1</td>
<td>100.1 100.0 100.0</td>
<td>99.9 99.9 99.9</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lambda</th>
<th>P Value</th>
<th>df</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1614</td>
<td>&lt;.20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5036</td>
<td>&lt;.70</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.3610</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.1324</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3727</td>
<td>&lt;.30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classes

I and III Blacks \( \lambda = 9.7529 \ P < .10; \) \( \text{df} = 5 \)
II and IV Blacks \( \lambda = 6.7067 \ P < .30; \) \( \text{df} = 5 \)
I and III Whites \( \lambda = 4.4445 \ P < .50; \) \( \text{df} = 5 \)
II and IV Whites \( \lambda = 9.6876 \ P < .10; \) \( \text{df} = 5 \)

*aAll calculations are made from raw data.*
I and III for whites ($\chi^2 = 4.4445$ $P < .50$) but there are suggestive differences between Classes II and IV ($\chi^2 = 9.6576$ $P < .10$) for whites. Interestingly the rating patterns between blacks and whites of Classes I, II, and V reveal no significant differences.

In Class I 34.5 per cent of the black respondents rated the public elementary schools as "good" or "excellent" and 43.8 per cent of the white respondents did likewise. In the same class 13.8 per cent of the black respondents rated the public elementary schools as "poor" as compared to 10.4 per cent of the white respondents.

In Class II 57.5 per cent of the black respondents rated the public elementary schools as "good" or "excellent" and 37.0 per cent of the white respondents did likewise. In the same class 8.5 per cent of the black respondents rated the public elementary schools as "poor" as compared to 13.3 per cent of the white respondents who rated them "poor" and "very bad."

In Class V 45.1 per cent of the black respondents rated the public elementary schools as "good" or "excellent" and 60.0 per cent of the white respondents did the same. In the same class 15.9 per cent of the black respondents rated the public elementary schools as "poor" or "very bad" as compared to no white respondents rating them "very bad" and only 6.7 per cent rating them as "poor."
So it can be seen that the very significant differences in responses for this question are found between blacks and whites of Classes III and IV but not among respondents of the same race but of different social classes (see Table 15).

The second question related to the rating of high schools in the communities. The question (Item 34) was: "How would you rate the public high schools in your community?" The structured answers were the same: "The job done is excellent_good_satisfactory_poor_very bad_don't know__." 

The null hypothesis is also the same: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses about the public high schools in their communities.

Results show that 34.0 per cent of Class III black respondents rated the high schools as "good" or "excellent" and 57.3 per cent of the white respondents did likewise. In the same class 27.4 per cent of the black respondents rated them as "poor" or "very bad" as compared with 8.4 per cent of the white respondents who rated them as "poor or "very bad." Statistical analyses of the data show no significant differences ($\chi^2 = 3.5156$ $P < .70$) between the races, thereby supporting the null hypothesis (see Table 16).
TABLE 16.--A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 34: How would you rate the public high schools in your community?\textsuperscript{a}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCELLENT</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOOD</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SATISFACTORY</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POOR</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERY BAD</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>N =</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>( P= )</td>
<td>4.0367</td>
<td>&gt;.50</td>
<td>20.0594</td>
<td>&gt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df = 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}All calculations are made from raw data.
Analyses of inter-racial variations show that no significant differences exist between black and white respondents in Classes I ($\lambda = 4.0367 \ P > .50$) and V ($\lambda = 5.9826 \ P > .30$). Analyses of data for different classes of the same race reveal no significant differences between Classes I and III for either race among blacks of Classes II and IV but does reveal a significant difference between Classes II and IV ($\lambda = 22.8632 \ P < .001$) among white respondents.

So the data give us reason to believe that Class III black and white respondents do not rate the public high schools of their communities differently but do rate the public elementary schools differently.

There is a great deal of evidence that the charges of racial discrimination and segregation leveled at the Chicago Public School System are valid and that these factors probably did influence the responses of blacks and whites in the survey. Evidence of these charges can be seen in writings by James Q. Wilson\textsuperscript{1}, W. Lloyd Warner\textsuperscript{2}, Anne Brown and David Gordon\textsuperscript{3}, an


editorial and an article in the *Chicago Sun Times*\(^4\), and what is popularly referred to as the Hauser Report.\(^5\) Other reports by Professor Robert J. Havighurst, the Chicago Urban League, and David Street have also presented data in support of the charge of racial segregation in the public schools.\(^6\) A recent article in the *Chicago Sun Times* has shown that racial segregation still exists in Chicago's public schools in 1969.\(^7\)

Since it was expected that some disappointment would be expressed about the public schools a question about the possibility of parents sending their children to private schools and the reasons why they did or would consider such action was included in the questionnaire. Item 27 was concerned with this—"Do you


\(^7\) *Chicago Sun Times*, November 18, 1969
(did you) or would you send your children to private elementary or high school? Yes__No__Why?__.

The null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses about their desires for their children to attend private elementary or high schools.

The data show that 48.1 per cent of the black respondents answered "yes" to the question while 65.1 per cent of the white respondents answered "yes", thereby rejecting the null hypothesis ($\lambda = 7.5316 \ P < .01$). (See Table 17).

An analysis of the data also shows that class differences within each social group are not significant and that with the exceptions of Classes III and IV, the differences between blacks and whites of different classes are also not significant (see Table 17).

In order to determine why the respondents did send or would have considered sending their children to private elementary or high schools, they were permitted open-end answers, reported in Table 18.

The null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not
TABLE 13. --A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 27A: Why do you (did you) or would you send your children to a private elementary or high school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOULD SEND CHILDREN TO A PRIVATE SCHOOL.</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>72.2</td>
<td>75.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REASONS:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better education</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different social classes</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better facilities</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same racial group</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better experiences</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenience</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different discipline</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOULD NOT SEND CHILDREN TO A PRIVATE SCHOOL.</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER REASONS</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 11.9431, \quad df = 11, \quad p > .30 \]

\[ \chi^2 = 20.0061, \quad df = 10, \quad p > .02 \]

\[ \chi^2 = 45.5165, \quad df = 11, \quad p < .001 \]

\[ \chi^2 = 43.2830, \quad df = 10, \quad p < .001 \]

\[ \chi^2 = 24.7629, \quad df = 9, \quad p < .01 \]

Classes

I and III Blacks \[ \chi^2 = 9.1859, \quad p < .50; \quad df = 10 \]

II and IV Blacks \[ \chi^2 = 5.3472, \quad p > .80; \quad df = 9 \]

I and III Whites \[ \chi^2 = 13.9098, \quad p > .20; \quad df = 11 \]

II and IV Whites \[ \chi^2 = 20.0535, \quad p < .05; \quad df = 10 \]

*All calculations are made from raw data.*
differ significantly in their responses to explain why they did send or would send their children to private elementary or high schools.

Only 6.6 per cent of middle-class black respondents cited religion as an explanation as compared to 25.3 per cent of middle-class white respondents who gave that as a reason for sending or considering sending their children to a private elementary or high school. About the same percentage for both groups gave the reason of a better education as an explanation—33.0 per cent for blacks and 31.9 per cent for whites.

Only 3.6 per cent of the white respondents gave "same racial group" as a reason as compared to 0.9 per cent of the blacks. No whites gave "different races" as a reason but 1.9 per cent of the blacks did. The null hypothesis is rejected and it appears that the most common reasons for sending children to private schools were for a "better education," "economic" and religious reasons, and for "different social classes." It should also be noted that one in eleven respondents thought that the public schools were acceptable; these respondents would not send their children to private schools (see Table 18).

One of the well-known difficulties of open-ended questions is that of categorizing the responses. This question was no different; the data as assembled are not as satisfactory as one
would like because of the widely dispersed response patterns.

Inter-class analyses within the racial groups reveal no significant differences between Classes I and III for both races or II and IV for blacks but a significant difference ($\lambda = 20.0535$ $P < .05$) between II and IV for white respondents.

In addition to the middle class, Classes II, IV, and V revealed significant differences between black and white respondents.

Even though differences were exhibited between black and white respondents in some classes, 57 to 76 per cent of the respondents of all the classes responded that they would send their children to a private school but within each class the most popular reason given as motivation for such action was a "better education" (see Table 18).

The last question dealing with schools is Item 29: "On what do you think the schools should place the most emphasis for your children?" The structured answers were to be answered with one check only for each sex. In this way the respondent indicated the area(s) he considered of most importance in the education of his children--and also if he valued something different for his daughter(s) and for his son(s). If the respondent had no children nor children of both sexes, he was instructed to respond as if he did have children and children of both sexes.
The null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house types will not differ significantly in their responses to the question--"On what do you think the schools should place the most emphasis for your children?"

The responses for Class III respondents reveal no significant differences between the races or for their desired educational emphasis for the sexes, thereby supporting the null hypothesis. The overwhelming response was that of "being a well educated and informed person" for male and female children although male children did receive more "preparation for an occupation" responses than did female children (see Table 19 and 20). In all the classes black respondents stressed basic and vocational education more than did white respondents. This was more apparent when male children were involved, and the higher the social class position the greater the stress on basic and vocational education for males. This would seem to indicate that the two races view the world of educational content from somewhat different perspectives and somewhat differently for their male and female children.

One might expect that the percentage of those respondents who would check "reading, writing, and arithmetic", and "preparation for an occupation" would be inversely correlated with
TABLE 19. --A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 29: On what do you think the schools should place the most emphasis for your (female) children?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I Black</th>
<th>Class I White</th>
<th>Class I Total</th>
<th>Class II Black</th>
<th>Class II White</th>
<th>Class II Total</th>
<th>Class III Black</th>
<th>Class III White</th>
<th>Class III Total</th>
<th>Class IV Black</th>
<th>Class IV White</th>
<th>Class IV Total</th>
<th>Class V Black</th>
<th>Class V White</th>
<th>Class V Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BEING A GOOD CITIZEN</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GETTING ALONG WITH OTHER PEOPLE</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>READING, WRITING, ARITHMETIC</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREPARATION FOR AN OCCUPATION</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CULTURAL APPRECIATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EARNING A GOOD LIVING</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEING A WELL EDUCATED AND INFORMED PERSON</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>λ = 11.0552</td>
<td>P = .05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.1048</td>
<td>P &lt; .05</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.0524</td>
<td>P &lt; .70</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.2286</td>
<td>P &gt; .20</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.9513</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df = 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classes

I and III Blacks

\[ \lambda = 4.7093 \; P < .70; \]
\[ \text{df} = 6 \]

II and IV Blacks

\[ \lambda = 18.6417 \; P < .01; \]
\[ \text{df} = 6 \]

I and III Whites

\[ \lambda = 9.0261 \; P < .20; \]
\[ \text{df} = 6 \]

II and IV Whites

\[ \lambda = 9.6426 \; P < .20; \]
\[ \text{df} = 6 \]

*aAll calculations are made from raw data.*
TABLE 20.--A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 29: On what do you think the schools should place the most emphasis for your (male) children?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEING A GOOD CITIZEN</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GETTING ALONG WITH OTHER PEOPLE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>READING, WRITING, ARITHMETIC</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREPARATION FOR AN OCCUPATION</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CULTURAL APPRECIATION</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EARNING A GOOD LIVING</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEING A WELL EDUCATED AND INFORMED PERSON</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \lambda )</td>
<td>15.7721</td>
<td>11.3202</td>
<td>2.8956</td>
<td>7.0838</td>
<td>4.3491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( p )</td>
<td>(&lt; .02)</td>
<td>(&lt; .20)</td>
<td>(&gt;.50)</td>
<td>(&gt;.30)</td>
<td>(&lt; .70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( df )</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All calculations are made from raw data.
social class, since Class V males have less education than those in Classes I and III. One might also expect Class V to place greater emphasis on the area of "the three R's" and vocational preparation than those who tend to be in more professional and white collar occupations who might be expected to cluster around some of the other categories. Such an expectation, however, is not supported by the data. The categories which seem to be inversely correlated with social class position are "being a good citizen" and "getting along with other people." The reasons behind such response patterns may be worthy of further research.

Analyses of the responses for male children of blacks and whites of different classes indicate significant differences only between Classes I and III for white respondents and Classes II and IV for black respondents (see Table 20). The same analyses for female children indicate a significant difference only between Classes II and IV and only for black respondents (see Table 19).

Thus it can be seen that the null hypothesis was supported i.e., middle-class black and white respondents with the aforementioned characteristics did not respond in a significantly different way to these questions. However, even a cursory analysis of the data indicates ripe areas for further research such as variation of responses between social classes and within each
racial group and possible reasons for such responses.

Parents' Educational Aspirations for Their Children

Eli Ginzberg notes in his book The Negro Potential that in order for Negroes to be able to compete on an equal basis for professional and other desirable jobs, there would have to be a revolution at all levels of Negro education. Also, the values, aspirations, and living conditions of the general environment of the Negro community would have to be changed, which would depend "in large part on the opportunities of Negroes to earn larger incomes."8

Ginzberg's position assumes that occupational preparation involves more than just an equalization of educational opportunities. He makes the assertion that both occupational and educational preparation "occurs within the family, the neighborhood, and the community":9

to appraise how Negro potential can be fully developed therefore requires consideration of a whole complex of factors, including the structure and functioning of the Negro family and community and the values and behavior of both Negroes and whites, as well as the present state of and future prospects for his educational opportunities.10

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9 Ibid., p. 93.
10 Ibid., pp. 93-94.
Ginzberg's evaluations are sound and true not only for blacks but for all ethnic groups. The economic, familial, and educational institutions are so inextricably interwoven that a change in one must exert some degree of change in the other. The areas which will now be investigated relate to those referred to by Ginzberg—educational and occupational aspirations of parents for their male and female children. The null hypothesis to be tested will deal with the similarities of these aspirations between middle-class black and white respondents.

The first null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses to the request: "Put a check on the correct line to show the lowest level of education you would want for your children." (See Item 30). The column of educational levels ranged from grade one through high school, college, a master's degree, a professional degree, to a doctoral degree. The columns were also arranged in a manner which permitted the respondents to check the lowest educational levels desired for both male and female children. As in previous questions the respondents were requested to answer as if they had children of both sexes.

An analysis of the data for Class III indicates that
blacks expressed a desire for higher levels of educational achievement for their male children than did white respondents. While 17.0 per cent of blacks checked "doctoral degree" only 7.8 per cent of whites did the same. While 27.6 per cent of blacks checked "professional degree" which was defined on the questionnaire as professions such as a doctor, lawyer, and a dentist, only 13.9 per cent of whites did the same. Almost the same percentage (13.9 per cent) of whites who checked professional degree checked college graduate (13.2 per cent) as the lowest educational level they would desire for their male children but only 6.6 per cent of the blacks checked "master's degree" while 22.6 per cent checked "professional degree" (see Table 21).

It can be seen that there are significant differences in the responses of the two groups ($\chi^2 = 19.7031$, $P < .05$), and so the null hypothesis is rejected.

Differences which occur between the responses of blacks in Classes I and III and the whites in Classes I and III could be accounted for by chance and therefore are not significant, but the differences between Classes II and IV are significant among blacks but only suggestive among whites.

Analyses of the responses of blacks and whites of the same class reveal differences at a high level of significance between Classes II and IV and differences at a lower level but
TABLE 21.--A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 30: Put a check on the correct line to show the lowest level of education you would want for your (male) children.a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I Black</th>
<th>Class I White</th>
<th>Class I Total</th>
<th>Class II Black</th>
<th>Class II White</th>
<th>Class II Total</th>
<th>Class III Black</th>
<th>Class III White</th>
<th>Class III Total</th>
<th>Class IV Black</th>
<th>Class IV White</th>
<th>Class IV Total</th>
<th>Class V Black</th>
<th>Class V White</th>
<th>Class V Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLEGE 1 year</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLEGE 2 years</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLEGE 3 years</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLLEGE GRADUATE</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>21.3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOME GRADUATE SCHOOL</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO DEGREE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASTER'S DEGREE</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOME WORK BEYOND</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASTER'S DEGREE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROFESSIONAL DEGREE</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOME WORK BEYOND</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROFESSIONAL DEGREE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOCTORAL DEGREE</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TOTAL                     | 100.0         | 100.0         | 100.0         | 100.0         | 100.0         | 100.0         | 99.9          | 100.0         | 100.0         | 100.0         | 100.0         | 100.0         | 100.0         | 100.0         | 100.0         |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( \lambda )</th>
<th>( P )</th>
<th>( df )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \lambda )</td>
<td>( P )</td>
<td>( df )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.2521</td>
<td>&lt;.05</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>27.6086</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.7031</td>
<td>&lt;.05</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.5578</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5091</td>
<td>&gt;.20</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>( \lambda )</th>
<th>( P )</th>
<th>( df )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I and III Blacks</td>
<td>( \lambda )</td>
<td>( P )</td>
<td>( df )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.0593</td>
<td>&gt;.50</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Blacks</td>
<td>( \lambda )</td>
<td>( P )</td>
<td>( df )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21.2334</td>
<td>&lt;.02</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I and III Whites</td>
<td>( \lambda )</td>
<td>( P )</td>
<td>( df )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.9112</td>
<td>&gt;.50</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Whites</td>
<td>( \lambda )</td>
<td>( P )</td>
<td>( df )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.6142</td>
<td>&gt;.10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( a \) All calculations are made from raw data.
of significance for Classes I and III. Differences for Class V are neither significant nor suggestive.

In general, it can be said that black respondents for all social classes desired higher educational achievement for their male children than did white respondents, and that the differences between the races were significant for all classes except Class V ($\chi^2 = 11.5091$ $P > .20$). Also, the levels of difference between the social classes within each racial group ranged from a probability of less than .02 for comparisons among blacks of Classes II and IV to a probability greater than .50 between Classes I and III for both races (see Table 21).

Examining the same null hypothesis for female children in Table 22, it can be seen that 37.7 per cent of the black respondents desired an educational level of a master's degree or higher for their female children while 12.0 per cent of the white respondents expressed the same desire. Of the blacks who indicated "master's degree" and higher as the lowest levels that they would desire for their female children, 19.8 per cent checked "master's degree" and 9.4 per cent checked "doctoral degree." Of the 12.0 per cent of the whites who indicated "master's degree" and higher as the lowest levels that they would desire for their female children 5.4 per cent checked "master's degree" and 4.8 per cent checked "doctoral degree."
TABLE 2.2.—A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 30: Put a check on the correct line to show the lowest level of education you would want for your (female) children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College 1 year</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College 2 years</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>94.8</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Graduate School</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Degree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Degree</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Work Beyond Master's Degree</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Degree</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Work Beyond Professional Degree</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral Degree</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>(77)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>(83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \lambda = )</td>
<td>14.2131</td>
<td></td>
<td>46.4537</td>
<td>34.3593</td>
<td>73.4018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( P = )</td>
<td>&lt;.10</td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( df = )</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Classes                        |         |          |           |          |         |         |
| I and III Blacks               | \( \lambda = 17.2739 \) \( P < .05; \) | df = 9 |
| II and IV Blacks               | \( \lambda = 26.6541 \) \( P > .001; \) | df = 10 |
| I and III Whites               | \( \lambda = 11.9191 \) \( P < .30; \) | df = 10 |
| II and IV Whites               | \( \lambda = 31.7096 \) \( P < .001; \) | df = 9  |

\(^a\)All calculations are made from raw data.
Of special interest is the percentage of persons who checked "high school graduate" and partial college for their female children. Almost twice the percentage of whites checked "high school graduate" as did blacks (12.0 per cent and 6.6 per cent, respectively), as the lowest level of education they would desire for their female children. The highest percentage of middle class responses for the lowest desired educational level for male children for anything less than college graduate was 3.0 per cent for either race.

Thus it can be seen that middle-class parents apparently value education for males more than they do for females and the differences of the expressed desires of black and white parents for the levels of educational achievement for female children are significant ($\lambda = 34.3593 \ p < .001$) and the null hypothesis is rejected.

The levels of differences between Classes II and IV among blacks and whites and Classes I and III among blacks are significant but the differences between Classes I and III among whites are not significant.

The differences between blacks and whites of the same class are very significant in all social classes except Class I. So as in the case of male children, there is generally a significant difference in the response patterns between black and
white respondents, and the pattern indicates that blacks expressed a desire for higher minimal levels of education for their female children than did white respondents. Also, it can be seen that both races expressed the desire for a higher minimal level of educational achievement for their male children than for their female children (see Table 22).

These differences between the races seemingly could be attributed to the fact that the black and white respondents in the sample value educational achievements differently and differently for their male and female children because of their diverse experiences in life and the variations in their outlooks for the future. These differences certainly would be greatly influenced and possibly determined by the fact that the comparisons which are made are those between a political, economic, and social minority group and a political, economic, and social majority group in the same culture.

**Educational Expenses**

In order to further probe the area of educational aspirations of parents for their children, the questionnaire included a question (Item 26) which asked: "If your children go to college, how do you expect it will be paid for?" The answers were structured: "I expect to pay all expenses; I expect to pay some expenses; they will have to work and pay all expenses; they will
not go to college." The responses, again, were separate for male and female children and thus will be analyzed accordingly.

The null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses to the question: "If your male children go to college, how do you expect it will be paid for?"

The differences between blacks and whites of Class III are not significant \( \lambda = 3.5558 \ P < .20 \) so the null hypothesis is accepted. An analysis of the responses shows that no one indicated that his children would not go to college and that only 1.9 per cent of the black and 1.2 per cent of the white respondents indicated that their male children would have to work and pay all the expenses for college. A greater percentage of black respondents (31.1 per cent) than white respondents (21.1 per cent) indicated that they expected to pay all college expenses and concomitantly a larger percentage of white respondents (67.5 per cent) than black respondents (58.5 per cent) indicated that they expected to pay some of the college expenses for male children (see Table 23).

There were no significant differences in the responses among blacks or whites between either Classes I and III or between
TABLE 23.—A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 26: If your (male) children go to college, how do you expect it will be paid for?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I EXPECT TO PAY ALL EXPENSES</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I EXPECT TO PAY SOME EXPENSES</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>71.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEY WILL HAVE TO WORK AND PAY ALL EXPENSES</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEY WILL NOT GO TO COLLEGE</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N =</th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(45)</td>
<td>(77)</td>
<td>(25)</td>
<td>(48)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>(83)</td>
<td>(130)</td>
<td>(96)</td>
<td>(166)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(106)</td>
<td>(166)</td>
<td>(272)</td>
<td>(130)</td>
<td>(230)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(106)</td>
<td>(166)</td>
<td>(272)</td>
<td>(130)</td>
<td>(230)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(82)</td>
<td>(45)</td>
<td>(127)</td>
<td>(82)</td>
<td>(45)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$$\lambda =\frac{1.6197}{\lambda =\frac{3.5558}{\lambda =\frac{10.3386}{\lambda =\frac{9.0736}{P = 0.0203}{P = 0.20}{P = 0.02}{P = 0.02}}{df = 3}{df = 2}{df = 3}}$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>$$\lambda$$</th>
<th>$$P$$</th>
<th>df</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I and III Blacks</td>
<td>0.2180</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Blacks</td>
<td>0.0907</td>
<td>&gt;.95</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I and III Whites</td>
<td>3.2648</td>
<td>&gt;.95</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Whites</td>
<td>3.6580</td>
<td>&gt;.95</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aAll calculations are made from raw data.
Classes II and IV. The levels of difference, however, vary with race, i.e., the differences between social classes among black respondents are far less significant (P = .90 for Classes I and III and P > .95 for Classes II and IV) than the differences between social classes among white respondents (P > .30 for Classes I and III and P = .30 for Classes II and IV).

There are no significant differences between blacks and whites of Classes I, II, and III, but differences of significance do exist for Classes IV and V. So with the exception of racial differences within Classes IV and V there is no evidence of significant differences between the races within the other social classes or between Classes I and III, or Classes II and IV within each racial group (see Table 23).

By utilizing the same question for female children, the following null hypothesis is possible: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses to the question: "If your female children go to college, how do you expect it will be paid for?"

Contrary to the responses for male children, the responses between the races in Class III are significantly different (λ = 7.0234 P < .01) and the null hypothesis is rejected (see
An analysis of the data shows that only one person indicated that his female children would not go to college and only three (0.9 per cent blacks and 1.2 per cent whites) indicated that their female children would have to work and pay all college expenses. The latter is very similar to the same percentage of responses for male children. As in the previous question, a greater percentage of black respondents (47.2 per cent) than white respondents (29.5 per cent) indicated that they expected to pay all college expenses; a larger percentage of white respondents (57.2 per cent) than black respondents (16.8 per cent) indicated that they expected to pay some of the college expenses for their female children. Although, in both cases, a larger percentage of black respondents indicated that they expected to pay all college expenses for their children than did whites, more respondents of both races expected to pay all college expenses for female children than for male children.

There are no significant differences between Classes I and III for both races and Classes II and IV for whites; but the differences among blacks of Classes II and IV are significant.

Analyses of the responses of blacks and whites of the same class reveal differences of very high levels of significance for all classes except Class I which has only suggestive differences (see Table 24). A comparison of Tables 23 and 24 shows
TABLE 24.--A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 26: If your (female) children go to college, how do you expect it will be paid for?*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I EXPECT TO PAY ALL EXPENSES</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I EXPECT TO PAY SOME EXPENSES</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEY WILL HAVE TO WORK AND PAY ALL EXPENSES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEY WILL NOT GO TO COLLEGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \lambda = 2.6450 \quad \text{P} = >.10 \quad \text{df} = 1 \)
\( \lambda = 21.8858 \quad \text{P} = <.001 \quad \text{df} = 3 \)
\( \lambda = 12.0290 \quad \text{P} = <.01 \quad \text{df} = 3 \)
\( \lambda = 35.0704 \quad \text{P} = <.001 \quad \text{df} = 3 \)
\( \lambda = 15.4673 \quad \text{P} = >.001 \quad \text{df} = 3 \)

*All calculations are made from raw data.
that respondents of all social classes and of both races who indicated that they expected to pay all college expenses was larger in reference to female children than in reference to male children and larger for blacks than for whites.

**Financing Education**

After inquiring about parental desires for the education of their children and seeking to determine how the parents expected that the expenses of college would be paid, another question was introduced which asked if the respondent had saved anything for his children's education. This seems to be of importance since such an overwhelming percentage of the respondents (88.9 per cent) indicated that they either expected to pay all or part of college expenses for their children.

The null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses to the question (Item 28): "Have you saved (or did you save) anything for your children's education?" The structured responses were: "Yes; No; No children." It was necessary to include the last answer because of the nature of the question.

Of the middle class respondents (86.0 per cent) who answered "yes" 78.3 per cent were black and 66.2 per cent were
white. Of those who responded in the negative, 21.7 per cent were black and 33.1 per cent were white. The level of difference between the races is significant \( (X^2 = 3.83 \ P > .05) \) and the null hypothesis is rejected (see Table 25).

Analyses of the data reveal no differences of significance between Classes I and III or Classes II and IV for blacks but suggestive differences among whites of Classes I and III and II and IV.

There are no significant differences between the races in Classes II, IV, and V. Although the differences between black and white respondents of Classes I and III are significant, responses to this question reveal that neither social class nor race consistently delineate the expressed behavior of the respondents.

**Summary**

In summary, it can be seen that:

1. the opinions expressed by Class III and IV blacks and whites about public elementary schools were significantly different but that neither the responses of blacks and whites of Classes I, II, and V nor the responses among persons of the same race but of different social classes were significantly different.
TABLE 25.--A comparison of the percentage of black and white parents to item number 28: Have you saved (or did you save) anything for your children's education?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>73.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(43)</td>
<td>(66)</td>
<td>(43)</td>
<td>(76)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\chi^2 = 55.89 \quad p < .001 \\
\chi^2 = 8.17 \quad p < .30 \\
\chi^2 = 3.83 \quad p > .05 \\
\chi^2 = 0.31 \quad p > .50 \\
\chi^2 = 0.17 \quad p < .70 \\
\]

\[
\chi^2 = 6.879 \quad p > .30; \quad df = 1 \\
\chi^2 = 1.59 \quad p > .20; \quad df = 1 \\
\chi^2 = 2.45 \quad p > .10; \quad df = 1 \\
\chi^2 = 2.58 \quad p > .10; \quad df = 1 \\
\]

aAll calculations are made from raw data.
2. the ratings of the public high schools between blacks and whites of Classes I, III, and V and among blacks and whites of Classes I and III and among whites of Classes II and IV were not significantly different.

3. with the exception of the differences expressed by blacks and whites in Classes III and IV neither race nor class influences significantly different answers about the respondents' sending or considering sending their children to private elementary or high schools.

4. the reasons offered for sending or considering sending their children to private elementary or high schools were significantly different between blacks and whites in Classes III, IV and V and between whites of Classes II and IV. A clear majority of all classes and both races of the respondents responded that they would send their children to a private elementary or high school and the overwhelming reason given in all cases was their desire for a "better education" for their children.

5. in reference to the content of education, black respondents stressed basic and vocational education more than did white respondents and it was more apparent when male children were involved; and was directly related to social class position. Although the responses of middle-class blacks
and whites were not significantly different questions raised by the data strongly suggest a need for more research on the topic.

6. blacks of all social classes desired higher educational achievement for their male children than did white respondents and that with the exception of Classes I and V the differences between the races were significant.

7. with the exception of Class I, blacks have higher educational aspiration for their female children than do whites.

8. in reference to financing the college education of male children and with the exception of racial differences within Classes IV and V, there is no evidence of significant differences between blacks and whites within the other social classes or evidence of significant differences between the classes within each racial group.

9. blacks and whites of all classes, except Class I, differed significantly in their responses about how their female children would finance their college education. A larger percentage of both blacks and whites (a larger percentage of blacks than whites) expected to pay all college expenses for their female children than for their male children for whom they expected to pay some of such expenses.

10. the majority of respondents had saved something for their
children's education and with the exception of Classes I and III the differences in response between the races were not significant and were not otherwise significantly influenced by class or race.
CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM

Since a rather complete definition of Political Economic Conservatism Scale (PEC) has already been given (see pages 42-45) it will not be necessary to repeat it. Adorno's PEC Scale is made up of five statements, two representing a liberal point of view and three representing a conservative point of view. The responses range on an ordinal scale from "I agree very much" to "I disagree very much," with a midpoint of "I don't know." By assigning numerical value to the seven points along the continuum it is theoretically possible to locate respondents at different points along the liberal-conservative continuum.

The five statements and their assigned PEC positions or tendencies are:

America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us as close as human beings can get to a perfect society. (This is Item 10 on the questionnaire and is of conservative tendency, i.e., according to Adorno, a person who would strongly agree with this statement would more than likely have a conservative approach to life.)

Generally speaking labor unions should become stronger and have more influence. (Item 13, and of liberal tendency.)

A businessman who overcomes all competition on the road to success is a good model for all young people to admire and imitate. (Item 20, of conservative tendency.)
In order to protect the health of the nation, Congress should pass some kind of law which would help everyone with medical bills. (Item 24, of liberal tendency.)

We shall analyze the PEC Scale by first looking at the responses to each statement separately and then considering all of them as a scale.

Item 10 is: "America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us as close as human beings can get to a perfect society." The possible responses were: "I agree very much___ pretty much___a little; I don't know_; I disagree a little___ pretty much___very much___."

The null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses to the statement that, "America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us as close as human beings can get to a perfect society."

An analysis of the data indicates a significant difference in the response patterns between the races ($\lambda = 47.5212 \ P < .001$) and the null hypothesis is rejected (see Table 26).

Whereas 90.4 per cent of Class III white respondents agreed to some degree with the statement 67.0 per cent of Class III blacks agreed to some degree. On the other hand 22.6 per cent of the blacks disagree to some degree but only 5.4 per cent of
A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 10: America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I AGREE</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very much</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty much</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>39.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DISAGREE</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty much</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very much</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\lambda)</td>
<td>21.9095</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.6168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P)</td>
<td>&gt;.001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(df)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\lambda\) values for different classes:

- I and III Blacks: \(\lambda = 16.1485 P > .01\); \(df = 6\)
- II and IV Blacks: \(\lambda = 8.5957 P < .20\); \(df = 6\)
- I and III Whites: \(\lambda = 12.8412 P < .05\); \(df = 6\)
- II and IV Whites: \(\lambda = 11.7346 P > .05\); \(df = 6\)

\(^a\)All calculations are made from raw data.
the white respondents disagreed to some degree. Among those who agreed with the statement the modes were "I agree pretty much" (31.1 per cent) for blacks and "I agree very much" (45.8 per cent) for whites. The modes for those who disagreed with the statement were "I disagree very much" (19.8 per cent for blacks and 2.4 per cent for whites).

An examination of the responses for each of the classes shows significant differences between the races for all classes except Class V where the level of significance is only suggestive. The lowest percentage of blacks (48.3 per cent) and whites (77.1 per cent) who agreed to any degree with the statement was found in Class I and the highest percentage of agreement for whites (93.0 per cent) was in Class IV and Class V for blacks (79.3 per cent). But even in Class V where the differences between the races are only suggestive, the differences in the percentage of blacks and whites who agreed with the statement to any degree is 9.6 points. The same difference in Class I is 28.8 points. The modes of responses in Class I were 24.1 per cent of blacks who disagree "very much" and 41.7 per cent of whites who agree "pretty much." In Class II 39.8 per cent of whites agreed "pretty much" and 34.0 per cent of blacks did the same; 4.8 per cent of whites disagree "very much" but 17.0 per cent of blacks disagreed "very much." In Class IV 50.0 per cent of whites agreed "very much"
with the statement but only 26.4 per cent of blacks responded in that manner; 13.5 per cent of blacks disagreed "very much" as did 1.3 per cent of whites. In Class V, which exhibited the smallest level of difference between the races, 51.1 per cent of whites and 35.4 per cent of blacks agreed "very much" with the statement; 13.4 per cent of blacks and 2.2 per cent of whites disagreed "very much" (see Table 26).

Further analyses and comparisons of the responses of blacks and whites of different classes reveal that class position influences the responses as does race. This evidence again strongly suggests that blacks and whites view life in the United States of America from different perspectives.

The second statement of the PEC Scale is Item 13 in the questionnaire and the null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses to the statement that, "Generally speaking labor unions should become stronger and have more influence."

The data show that 38.7 per cent of Class III black respondents agreed in some degree with the statement and 49.1 per cent disagreed in some degree. Among Class III white respondents 9.0 per cent agreed to some degree and 88.0 per cent disagreed
to some degree. The differences between the two groups are significant at the .001 level (Λ = 63.2926, \( P < .001 \)), and the null hypothesis is rejected (see Table 27).

This striking difference between middle-class blacks and whites can be further seen with an examination of the modal responses: 13.2 per cent of blacks agreed "a little" with the statement and 4.2 per cent of whites did likewise; 73.5 per cent of whites disagreed "very much" with the statement but less than half (34.0 per cent) of blacks did. The differences exhibited by blacks and whites in Class III are repeated with little variance in each of the classes. The levels of difference are significant for each class except Class I where it is less than .10 and only suggestive.

Just as race makes a difference in the responses to the statement so does social class position for Classes II and IV for both blacks and whites, i.e., the differences expressed by those of the same race but of a different class (II or IV) are significant. This does not seem to be true of blacks of Classes I and III or for whites of Classes I and III.

In summary, it appears that the data for this statement indicate that when one considers social class differences within each racial group the differences are not significant when comparing Classes I and III but are significant when comparing
TABLE 27.--A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 13: Generally speaking labor unions should become stronger and have more influence.\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I AGREE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very much</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty much</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DON'T KNOW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DISAGREE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty much</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very much</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>63.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>(77)</td>
<td>(106)</td>
<td>(166)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\lambda) P</td>
<td>11.4273</td>
<td>&lt;.10</td>
<td>15.5830</td>
<td>&lt;.02</td>
<td>63.2926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\chi^2) (p)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I and III Blacks</td>
<td>(\lambda = 3.9355 \quad p&lt;.70; \quad \chi^2 = 3.7924 \quad p&gt;.70; \quad df = 6)</td>
<td>(\lambda = 19.7299 \quad p&gt;.001; \quad \chi^2 = 18.1486 \quad p&lt;.01; \quad df = 6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Blacks</td>
<td>(\lambda = 6.1494 \quad p&lt;.50; \quad \chi^2 = 6.7836 \quad p&gt;.30; \quad df = 6)</td>
<td>(\lambda = 22.7906 \quad p&lt;.001; \quad \chi^2 = 20.7574 \quad p&gt;.001; \quad df = 6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I and III Whites</td>
<td>(\lambda = 6.1494 \quad p&lt;.50; \quad \chi^2 = 6.7836 \quad p&gt;.30; \quad df = 6)</td>
<td>(\lambda = 22.7906 \quad p&lt;.001; \quad \chi^2 = 20.7574 \quad p&gt;.001; \quad df = 6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)All calculations are made from raw data.
Classes II and IV. The data also indicate that when one considers racial differences for each social class, the differences are significant for four classes and suggestive for one.

The third statement within the PEC Scale is Item 18 in the questionnaire and the null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses to the statement that, "In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't have to work for the money for eating and living."

Over fifty percent (51.9 per cent) of the black respondents in Class III disagreed in some degree with the statement while 41.5 per cent agreed in some degree. On the other hand 35.5 per cent of the white respondents disagreed but 60.8 per cent agreed with the statement. The data lead to the rejection of the null hypothesis (see Table 28).

Although 36.8 per cent of whites and 24.5 per cent of blacks of the middle class agreed "very much" with this statement almost twice as large of a percentage of blacks disagreed "very much" (42.4 per cent) as did whites (22.3 per cent) who did the same. In Class I 37.1 per cent of whites and 6.9 per cent of blacks agreed "very much" whereas 44.8 per cent of blacks and 20.8 per cent of whites disagreed "very much." The percentage
TABLE 2X. - A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 18: In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't have to work for the money for eating and living.\textsuperscript{a}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I Black</th>
<th>Class I White</th>
<th>Class I Total</th>
<th>Class II Black</th>
<th>Class II White</th>
<th>Class II Total</th>
<th>Class III Black</th>
<th>Class III White</th>
<th>Class III Total</th>
<th>Class IV Black</th>
<th>Class IV White</th>
<th>Class IV Total</th>
<th>Class V Black</th>
<th>Class V White</th>
<th>Class V Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I AGREE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DON'T KNOW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DISAGREE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a}All calculations are made from raw data.
of blacks who disagreed to any degree is more than double that of whites who disagreed to any degree. The reverse is true for those who agreed to any degree, i.e., the percentage for whites is almost two and one half times that for blacks who agreed to any degree. The pattern of a greater percentage of blacks disagreeing and whites agreeing with the statement is exhibited in each class except Class V where the responses between the races become very similar.

With the exception of differences between Classes II and IV among blacks, social class position does not appear to have significant influence on the responses within each racial group (see Table 28). As in the case of the previous two statements race seems to exert a greater influence on the responses than does social class.

The fourth statement (Item 20 in the questionnaire) of the PEC Scale and the related null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not differ significantly in their responses to the statement that, "A businessman who overcomes all competition on the road to success is a good model for all young people to admire and imitate."

An analysis of the data for Class III respondents reveals
that 43.5 per cent of the black sample disagreed with the statement to some degree and 46.2 per cent agreed with it to some degree. In the sample of white respondents, 44.0 per cent disagreed with the statement to some degree and 47.7 per cent agreed to some degree. The null hypothesis is rejected ($\lambda = 12.5024 \ P > .05$). (See Table 29).

Even though the total percentages of middle-class blacks and whites who agreed and disagreed with the statement are similar, the distribution of responses within each category vary with race. For example, 21.7 per cent of blacks and 14.5 per cent of whites agreed "very much" but more than twice the percentage of whites (19.3 per cent) as blacks (8.5 per cent) agreed "a little." Extreme negative opinions were expressed by 30.2 per cent of blacks and 27.1 per cent of whites; 5.7 per cent of blacks disagreed "pretty much" and twice that percentage of whites (12.0 per cent) disagreed "pretty much". So a closer analysis reveals that the racial differences are present in the responses between middle-class blacks and whites in reference to this statement.

The data for Classes I and V show no significant differences between blacks and whites but it is worth noting the almost complete reversal of opinions expressed by the two classes. In Class I blacks and whites disagreed (65.5 per cent and 58.3 per cent respectively) to some degree whereas in Class V 69.4 per cent
TABLE 23.—A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 20: A business man who overcomes all competition on the road to success is a good model for all young people to admire and imitate.\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I Black</th>
<th>Class I White</th>
<th>Class I Total</th>
<th>Class II Black</th>
<th>Class II White</th>
<th>Class II Total</th>
<th>Class III Black</th>
<th>Class III White</th>
<th>Class III Total</th>
<th>Class IV Black</th>
<th>Class IV White</th>
<th>Class IV Total</th>
<th>Class V Black</th>
<th>Class V White</th>
<th>Class V Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I AGREE</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very much</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>44.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty much</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>9.4</td>
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<td>7.8</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DISAGREE</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty much</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very much</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>N = 99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>99.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>λ = 2.6154</td>
<td>P = .90</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df = 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)All calculations are made from raw data.
of blacks and 57.8 per cent of whites agreed in some degree with the statement. This same inverse relationship of the percentage of those who disagree and those who agree holds for both blacks and whites as the analysis moves from Class I through Class V, even though the differences are not significant for Classes I or V and are only suggestive for Class II (see Table 29).

Analyses of class differences within each racial group indicate that differences are very significant for blacks and whites of Classes II and IV but differences are only suggestive for blacks and whites of Classes I and III. So between blacks and whites in Classes III and IV race seems to have exerted a significant influence on the responses and among blacks between Classes II and IV and among whites between Classes II and IV class seems to have exerted a significant influence on the responses. Thus the analyses of the data for this statement are different from the previous three in that neither race nor social class seems to have exerted enough influence to have consistently and significantly delineated the responses along racial or social class lines.

The fifth and last statement (Item 24 in the questionnaire) of the PEC Scale and related null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house
types will not differ significantly in their responses to the statement that, "In order to protect the health of the nation Congress should pass some kind of law which would help everyone with medical bills."

(It should be noted that this survey was conducted before either Medicare or Medicaid had been passed by Congress.)

The data pertaining to this statement show that of middle-class respondents, 68.8 per cent of blacks and 30.0 per cent of whites agreed with the statement. Negative opinions were expressed by 24.5 per cent of the black sample and 65.7 per cent of the white. The level of difference is significant and the null hypothesis is rejected ($\lambda = 58.5628 \ P < .001$. See Table 30).

Among the middle-class respondents, 46.2 per cent of blacks agreed "very much" and 47.6 per cent of whites disagreed "very much", 13.2 per cent of blacks agreed "pretty much" and 13.2 per cent of whites disagreed "pretty much." In similar fashion, 20.8 per cent of blacks disagreed "very much" and 11.4 per cent of whites agreed "very much", 2.8 per cent of blacks disagreed "pretty much" and 8.4 per cent of whites agreed "pretty much."

It is rather apparent that race greatly influenced the expressed responses. Race exerts nearly as much influence on the responses in Classes II and IV as it does in Class III and even though it seemingly does the same in Classes I and V these differences must
TABLE 30. -- A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 24: In order to protect the health of the nation Congress should pass some kind of law which would help everyone with medical bills.\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I AGREE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very much</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty much</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>•</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>94.8</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>95.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I DISAGREE</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little</td>
<td>△</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty much</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very much</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>N = 99.9</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>(77)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>(83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(272)</td>
<td>(193)</td>
<td>(230)</td>
<td>(423)</td>
<td>(82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a = 4.6808</td>
<td>p = .50</td>
<td>df = 6</td>
<td>(\lambda = 5.6288)</td>
<td>p = .001</td>
<td>df = 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\chi^2\) and df values shown for each class comparison:
- I and III Blacks: \(\chi^2 = 9.5113, p < .20, df = 6\)
- II and IV Blacks: \(\chi^2 = 9.4998, p < .20, df = 6\)
- I and III Whites: \(\chi^2 = 3.6193, p > .70, df = 6\)
- II and IV Whites: \(\chi^2 = 19.0794, p < .01, df = 6\)

\(^a\)All calculations are made from raw data.
be statistically attributed to chance. The data in Table 30 also shows that as the analysis proceeds from Class I through Class V, the percentage of blacks who agree with this statement increases from 51.7 per cent in Class I to 80.5 per cent in Class V. This same pattern does not occur for whites. However, the total percentage of whites who agree with the statement does increase by 14.4 percentage points between Classes III and IV.

With the exception of Classes II and IV for whites, social class position does not appear to play a significant role in the responses given by blacks and whites of Classes I and III and by blacks of Classes II and IV.

Thus again the data indicates that for these statements and for this sample of blacks and whites, neither race nor social class seems to be strong enough or influential enough to consistently affect the responses of the sample. The variable which may consistently act as a determinant of these responses could certainly be an area of question for further research.

Since the statements which make up the PEC Scale have been considered separately they will now be analyzed as a unit, i.e., as the Scale. The null hypothesis is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will offer responses which are not significantly different in
regard to the Political Economic Conservatism Scale.

The PEC Scale used here is a slightly modified version of William Dobriner's who adopted and slightly modified the Adorno original.¹ For a comparison of all three see Appendix D.

The scoring used ranged from five to thirty-five. A low numerical score would place the respondent at the low end or liberal end of the continuum and a high numerical score would place him at the high or conservative end of the continuum.

As in all of the statistical analyses the log of likelihood ratio or lambda was used in addition to chi square. In order to make interpretations easier, the data were grouped into thirds--lower, middle, and upper. The lower would represent a liberal position and the upper a conservative one.

Analysis of the data for Class III blacks and whites show that 54.7 per cent of blacks scored in the "middle third" which is more than double the percentage of whites who scored there. Only 33.0 per cent of blacks scored at the "conservative" level whereas 78.9 per cent of whites have scores at that end of the continuum. Over 12 per cent of the blacks score at the "liberal" end of the continuum but only 0.6 per cent of whites are

found in the same area. The differences between blacks and whites of Class I are significant \((\lambda = 39.2395 \ P > .02)\) and an examination reveals that 20.7 per cent of blacks and 8.5 per cent of whites had "liberal" scores and 20.7 per cent of blacks and 61.7 per cent of whites had "conservative" scores. The majority of blacks scored in the "middle third" whereas over 60 per cent of whites had scores at the "conservative" end of the continuum.

The differences between blacks and whites of Class II are significant \((\lambda = 48.7712 \ P < .01)\) and 72.3 per cent of blacks scored in the "middle third" while 61.2 per cent of whites scored at the "conservative" end of the continuum. In Class IV the differences are very significant \((\lambda = 73.8142 \ P < .001)\) and 8.8 per cent of blacks and 4.8 per cent of whites scored at the "liberal" end of the continuum, 55.4 per cent of blacks and 35.2 per cent of whites scored in the "middle third", and 35.8 per cent of blacks and 60.0 per cent of whites scored at the "conservative" end. Even though the scores of blacks and whites in Class V are not significantly different, it still can be seen that there is a larger percentage of whites (48.9 per cent) who scored at the "conservative" end than there are of blacks (34.1 per cent). Also, there are no whites with scores at the "liberal" end while 12.2 per cent of blacks scored in this area (see Table 31).

Thus it can be seen that blacks tend to give responses on the
TABLE 31.—A comparison of the percentage of scores of blacks and whites on the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scores</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower third</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>(76)</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle third</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 - 22</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(166)</td>
<td>(120)</td>
<td>(286)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(160)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper third</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 - 35</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>61.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(106)</td>
<td>(130)</td>
<td>(236)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(130)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>N =</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>(76)</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\lambda=)</td>
<td>39.2395</td>
<td>48.7712</td>
<td>1114451</td>
<td>73.8142</td>
<td>29.3841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P=)</td>
<td>&gt;.02</td>
<td>&lt;.01</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(df=)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(a\) A high PEC score is indicative of a conservative approach to life.

\(b\) All calculations are made from raw data.
PEC Scale which are considered to be more "liberal" than those given by white respondents.
CHAPTER IX

THE INFLUENCE OF RACE ON MEMBERSHIP IN LABOR UNIONS AND THE INFLUENCE OF LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP ON SCORES ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM SCALE

The first of four null hypotheses under investigation in this chapter is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not have memberships in labor unions to a significantly different degree from each other.

Item number 51A explored this area: "Do you belong to a labor union? Yes_No_." The responses indicate that 55.7 per cent of Class III blacks answered in the negative as did 82.5 per cent of the white respondents. Thus the differences are significant and the null hypothesis is rejected ($\chi^2 = 23.9182$, $P < .001$). A large majority of Class III respondents do belong to labor unions (see Table 32) but a much larger percentage of Class III blacks (42.4) have labor union memberships than do whites (15.7).

An examination of the classes reveals that race exerts a significant influence on union membership in Classes I, II,
### TABLE 32

A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 51A: Do you belong to a labor union?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>68.1</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>90.8</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N =</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>(76)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>(83)</td>
<td>(130)</td>
<td>(106)</td>
<td>(166)</td>
<td>(272)</td>
<td>(193)</td>
<td>(230)</td>
<td>(423)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \lambda = 5.1713, P > .02; \quad \text{df} = 1 \]

\[ \lambda = 6.1434, P > .01; \quad \text{df} = 1 \]

\[ \lambda = 23.9182, P < .001; \quad \text{df} = 1 \]

\[ \lambda = 3.1336, P < .10; \quad \text{df} = 1 \]

\[ \lambda = 2.1858, P > .10; \quad \text{df} = 1 \]

\[ \lambda = 11.8836, P < .001; \quad \text{df} = 1 \]

\[ \lambda = 8.3924, P < .01; \quad \text{df} = 1 \]

\[ \lambda = 39.2330, P < .001; \quad \text{df} = 1 \]

---

All calculations are made from raw data.
and III and has suggestive influence in Classes IV and V. However there does not appear to be a discernible relationship between social class position and labor union membership. One might suspect that union membership would be inversely related to social class position but the data does not support this unless Class I were to be ignored. Just as in Class III and with the exception of Class I, it can be seen that a larger percentage of blacks than whites are members of labor unions. When comparing social classes I with III and II with IV within each racial group the data show that class does not have a significant influence on union membership for either blacks or whites (see Table 32).

The second null hypothesis dealing with the influence of race on labor union membership is: Middle-class blacks and whites living in the same general area of Chicago but in segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types will not have had past memberships in labor unions to a significantly different degree from each other.

Item number 51B explored this area: "Have you ever belonged to a labor union? Yes_No_." The data reveal that 23.6 per cent of middle-class blacks and 52.4 per cent of middle-class whites have never belonged to a labor union, thereby rejecting the null hypothesis \( \chi^2 = 17.2606 \ P < .001 \). (See Table 33). Almost 23 (22.6) per cent of blacks and 10.8 per cent of whites
TABLE 33.--A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 51B: Have you ever belonged to a labor union?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>N = 100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>N = 100</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 10.1029 \quad P < .001 \]
\[ \chi^2 = 8.2919 \quad P < .01 \]
\[ \chi^2 = 17.2606 \quad P < .001 \]
\[ \chi^2 = 5.6762 \quad P > .02 \]
\[ \chi^2 = 1.006 \quad P > .80 \]

Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>[ \chi^2 ]</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I and III Blacks</td>
<td>0.3997</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Blacks</td>
<td>2.9191</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I and III Whites</td>
<td>3.8996</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II and IV Whites</td>
<td>19.6062</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(a\) All calculations are made from raw data.
did not respond to this question. This was anticipated because the first part of Item 51 inquired about present membership in labor unions so if a person responded positively to 51A it possibly can be assumed that he would think it unnecessary to answer 51B. Since there are moderately high percentages of "no answer" responses in each of the classes, cautious interpretations would seem to be in order for the following analyses pertaining to Item 51B. Casual observation reveals that with the exceptions of Classes IV and V, much larger percentages of blacks than whites have had past memberships in labor unions. Statistical analyses seemingly would substantiate that significant differences do exist between the races in this regard. Lambda indicates that no significant differences are exhibited in Class V, but in Class IV (probably because of the rather large percentage (33.3) of "no answer" responses) analysis does not indicate a similarity of response between the races and would mislead a casual observer.

A comparison of Classes I with III and II with IV within each racial group shows that class position exerts a significant influence on the responses of whites of these classes; a suggestive influence for blacks of Classes II and IV; but no significant influence on blacks of Classes I and II (see Table 33).

In order to improve the chances for an accurate interpretation of the data from items 51A: "Do you belong to a labor
union now?"; and 51B: "Have you ever belonged to a labor union?," the two were combined and statistically analyzed in Table 34. It can be seen that in every class a larger percentage of whites than of blacks have never been a member of a labor union; that with the exception of Class V, a larger percentage of blacks than of whites in each class are not members of labor unions now but were members in the past; that in every class, a larger percentage of blacks are now members of labor unions and have been members of labor unions in the past, and finally, that in every class, a larger percentage of blacks than whites are members of labor unions now. Thus, it can be concluded that blacks tend to belong to and to have had memberships in labor unions more than whites. This conclusion is consistent with those stated after Items 51A and 51B were examined separately.

An analysis of class differences within each racial group shows that, with the exception of Classes I and III for blacks social class position does seem to exert a significant influence on the responses given. This conclusion is not totally consistent with that offered earlier for Item 51A (see Tables 32 and 34).

Data were used to determine the relationship of scores on the PEC Scale and membership in a labor union. The third null hypothesis is: Middle-class persons living in the same general area of Chicago but in racially segregated census tracts
TABLE 34.--A comparison of the percentage of black and white responses to item number 51A: Do you belong to a labor union now?; and to item number 51B: Have you ever belonged to a labor union?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never have been a member of a labor union</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not a member of a labor union now but was a member in the past</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A member of a labor union now and have been one in the past</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presently a member of a labor union</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda &= 15.2727 \\
p &= .001 \\
df &= 3
\end{align*}

\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda &= 16.3850 \\
p &= .001 \\
df &= 3
\end{align*}

\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda &= 34.4234 \\
p &= .001 \\
df &= 5
\end{align*}

\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda &= 15.3904 \\
p &= .02 \\
df &= 6
\end{align*}

\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda &= 7.1935 \\
p &= .30 \\
df &= 6
\end{align*}

\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda &= 5.7646, p > .10; \\
df &= 3
\end{align*}

\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda &= 16.8534, p < .01; \\
df &= 6
\end{align*}

\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda &= 14.7769, p > .01; \\
df &= 5
\end{align*}

\[
\begin{align*}
\lambda &= 48.0292, p < .001; \\
df &= 5
\end{align*}

\text{a} \text{All calculations are made from raw data.}
with similar house values and house types and are members of labor unions will not exhibit significantly different scores on the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale than those respondents who are not members of labor unions.

While 14.1 per cent of union members gave responses to the PEC Scale statements which could be considered "liberal" only 2.0 per cent of the non-union members gave "liberal" responses. On the other hand, 78.1 per cent of the non-union members gave "conservative" responses and 64.8 per cent of the union members did the same. The middle-third of responses on the continuum almost equally represented both groups--21.1 per cent of the union members and 19.9 per cent of the non-union members. Thus the data does not support the null hypothesis (χ = 27.9088 P < .01). (See Table 35).

Further analyses of the data for the other social classes do not reveal any consistent differences of response between members of labor unions and non-union members. With the exception of Class III and IV, the differences are not significant. In each class the majority of both union and non-union members recorded scores which can be interpreted as representing a "conservative" viewpoint on political and economic matters. The lowest percentage of responses given at the upper-third or "conservative" end of the continuum was 60.1 per cent for union members.
TABLE 35.--A comparison of the percentage of scores on the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale of labor union members and non-labor union members (item 51A).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PEC Scores&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Union</td>
<td>Non-Union</td>
<td>Union</td>
<td>Non-Union</td>
<td>Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower third</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 13</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle third</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 - 22</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper third</td>
<td>23 - 35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>N = 100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(69)</td>
<td>(76)</td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>(103)</td>
<td>(129)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>A high PEC score is indicative of a conservative approach to life.

<sup>b</sup>All calculations are made from raw data.
in Class IV. The highest percentage of responses given at the lower-third or "liberal" end of the continuum was 14.3 per cent for union members of Class I. So it would seem that labor union membership does not generally affect scores on the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale.

In conjunction with the above analysis, data were used to determine the relationship of scores on the PEC Scale and past membership or non-membership in labor unions. The final hypothesis is: Middle-class persons living in the same general area of Chicago but in racially segregated census tracts with similar house values and house types and who have had past membership in labor unions will not exhibit significantly different scores on the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale than those respondents who have never been members of labor unions.

The data show that 72.0 per cent of Class III past union members and 77.7 per cent of Class III respondents who have never been union members gave answers which could be interpreted as being "conservative". Only 5.9 per cent of middle-class past union members and 2.7 per cent of middle-class persons who have never been union members gave "liberal" answers on the PEC Scale. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected ($\lambda = 10.8878 \ P > .50$).
(See Table 36).

The data reveals no general significant difference of
TABLE 36.—A comparison of the percentage of scores on the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale respondents who have been members of labor unions in the past and respondents who have never been members of labor unions (item number 51B).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PEC Scoresa</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Class IV</th>
<th>Class V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past Never a</td>
<td>Past Never a</td>
<td>Past Never a</td>
<td>Past Never a</td>
<td>Past Never a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Union Union Member Member</td>
<td>Union Union Member Member</td>
<td>Union Union Member Member</td>
<td>Union Union Member Member</td>
<td>Union Union Member Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower third 5 - 13</td>
<td>10.3 13.3 12.2</td>
<td>12.0 4.8 8.0</td>
<td>5.9 2.7 4.3</td>
<td>5.0 4.9 5.0</td>
<td>6.1 10.0 6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle third 14 - 22</td>
<td>34.5 15.6 23.0</td>
<td>20.0 23.8 22.1</td>
<td>22.0 19.6 20.9</td>
<td>29.0 14.6 24.8</td>
<td>38.8 50.0 40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper third 23 - 35</td>
<td>55.2 71.1 64.9</td>
<td>68.0 71.4 69.9</td>
<td>72.0 77.7 74.8</td>
<td>66.0 80.5 70.2</td>
<td>55.1 40.0 52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL N =</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.1</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.0</td>
<td>99.9 100.0 100.0</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.0</td>
<td>100.0 100.0 100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(29) (45) (74)</td>
<td>(50) (63) (113)</td>
<td>(118) (112) (230)</td>
<td>(200) (82) (282)</td>
<td>(49) (10) (59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \lambda ) =</td>
<td>10.1512</td>
<td>23.1581</td>
<td>10.8878</td>
<td>25.0506</td>
<td>11.8674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( P ) =</td>
<td>&gt;.50</td>
<td>&gt;.02</td>
<td>&gt;.50</td>
<td>&gt;.02</td>
<td>&gt;.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df =</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a A high PEC score is indicative of a conservative approach to life.

b All calculations are made from raw data.
scores on the PEC Scale by past membership in labor unions. With the exception of the category of "never a union member" in Class V, each group in every class had over 55 per cent of the respondents scoring at the "conservative" end of the continuum.

Thus in summary it would appear that race does influence membership in labor unions to a significant degree but that membership, past or present, does not in general, significantly affect scores on the PEC Scale.

This conclusion is consistent with that of Adorno when in his analysis of Politico-Economic ideology and group memberships he concluded that "(Intra-class, individual, and group differences)... may be not so much questions of actual class or group membership as questions of class or group identification--and 'identification' is a psychological variable."¹

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

A Summary of the Differences Between Blacks and Whites of the Same Social Class

In Chapter I the problem was stated: "A review of the literature indicates that certain constellations of values and attitudes are attributable to people of given socio-economic categories." (See page 2). Thus, if one knows a person's socio-economic position, one can generally predict what things that person will value and what his attitudes will be about various subjects. Analyses of the data do not support this position when referring to blacks and whites of the same social class. Table 37 summarizes the levels of probability of lambda for all the tables which compared the responses of blacks and whites to selected items. The summary shows that of the 26 items involved—which dealt with racial matters, educational aspirations for children, political-economic liberalism conservatism, and labor union membership—the responses to a substantial percentage of them in each social class were significantly influenced by the race of the respondent.

In Class I race made a significant difference for 57.7 per cent of the items. In Class II 76.9 per cent of the items
TABLE 37.--A summary of the levels of probability of lambda for tables which compared the responses of blacks and whites to selected items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables and Items</th>
<th>Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. If colored people from the South would stop migrating to Chicago in such large numbers, the ones who are here now would have better opportunities.</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Colored people would prefer to live only with colored people with the same values or outlooks on life.</td>
<td>P&gt;.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. If you wanted to move and you found an apartment building which had one vacancy, four white residents and one colored resident, all of whom had occupations similar to yours, would you move in?</td>
<td>P=.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four colored residents, and one white resident, all of whom had the same occupations as yours, would you move in?</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. A comparison of the responses to items 9 and 10 alone.</td>
<td>P&lt;.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tables and Items</td>
<td>Classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Please check two areas in which you feel that colored people experience the most discrimination in Chicago.</td>
<td>P&lt;.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&gt;.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. How would you rate the public elementary schools in your community?</td>
<td>P&lt;.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. How would you rate the public high schools in your community?</td>
<td>P&gt;.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&gt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&gt;.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&gt;.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&gt;.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Do you (did you) or would you send your children to a private elementary or high school?</td>
<td>P=.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Why do you (did you) or would you send your children to a private elementary or high school?</td>
<td>P&gt;.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&gt;.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. On what do you think the schools should place the most emphasis for your (female) children?</td>
<td>P=.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&gt;.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&gt;.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. On what do you think the schools should place the most emphasis for your (male) children?</td>
<td>P&lt;.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&gt;.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&gt;.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 37.—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables and Items</th>
<th>Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Put a check on the correct line to show the lowest level of education you would want for your (male) children.</td>
<td>P&lt;.05 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.05 P&lt;.001 P&gt;.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Put a check on the correct line to show the lowest level of education you would want for your (female) children.</td>
<td>P&lt;.10 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.001 P&gt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. If your (male) children go to college, how do you expect it will be paid for?</td>
<td>P&lt;.70 P&lt;.70 P&lt;.20 P&lt;.02 P&gt;.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. If your (female) children go to college, how do you expect it will be paid for?</td>
<td>P&gt;.10 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.01 P&lt;.001 P&gt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Have you saved (or did you save) anything for your children's education?</td>
<td>P&lt;.001a P&lt;.30 P&gt;.05 P&gt;.50 P&lt;.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.</td>
<td>P&gt;.001 P&lt;.05 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aThis row of levels of probability are derived from tests of chi square.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables and Items</th>
<th>Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27. Generally speaking labor unions should become stronger and have more influence.</td>
<td>P&lt;.10 P&lt;.02 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.001 P&gt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't have to work for the money for eating and living.</td>
<td>P&gt;.02 P&lt;.05 P&lt;.01 P&lt;.01 P&lt;.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. A businessman who overcomes all competition on the road to success is a good model for all young people to admire and imitate.</td>
<td>P&lt;.90 P&lt;.10 P&gt;.05 P&gt;.02 P&gt;.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. In order to protect the health of the nation Congress should pass some kind of law which would help everyone with medical bills.</td>
<td>P&gt;.50 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.001 P&gt;.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Political-Economic Conservatism Scale</td>
<td>P&gt;.02 P&lt;.01 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.001 P&gt;.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Do you belong to a labor union?</td>
<td>P&gt;.02 P&gt;.01 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.10 P&gt;.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Have you ever belonged to a labor union?</td>
<td>P&gt;.001 P&lt;.01 P&lt;.001 P&gt;.02 P&lt;.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. A comparison of the responses to items 32 and 33 above.</td>
<td>P&gt;.001 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.001 P&lt;.02 P&gt;.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tables and Items</td>
<td>Classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of cases where race significantly influenced the responses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = (15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of cases where race did not significantly influence the responses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = (11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL = 100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = (26)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
were so influenced, 84.6 per cent in Classes III and IV, and 42.3 per cent in Class V. The class then that offered the greatest similarity of responses between the races to the total number of items was Class V. The classes which exhibited the highest percentages of dissimilarities of responses to the 26 items are Classes III and IV.

Further analysis of Table 37 according to categories of items reveals that in matters dealing specifically with race, race significantly influenced the responses. The only exception is Class I, where only one item was not significantly influenced by race (see Table 38). In matters dealing with the education of the respondents' children, the polarization is not as extreme but race did make a significant difference. Eleven items were involved and in Class IV 72.7 per cent of the items exhibited significant differences which can be primarily attributed to the race of the respondent. In Classes III, 63.6 per cent, II, 45.4 per cent, V, 36.4 per cent, and I, 36.3 per cent of the items were so influenced (see Table 39). Thus it would seem that on items dealing with the education of their children, black and white respondents in this sample were in agreement more than on items dealing with racial matters.

Table 40 is a summary of the data from tables comparing the responses of blacks and whites of each class in reference to
TABLE 38.—A summary of the levels of probability of lambda for tables which compared the responses of blacks and whites to items referring to racial matters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables</th>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>P&gt;.02</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>P=.01</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.02</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>P&lt;.10</td>
<td>P&lt;.01</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where race significantly influenced the responses. 
N = 83.3

Percentage of cases where race did not significantly influence the responses. 
N = 16.7

TOTAL = 100.0
N = 100.0

TABLE 39.—A summary of the levels of probability of lambda for tables which compared the responses of blacks and whites to items referring to the education of their children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables</th>
<th>Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>( P &lt; .20 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>( P &gt; .50 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>( P &lt; .20 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>( P &gt; .30 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>( P &gt; .05 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>( P &lt; .02 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>( P &lt; .05 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>( P &lt; .10 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>( P &gt; .70 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>( P &gt; .10 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>( P &lt; .001 )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where race significantly influenced the responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where race did not significantly influence the responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>63.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL = 100.0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{a}\)This row of levels of probability are derived from tests of chi square.
TABLE 40.--A summary of the levels of probability of lambda for tables which compared the responses of blacks and whites to items referring to Political-Economic Conservatism and to the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables</th>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &gt; .001$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .05$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .001$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .001$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .10$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &lt; .10$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .02$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .001$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .001$</td>
<td>$P &gt; .01$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &gt; .02$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .05$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .01$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .01$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .10$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &lt; .90$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .10$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .05$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .02$</td>
<td>$P &gt; .70$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &gt; .50$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .001$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .001$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .001$</td>
<td>$P &gt; .20$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &gt; .02$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .01$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .001$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .001$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .20$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where race significantly influenced the responses.  
50.0  83.3  100.0  100.0  16.7  
$N = (3) (5) (6) (6) (1)$

Percentage of cases where race did not significantly influence the responses.  
50.0  16.7  .  .  83.3  
$N = (3) (1) . . (5)$

TOTAL = 99.9  100.0  100.0  100.0  100.0  
$N = (6) (6) (6) (6) (6)$
political-economic liberalism conservatism and the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale. Six items are involved and race significantly related to the responses to those items in each case in Classes III and IV. In Class II the same was true in 83.3 per cent of the cases and in Class I 50.0 per cent of the cases. Data for Classes I and V indicate that 83.3 per cent and 50.0 per cent, respectively, of the items are not significantly influenced by the race of the respondents (see Table 40). So in three out of five classes race significantly influences the responses as compared to all of the classes for items dealing with racial matters, and two of five of the classes of items referring to education for their children.

Finally, for items dealing with membership in labor unions, race was of significant influence for all three items for each class except for Class IV, where two of three were so influenced, and Class V where none of the three were so influenced (See Table 41).

In summary then it can be seen that, as was already stated, of the 26 items shown in the summary tables, the responses of a substantial percentage of them in each social class was significantly influenced by the race of the respondent. The rank order in which this was most evident is as follows: (1) items dealing with race; (2) membership in labor unions; (3) political-economic conservatism; (4) items referring to the education of
TABLE 41.--A summary of the levels of probability of lambda for tables which compared the responses of blacks and whites to items referring to labor union membership.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables</th>
<th>Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>$P &gt; .02$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>$P &gt; .001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>$P &gt; .001$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where race significantly influenced the responses. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$N =$</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where race did not significantly influence the responses. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$N =$</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL = 100.0  100.0  100.0  99.9  100.0

$N =$ (3)  (3)  (3)  (3)  (3)
the respondent's children. Since the primary focus of this re-
search is the middle class (Class III) and the similarities and
dissimilarities of blacks and whites in that class, it should be
especially noted that in Table 37, which is a summary of all the
items where the responses were compared according to race, 84.6
per cent of the responses to those items were significantly
related to race. Race had a significant and decisive influence
in each of the four categories. With the exception of the cate-
gory concerned with education for their children the percentage
of items influenced by race in Class III was 100.0 per cent, the
percentage for the category dealing with education was 63.6.

In view of this data it would appear that race makes a
significant difference in the responses when comparing certain
values, attitudes, opinions, and behavior patterns of middle-
class blacks and whites and indeed generally for all blacks and
whites in this sample. So even in 1963, immediately prior to
the assassination of President John F. Kennedy or the Watts
riot of 1965 or the introduction of the cry of "black power" in
Mississippi in 1966, a sample of blacks in Chicago expressed
themselves in ways which were significantly different from whites
who responded to the same questionnaire and had socio-economic
characteristics which were extremely similar to their own.
A Summary of the Differences Between Persons of the Same Race but of Different Social Classes

In addition to the question of similarities and dissimilarities between blacks and whites is the question of similarities and dissimilarities of persons of the same race but of different social classes. In order to determine the degree to which these differences existed, responses to selected items were compared between Classes I and III and Classes II and IV within each racial group. Whereas the data just discussed focussed on racial differences, these data examine class differences.

Table 42 summarizes the data from other tables. It can be seen that of the 24 items in this table, social class position did not have a significant influence in 83.3 per cent of the cases when blacks of Class I were compared to blacks of Class III; the same was true for whites in 70.8 per cent of the cases. When comparing Class II to Class IV, 50.0 per cent of the cases for blacks were not significantly influenced by social class position but 54.2 per cent of the cases for whites were significantly influenced by social class position. Thus social class position seemingly had significantly different influences on the responses to these items for Classes I and III but not significantly different for Classes II and IV.

An analysis of those items dealing with racial matters reveals that when comparing Classes I and III, 80.0 per cent and
### TABLE 42.--A summary of the levels of probability of lambda for tables which compared the responses of persons of the same race but of different social classes (I with III and II with IV).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables and Items</th>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>I with III</th>
<th>II with IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>Blacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. If colored people from the South would stop migrating to Chicago in such large numbers, the ones who are here now would have better opportunities.</td>
<td>P &gt; .10 P &lt; .20</td>
<td>P &lt; .20 P &gt; .02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Colored people would prefer to live only with colored people with the same values or outlooks on life.</td>
<td>P &gt; .98 P &lt; .20</td>
<td>P &gt; .001 P &lt; .10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four white residents and one colored resident, all of whom had occupations similar to yours, would you move in?</td>
<td>P &lt; .70 P &lt; .05</td>
<td>P &lt; .30 P &lt; .05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four colored residents, and one white resident, all of whom had the same occupations as yours, would you move in?</td>
<td>P &lt; .70 P &lt; .01</td>
<td>P &lt; .30 P &lt; .10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Please check two areas in which you feel that colored people experience the most discrimination in Chicago.</td>
<td>P &lt; .02 P &lt; .10</td>
<td>P &gt; .01 P &lt; .01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. How would you rate the public elementary schools in your community?</td>
<td>P &lt; .10 P &lt; .50</td>
<td>P &lt; .30 P &lt; .10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. How would you rate the public high schools in your community?</td>
<td>P &gt; .30 P &lt; .20</td>
<td>P &lt; .10 P &lt; .001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 42.--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables</th>
<th>Classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I with III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blacks Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Do you (did you) or would you send your children to a private elementary or high school?</td>
<td>$P &gt; .70$ $P &gt; .50$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Why do you (did you) or would you send your children to a private elementary or high school?</td>
<td>$P &lt; .50$ $P &gt; .20$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. On what do you think the schools should place the most emphasis for your (female) children?</td>
<td>$P &lt; .70$ $P &lt; .20$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. On what do you think the schools should place the most emphasis for your (male) children?</td>
<td>$P &lt; .20$ $P &lt; .01$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Put a check on the correct line to show the lowest level of education you would want for your (male) children.</td>
<td>$P &gt; .50$ $P &gt; .50$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Put a check on the correct line to show the lowest level of education you would want for your (female) children.</td>
<td>$P &lt; .05$ $P &lt; .30$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. If your (male) children go to college, how do you expect it will be paid for?</td>
<td>$P = .90$ $P &gt; .30$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. If your (female) children go to college, how do you expect it will be paid for?</td>
<td>$P &lt; .70$ $P &lt; .70$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Have you saved (or did you save) anything for your children's education?</td>
<td>$P &gt; .30^a$ $P &gt; .10$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$This row of levels of probability are derived from tests of chi square.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables and Items</th>
<th>Classes</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I with III</td>
<td>II with IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>Whites</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. American may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.</td>
<td>P &gt; .10</td>
<td>P &lt; .05</td>
<td>P &gt; .20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Generally speaking labor unions should become stronger and have more influence.</td>
<td>P &lt; .70</td>
<td>P &lt; .50</td>
<td>P &gt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't have to work for the money for eating and living.</td>
<td>P &gt; .10</td>
<td>P &gt; .70</td>
<td>P &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. A businessman who overcomes all competition on the road to success is a good model for all young people to admire and imitate.</td>
<td>P &gt; .10</td>
<td>P &gt; .10</td>
<td>P &lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. In order to protect the health of the nation Congress should pass some kind of law which would help everyone with medical bills.</td>
<td>P &lt; .20</td>
<td>P &gt; .70</td>
<td>P &lt; .20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Do you belong to a labor union?</td>
<td>P &gt; .02</td>
<td>P &lt; .01</td>
<td>P &lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Have you ever belonged to a labor union?</td>
<td>P &lt; .90</td>
<td>P &lt; .05</td>
<td>P &lt; .10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. A comparison of the responses to items 32 and 33 above.</td>
<td>P &gt; .10</td>
<td>P &gt; .01</td>
<td>P &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 42.--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>I with III</th>
<th>II with IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of cases where social class position of persons of the same race significantly influenced the responses.</td>
<td>16.7 (4) 29.2 (7)</td>
<td>50.0 (12) 54.2 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>83.3 (20) 70.8 (17)</td>
<td>50.0 (12) 45.8 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0 (24) 100.0 (24)</td>
<td>100.0 (24) 100.0 (24)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
60.0 per cent (for blacks and whites respectively) of the items were not significantly influenced by class position. When comparing Classes II and IV, only 40.0 per cent of the items for both blacks and whites were so influenced (see Table 43).

Table 44 summarizes data about the educational aspirations the respondents have for their children. Eleven items were involved and a comparison of Class I with Class III reveals that only one each for blacks and whites was significantly influenced by social class position. A comparison of Class II with Class IV shows that 50.0 per cent of the items for blacks and 27.3 per cent for whites were so influenced.

Comparative analysis of responses to items referring to political-economic conservatism (Table 45) for Classes I and III reveals that class did not exert a significant influence on 80.0 per cent of those responses for either blacks or whites; when comparing Class II to Class IV 40.0 per cent of the items for blacks and 20.0 per cent of the items for whites were not significantly influenced. The similarities between Tables 43 and 45 for blacks should be noted. The former deals with racial matters and the latter with political-economic conservatism but the numbers of items are the same (5) and the percentages for items significantly influenced and not significantly influenced by class are the same. The same is not true for whites.
TABLE 43.—A summary of the levels of probability of lambda for tables which compared the responses of persons of the same race but of different social classes (I with III and II with IV) to items referring to racial matters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables</th>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>I with III</th>
<th>II with IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>Blacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>P&gt;.10 P&lt;.20</td>
<td>P&lt;.20</td>
<td>P&gt;.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>P&gt;.98 P&lt;.20</td>
<td></td>
<td>P&gt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>P&lt;.70 P&lt;.05</td>
<td>P&lt;.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>P&lt;.70 P&lt;.01</td>
<td>P&lt;.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>P&lt;.02 P&lt;.10</td>
<td>P&gt;.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where social class position of persons of the same race significantly influenced the responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I with III</th>
<th>II with IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where social class position of persons of the same race did not significantly influence the responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I with III</th>
<th>II with IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL = 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0
N = (5) (5) (5) (5)
TABLE 44.--A summary of the levels of probability of lambda for tables which compared the responses of persons of the same race but of different social classes (I with III and II with IV) to items referring to the education of their children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables</th>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>I with III</th>
<th>II with IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &lt; .10$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .50$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &gt; .30$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .20$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &gt; .70$</td>
<td>$P &gt; .50$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &lt; .50$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .20$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &lt; .70$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .20$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &lt; .20$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .01$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &lt; .50$</td>
<td>$P &gt; .50$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &lt; .05$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .30$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P = .90$</td>
<td>$P &gt; .30$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &lt; .70$</td>
<td>$P &lt; .70$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>$P &gt; .30$</td>
<td>$P &gt; .10$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where social class position of persons of the same race significantly influenced the responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I with III</th>
<th>II with IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$N =$</td>
<td>$N =$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where social class position of persons of the same race did not significantly influence the responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I with III</th>
<th>II with IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$N =$</td>
<td>$N =$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>72.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$N =$</td>
<td>$N =$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$This row of levels of probability are derived from tests of chi square.
TABLE 45.—A summary of the levels of probability of lambda for tables which compared the responses of persons of the same race but of different social classes (I with III and II with IV) to items referring to Political-Economic Conservatism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables</th>
<th>I with III</th>
<th>II with IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>P &gt; .01</td>
<td>P &lt; .05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>P &lt; .70</td>
<td>P &lt; .50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>P &gt; .10</td>
<td>P &gt; .70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>P &gt; .10</td>
<td>P &gt; .10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>P &lt; .20</td>
<td>P &gt; .70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where social class position of persons of the same race significantly influenced the responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I with III</th>
<th>II with IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where social class position of persons of the same race did not significantly influence the responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I with III</th>
<th>II with IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N =</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL = 100.0  100.0  100.0  100.0
N = (5)  (5)  (5)  (5)
In reference to union membership it can be seen in Table 46 that a comparison of Classes I and III shows that two out of three items for blacks were not significantly influenced by social class position; all of the items were so influenced for whites. When comparing Classes II and IV, it can be seen that two of three items for blacks and all three items for whites were significantly influenced by class position.

In summary, a review of Tables 43, 44, and 45 shows that when comparing Class I to Class III, responses to items by both blacks and whites were not as significantly influenced by class position as were those responses by blacks and whites when comparing Classes II and IV.

A Summary of Findings About Labor Union Membership and Scores on the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale

The analyses of data presented in Tables 35 and 36 reveal that although persons who were non-union members and those who had never been a member of a labor union tended to have higher percentages of scores at the conservative end of the Political-Economic Conservatism Scale than persons who are members or past members of labor unions, the differences are not significant.
TABLE 46.—A summary of the levels of probability of lambda for tables which compared the responses of persons of the same race but of different social classes (I with III and II with IV) to items referring to labor union membership.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables</th>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>I with III</th>
<th>II with IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P &gt; .02</td>
<td>P &lt; .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td>P &lt; .90</td>
<td>P &lt; .05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td>P &gt; .10</td>
<td>P &gt; .01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of cases where social class position of persons of the same race significantly influenced the responses.  

|        |        | 33.3 | 100.0 | 66.6 | 100.0 |
|        | N =    | (1)  | (3)   | (2)  | (3)   |

Percentage of cases where social class position of persons of the same race did not significantly influence the responses.  

|        |        | 66.6 | .     | 33.3 | .     |
|        | N =    | (2)  | (1)   |      |       |

| TOTAL  |        | 99.9 | 100.0 | 99.9 | 100.0 |
| N =    |        | (3)  | (3)   | (3)  | (3)   |
Conclusion

Analyses of the data have indicated that blacks and whites do not share similar behavior patterns, attitudes, opinions, aspirations for their children, and values. The races have different approaches from different racial perspectives. This conclusion is true of a sample that is composed of persons who own or are buying their homes and it is drawn from data accumulated two years before the first of the ghetto riots of the 1960's and three years before the emergence of "black power." So even when the same criteria for socio-economic characteristics and for social class are applied in the same way to both blacks and whites, the spectre of race and its sinister connotations are very much apparent in the expressions of the effects of those connotations for both blacks and whites. The effects and expressions of such, of course, are not the same and it is difficult for any criteria of socio-economic position to accurately weigh these in order to reach a state where middle class would mean middle class in all respects without regard to race. Thus the theory that social class position would have a more significant influence than caste on responses to selected statements is not supported by data in this research.
Suggestions for Further Research

The data show that race is a differentiating factor in attitudes, values, opinions, and behavior patterns when socio-economic level is controlled. Some rather distinct preceptions or approaches to life along racial lines are documented and future research should test these same null hypotheses in order to determine if any changes have occurred in the ways blacks and whites view the world. Also, the thrust of the "black revolution" has greatly maximized racial identification and minimized socio-economic differences, therefore research should examine the effects of this on policy questions of community control of schools and police, political identification, economic self determination and greater participation in the economic life of this country.

The whole question of cultural deprivation can also be subjected to research, because implicit in the term is the belief that blacks who are economically poor have different approaches to life, solely because of their economic status. This research has called this into question because these respondents were home owners and were not "culturally deprived" in the sense that the term is usually used, yet did exhibit an outlook on life that was significantly different from whites who possessed those same objective socio-economic criteria for social class positions. Some of the data collected for this research could possibly be
used as the basis for comparative research purposes in some of these areas.
November 2, 1963

Dear Sir:

We are trying to find out what the residents of the city of Chicago feel and think about a number of important social questions.

We are sure you will find the enclosed survey interesting. You will find in it many questions and social issues which you have thought about, read about in newspapers and magazines, and heard about on the radio.

It must be emphasized that we do not necessarily agree or disagree with the statements in this survey. We have tried to cover a great many points of view. Similarly, you will probably find that you agree with some statements, disagree just as strongly with others, and are perhaps more neutral about still others.

We realize that you are probably busy, and we don't want to take too much of your time. All we ask is that you:

a. Read each statement carefully and mark it according to your first reaction. It is not necessary to take a lot of time for any one question.

b. Answer every question.

c. Give your personal point of view. Don't talk the questions over with anyone until you have finished.

d. Be as sincere, accurate, and complete as possible in the limited space.

This survey works like a Gallup Poll or an election; do not give your name, address, or phone number.

This survey is being conducted to satisfy educational requirements at Loyola University and it will be greatly appreciated and very beneficial to us if you would return it as quickly as possible. It is important that we get your opinions while the issues are still current.

If you have any questions about the authenticity of this survey, please do not hesitate to contact the Department of Sociology at Loyola University, phone: Whitehall 4-0800, address: 820 North Michigan Avenue.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Neal

James R. Neal
Dear Sir:

Last week you received a questionnaire in the mail which was designed to evaluate how Chicagoans feel and think about certain important social questions.

Perhaps you found the questionnaire interesting and would like more time to record your reactions to it. However, since this project is being conducted to satisfy certain educational requirements, we must impress upon you the necessity of completing and returning it immediately so that we might meet an academic deadline.

If you have completed the questionnaire and returned it, we would again like to extend our sincere thanks and appreciation for your time and prompt attention. If you have not completed and returned the questionnaire, may we again remind you that the material is strictly confidential and absolutely anonymous. There is no possible way for us to identify which individual has completed what questionnaire, a reason why it is necessary for us to send reminder letters to our total sample of Chicagoans.

Again, if you have not completed and returned the questionnaire and you have doubts about the authenticity of the survey, do not hesitate to contact the Department of Sociology at Loyola, phone Whitehall 4-0800.

May I thank you again for your time and consideration.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Neal
Director of Research
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
LEWIS TOWERS • 820 N. MICHIGAN AVENUE
Chicago 11, Illinois

November 18, 1963

Department of Sociology

Dear Sir:

May we again extend our sincere appreciation to all those persons who have been so generous with their time and who have returned their questionnaires.

We would like, at this time to request that those persons who have not as yet had the opportunity to return their questionnaires please do so; if it is at all possible, we would appreciate having them this week.

May we again state that the questionnaire is completely anonymous and that a certain number must be returned for academic requirements. A stamped return envelope was enclosed with the questionnaire to facilitate its return.

Again, thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Neal
Director of Research
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

Please do NOT write your name, address, or phone number anywhere on this questionnaire.

1. How long have you lived in Chicago?
   _____ years
   _____ months

2. How long have you lived in this house?
   _____ years
   _____ months

3. How long do you plan to live in this house?
   _____ years
   _____ months
   _____ indefinitely

4. If you were going to move, where would you like to move?
   a. If in Chicago, please state exactly where.

   b. If outside Chicago, please state exactly where.

5. How many children were ever born to you?
   (Please circle the correct number.)
   0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

6. What are the ages of your living children?
   Males
   Females

7. With the exception of your spouse and children, are there other persons living in your home? (Please do not count visitors.)
   _____ yes  _____ no

   a. How many others?
   b. How many are related to you?
   c. Please explain how they are related to you.
If you attended high school where did you attend?
City: __________________________, State: __________________________

What is (or was) your main occupation?
(Please state the type of business and your exact position, for example, shoe salesman for a small department store in the Loop.)

a. If you have (or had) a second occupation, please specify what it is (or was).

b. If you have (or had) a third occupation, please specify what it is (or was).

Please indicate your reaction to the following statements by checking (✓) one of the categories.

10. America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.
   I agree very much____  pretty much____  a little____
   I don't know____
   I disagree very much____  pretty much____  a little____

11. Something would have to be psychologically wrong with a married person who would not want to see his living parents at least once every six months.
   I agree very much____  pretty much____  a little____
   I don't know____
   I disagree very much____  pretty much____  a little____

12. In most cases old parents would enjoy life better in a home for old people like themselves.
   I agree very much____  pretty much____  a little____
   I don't know____
   I disagree very much____  pretty much____  a little____
13. Generally speaking labor unions should become stronger and have more influence.
   I agree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___
   I don't know ___
   I disagree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___

14. In order to get better working conditions and higher salaries, white collar workers should join labor unions.
   I agree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___
   I don't know ___
   I disagree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___

15. If colored people from the South would stop migrating to Chicago in such large numbers, the ones who are here now would have better opportunities.
   I agree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___
   I don't know ___
   I disagree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___

16. It seems to me that the world is getting to be a worse and worse place in which to live.
   I agree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___
   I don't know ___
   I disagree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___

17. Parents should be willing to help their children financially if they need it.
   I agree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___
   I don't know ___
   I disagree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___

18. In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't have to work for the money for eating and living.
   I agree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___
   I don't know ___
   I disagree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___

19. Every man should do his best to buy his own home.
   I agree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___
   I don't know ___
   I disagree very much ___ pretty much ___ a little ___
A business man who overcomes all competition on the road to success is a good model for all young people to admire and imitate.

I agree very much __  pretty much __  a little __
I don't know __
I disagree very much __  pretty much __  a little __

Every child should be taught to respect and recognize some Supreme Being who is far superior to man.

I agree very much __  pretty much __  a little __
I don't know __
I disagree very much __  pretty much __  a little __

Since we have enough problems to take care of on earth, we should not be sending rockets into outer space and to other planets.

I agree very much __  pretty much __  a little __
I don't know __
I disagree very much __  pretty much __  a little __

Colored people would prefer to live only with colored people with the same values or outlooks on life.

I agree very much __  pretty much __  a little __
I don't know __
I disagree very much __  pretty much __  a little __

In order to protect the health of the nation Congress should pass some kind of law which would help everyone with medical bills.

I agree very much __  pretty much __  a little __
I don't know __
I disagree very much __  pretty much __  a little __

Please answer the following questions as if you had children of both sexes, even if you are childless.

What occupation would you like your children to have? (Please check only one category for each sex.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male(s)</th>
<th>Female(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>__________ Any occupation better than mine.________</td>
<td>25m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>__________ Any occupation in my type of work.________</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>__________ Any occupation they want.________</td>
<td>25f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If your children go to college, how do you expect it will be paid for? (Please check only one category for each sex.)

Male(s)  Female(s)
________ I expect to pay all expenses.__________
I expect to pay some
________ of the expenses.
They will have to work
and pay all expenses.
________ They will not go to college.

Do you (did you) or would you send your children to private elementary or high school?

________ yes  ________ no

Why?

Have you saved (or did you save) anything for your children's education?

________ yes  ________ no  ________ no children

On what do you think the schools should place the most emphasis for your children? (Please check only one for each sex.)

Male(s)  Female(s)
________________ Being a good citizen.
________________ Getting along with other people.
________________ Reading, writing, and arithmetic.
________________ Preparation for an occupation.
________________ Cultural appreciation.
________________ Earning a good living.
________________ Being a well educated and informed person.
Put a check (✓) on the correct line to show the lowest level of education you would want for your children.
(Please put only one check in each column.)

Male(s)  Female(s)

Elementary School

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8

High School

9
10
11
12

College

1
2
3
4

Some graduate school but no degree

Master's degree

Some school work beyond Master's degree

Professional degree
(Doctor, Lawyer, Dentist)

Some school work beyond Professional degree

Doctoral degree
(Ph.D.)
Put a check (✓) on the correct line to show the highest school year or educational level completed by you and your father. (Please put only one check in each column.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>You</th>
<th>Your Father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some graduate school but no degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some school work beyond Master's degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional degree (Doctor, Lawyer, Dentist)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some school work beyond Professional degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral degree (Ph.D.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Please indicate your reaction to the following by checking (✓) one category.

32. If you were going to celebrate a very special occasion, would you do it at home or go out?

at home__________ out__________

a. If you were going to celebrate this special occasion by going out, would you go to the night clubs on Rush Street?

________ yes ______ no ______ don't know

33. How would you rate the public elementary schools in your community?

The job done is:

excellent____ good____ satisfactory____
poor____ very bad____ don't know____

34. How would you rate the public high schools in your community?

The job done is:

excellent____ good____ satisfactory____
poor____ very bad____ don't know____

35. If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four white residents and one colored resident, all of whom had occupations similar to yours, would you move in?

________ yes ______ no ______ don't know

a. If you wanted to move and you found an acceptable apartment building which had one vacancy, four colored residents and one white resident, all of whom had the same occupations as yours, would you move in?

________ yes ______ no ______ don't know

36. Please check one of the following:

I would accept public aid or relief payments
  if I were not able to find a job.____
  if I were not able to find a job I liked.____
  if I were not physically able to work.____
  if I had no other possible source of income.____

I would not accept public aid or relief payments under any circumstances.____
Please check two areas in which you feel that colored people experience the most discrimination in Chicago.

Educational opportunities
Occupational opportunities
Attending places of entertainment
Buying a good home
I don't think they experience discrimination.
I really don't know.

Please fill in the following blanks:

Your age at your last birthday
Where you were born: city state
Sex (male or female)
Marital status:
  single divorced
  married separated
  remarried widowed
Age at time of first marriage never married

Whom did you vote for in the 1960 presidential election?
  Richard Nixon I did not vote.
  John F. Kennedy
  Other (be specific):

  a. Whom did you vote for in the 1956 presidential election?
     Dwight Eisenhower I did not vote.
     Adlai Stevenson
     Other (be specific):

Religious affiliation:
  Baptist Methodist
  Catholic Presbyterian
  Congregationalist Unitarian
  Episcopalian None
  Jewish
  Lutheran
  Other (please be specific):

Please list three of the qualities you feel a young man must possess in order to really get ahead in the United States.

1. 
2. 
3. 

Do not write in this column.
42. Please check one:
   I am renting the house I live in.____
   I am buying the house I live in.____
   I own the house I live in.____

43. To which group do you belong?
   (Please check only one category.)
   Oriental (Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, etc.)____
   Negro____
   White____
   Other (please specify)__________________________

44. Please check the following items that you have:
   a. automobile(s)
      year(s) and make(s)_____________________
      ________________________________
      ________________________________
   b. maid
      yes____ no____
      If yes, how many times a week?____
   c. bathrooms
      one____
      one and one-half____
      two or more____

45. What was the most important single factor that enabled you to get your present job?


46. Which of the following do you feel is the most important for getting ahead in your occupation?
   Luck____
   Right connections____
   Competence in field____
47. If your wife works (or worked) what is (or was) her main occupation? (Please state the type of business and her exact position, for example, third grade teacher in Chicago public schools.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. full time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. part time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

48. What is your major source of income?

49. Please indicate the category into which your family's annual income falls for 1962. (Consider all sources, such as rents, profits, wages, interests, etc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Category</th>
<th>Amounts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>below $5,000</td>
<td>$13,000 - 13,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000 - 5,999</td>
<td>14,000 - 14,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,000 - 6,999</td>
<td>15,000 - 15,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,000 - 7,999</td>
<td>16,000 - 16,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,000 - 8,999</td>
<td>17,000 - 17,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,000 - 9,999</td>
<td>18,000 - 18,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 - 10,999</td>
<td>19,000 - 19,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,000 - 11,999</td>
<td>20,000 and over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,000 - 12,999</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50. If you are retired, please indicate the category into which your family's annual income fell in your best single year. (Consider all sources, such as rents, profits, wages, interests, etc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Category</th>
<th>Amounts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>below $5,000</td>
<td>$13,000 - 13,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000 - 5,999</td>
<td>14,000 - 14,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,000 - 6,999</td>
<td>15,000 - 15,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,000 - 7,999</td>
<td>16,000 - 16,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,000 - 8,999</td>
<td>17,000 - 17,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,000 - 9,999</td>
<td>18,000 - 18,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 - 10,999</td>
<td>19,000 - 19,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,000 - 11,999</td>
<td>20,000 and over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,000 - 12,999</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51. Do you belong to a labor union now?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Have you ever belonged to a labor union?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Please list the names and types of organizations and clubs of which you are a member. (E.g., athletic, benevolent, business or professional, religious, fine arts, patriotic, social, trade union, etc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Please check (√) all of the groups who are members, in each of the organizations that you have listed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
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<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
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<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How often have you attended the meetings of each of these organizations within the last three months?

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.
- f.
- g.
- h.
- i.
APPENDIX C

THE TWO FACTOR INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION

I. Introduction.

The Two Factor Index of Social Position was developed to meet the need for an objective, easily applicable procedure to estimate the positions individuals occupy in the status structure of our society. Its development was dependent both upon detailed knowledge of the social structure, and procedures social scientists have used to delineate class position. It is premised upon three assumptions: (1) the existence of a status structure in the society; (2) positions in this structure are determined mainly by a few commonly accepted symbolic characteristics; and (3) the characteristics symbolic of status may be scaled and combined by the use of statistical procedures so that a researcher can quickly, reliably, and meaningfully stratify the population under study.

Occupation and education are the two factors utilized to determine social position. Occupation is presumed to reflect the skill and power individuals possess as they perform the many maintenance functions in the society. Education is believed to reflect not only knowledge, but also cultural tastes. The proper combination of these factors by the use of statistical techniques enable a researcher to determine within approximate limits the social position an individual occupies in the status structure of our society.

II. The Scale Scores.

To determine the social position of an individual or of a household two items are essential: (1) the precise occupational role the head of the household performs in the economy; and (2) the amount of
formal schooling he has received. Each of these factors are then scaled according to the following system of scores.

A. The Occupational Scale.

1. Higher Executives, Proprietors of Large Concerns, and Major Professionals.
   a. Higher Executives
   Bank Presidents; Vice-Presidents
   Judges (Superior Courts)
   Large Business, e.g., Directors,
   Presidents, Vice-Presidents,
   Assistant Vice-Presidents,
   Executive Secretary,
   Treasurer.
   b. Large Proprietors (Value over $100,000).
   Brokers
   Contractors
   c. Major Professionals
   Accountants (C.P.A.)
   Actuaries
   Agronomists
   Architects
   Artists, Portrait
   Astronomers
   Auditors
   Bacteriologists
   Chemical Engineers
   Chemists
   Clergyman (Professionally Trained)
   Dentists
   c. Major Professionals
   Economists
   Engineers (College Grad.)
   Foresters
   Geologists
   Lawyers
   Metallurgists
   Physicians
   Psychologists, Research
   Symphony Conductor
   Teachers, University, College
   Veterinarians (Veterinary Surgeons)

   a. Business Managers in Large Concerns.
   Advertising Directors
   Branch Managers
   Brokerage Salesmen
   District Managers
   Executive Assistants
   Executive Managers, Govt. Officials, minor, e.g., Internal Revenue Agents
   Farm Managers
   Office Managers
   Personnel Managers
   Police Chief; Sheriff
   Postmaster
   Production Managers
   Sales Engineers
   Sales Managers, National Concerns
   Sales Managers (Over $100,000)

1. The value of businesses is based upon the rating of financial strength in Dun and Bradstreet's Manual.
b. Proprietors of Medium Businesses (Value $35,000-$100,000)
Advertising Owners (-$100,000)
Clothing Store Owners (-$100,000)
Contractors (-$100,000)
Express Company Owners (-$100,000)
Fruits, Wholesale (-$100,000)
Furniture Business (-$100,000)
Jewelers (-$100,000)
Labor Relations Consultants

Manufacturer's Representatives
Poultry Business (-$100,000)
Purchasing Managers
Real Estate Brokers (-$100,000)
Rug Business (-$100,000)
Store Owners (-$100,000)
Theater Owners (-$100,000)

C. Lesser Professionals
Accountants (Not C.P.A.)
Chiropractors
Correction Officers
Director of Community House
Engineers (Not College Grad.)
Finance Writers
Health Educators
Librarians

Military, Commissioned Officers, Lts., Captains
Musicians (Symphony Orchestra)
Nurses
Opticians
Pharmacists
Public Health Officers (M.P.H.)
Research Assistants, University (Full-time)
Social Workers
Teachers (Elementary and High)


a. Administrative Personnel
Adjusters, Insurance
Advertising Agents
Chief Clerks
Credit Managers
Insurance Agents
Managers, Department Stores
Passenger Agents--R.R.
Private Secretaries
Purchasing Agents
Sales Representatives

Section Heads, Federal, State, and Local Government Offices
Section Heads, Large Businesses and Industries
Service Managers
Shop Managers
Store Managers (Chain)
Traffic Managers

b. Small Business Owners ($6,000-$35,000)
Art Gallery
Auto Accessories
Awnings
Bakery
Beauty Shop
Boatyard
Brokerage, Insurance
Car Dealers
Cattle Dealers

Cigarette Machines
Cleaning Shops
Clothing
Coal Businesses
Convalescent Homes
Decorating
Dog Supplies
Dry Goods
Electrical Contractors
Engraving Business
b. Small Business Owners (Continued)

Feed
Finance Co., Local
Fire Extinguishers
5 & 10
Florist
Food Equipment
Food Products
Foundry
Funeral Directors
Furniture
Garage
Gas Station
Glassware
Grocery-General
Hotel Proprietors
Inst. of Music
Jewelry
Machinery Brokers
Manufacturing

Monuments
Package Store (Liquor)
Painting Contracting
Plumbing
Poultry Producers
Publicity & Public Relations
Real Estate
Records and Radios
Restaurant
Roofing Contractor
Shoe
Shoe Repairs
Signs
Tavern
Taxi Company
Tire Shop
Trucking
Trucks and Tractors
Upholstery
Wholesale Outlets
Window Shades

4. Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners of Little Businesses.

a. Clerical and Sales Workers

Bank Clerks and Tellers
Bill Collectors
Bookkeepers
Business Machine Operators, Offices
Claims Examiners
Clerical or Stenographic
Conductors, R.R.
Employment Interviewers

Factory Storekeeper
Factory Supervisor
Post Office Clerks
Route Managers (Salesmen)
Sales Clerks
Shipping Clerks
Supervisors, Utilities, Factories
Toll Station Supervisors
Warehouse Clerks
b. Technicians

Camp Counselors
Dental Technicians
Draftsmen
Driving Teachers
Expeditor, Factory
Experimental Tester
Instructors, Telephone Co., Factory
Inspectors, Weights, Sanitary
Inspectors, R.R., Factory
Investigators
Laboratory Technicians
Locomotive Engineers

Operators, P.B.X.
Proofreaders
Safety Supervisors
Supervisors of Maintenance
Technical Assistants
Telephone Co. Supervisors
Timekeepers
Tower Operators, R.R.
Truck Dispatchers
Window Trimmers (Store)

c. Owners of Little Businesses.

Flower Shop ($3,000-$6,000)
Newsstand ($3,000-$6,000)
Tailor Shop ($3,000-$6,000)

d. Farmers.

Owners ($10,000-$20,000)

5. Skilled Manual Employees.

Adjusters, Typewriter
Auto Body Repairers
Bakers
Barbers
Blacksmiths
Bookbinders
Boilermakers
Brakemen, R.R.
Brewers
Bulldozer Operators
Butchers
Cabinet Makers
Carpenters
Casters (Founders)
Cement Finishers
Cheese Makers
Chefs
Compositors
Die-makers
Diesel Engine Repair & Maintenance (Trained)
Diesel Shovel Operators
Electricians
Electrotypists
Engravers
Exterminators
Fitters, Gas, Steam
Firemen, City
Firemen, R.R.
Foremen, Construction, Dairy
Gardeners, Landscape (Trained)

Glassblowers
Glaziers
Gunsmiths
Gauge Makers
Hair Stylists
Heat Treaters
Horticulturists
Lineman, Utility
Linoleum Layers (Trained)
Linotype Operators
Lithographers
Locksmiths
Loom Fixers
Lumberjacks
Machinists (Trained)
Maintenance Foremen
Installers, Electrical Appliances
Masons
Masseurs
Mechanics (Trained)
Millwrights
Moulders (Trained)
Painters
Paperhangers
Patrolmen, R.R.
Pattern and Model Makers
Piano Builders
Piano Tuners
Plumbers
Policemen, City
Postmen
5. Skilled Manual Employees (Continued)

Printers
Radio, T.V., Maintenance
Repairmen, Home Appliances
Riggers
Rope Splicers
Sheetmetal Workers (Trained)
Shipsmiths
Shoe Repairmen (Trained)
Stationary Engineers (Licensed)
Stewards, Club
Switchmen, R.R.

Tailors (Trained)
Teletype Operators
Toolmakers
Track Supervisors, R.R.
Tractor-Trailer Trans.
Typographers
Upholsterers (Trained)
Watchmakers
Weavers
Welders
Yard Supervisors, R.R.

Small Farmers

Owners (under $10,000)
Tenants who own farm equipment

6. Machine Operators and Semi-Skilled Employees

Aides, Hospital
Apprentices, Electricians, Printers
Steamfitters, Toolmakers
Assembly Line Workers
Bartenders
Bingo Tenders*
Building Superintendents (Cust.)
Bus Drivers
Checkers
Clay Cutters
Coin Machine Fillers
Cooks, Short Order
Delivery Men
Dressmakers, Machine
Drill Press Operators
Duplicator Machine Operators
Elevator Operators
Enlisted Men, Military Services
Filers, Benders, Buffers,
Foundry Workers
Garage and Gas Station Assistants
Greenhouse Workers
Guards, Doorkeepers, Watchmen
Hairdressers
Housekeepers
Meat Cutters and Packers
Meter Readers
Operators, Factory Machines
Oiler, R.R.
Paper Rolling Machine Operators
Photostat Machine Operators
Practical Nurses
Pressers, Clothing
Pump Operators
Receivers and Checkers
Roofers
Set-up Men, Factories
Shapers
Signalmen, R.R.
Solderers, Factory
Sprayers, Paint
Steelworkers (Not Skilled)
Stranders, Wire Machines
Strippers, Rubber Factory
Taxi Drivers
Testers
Timers
Tire Moulders
Trainmen, R.R.
Truck Drivers, General
Waiters-Waitresses ("Better Places")
Weighers
Welders, Spot
Winders, Machine
Wiredrawers, Machine
Wine Bottlers
Wood Workers, Machine
Wrappers, Stores and Factories

Farmers

Smaller tenants who own little equipment.
7. Unskilled Employees.

Amusement Park Workers (Bowling Alleys, Pool Rooms)
Ash Removers
Attendants, Parking Lots
Cafeteria Workers
Car Cleaners, R.R.
Car Helpers, R.R.
Carriers, Coal
Countermen
Dairy Workers
Deck Hands
Domestics
Farm Helpers
Fishermen (Clam Diggers)
Freight Handlers
Garbage Collectors
Grave Diggers
Hog Carriers
Hog Killers
Hospital Workers, Unspecified
Hostlers, R.R.
Janitors, Sweepers
Laborers, Construction
Laborers, Unspecified
Laundry Workers
Messengers
Platform Men, R.R.
Peddlers
Porters
Roofer's Helpers
Shirt Foldere
Shoe Shinerse
Sorters, Rag and Salvage
Stagehands
Steevedores
Stock Handlers
Street Cleaners
Unskilled Factory Workers
Truckmen, R.R.
Waitresses--"Hash Houses"
Washers, Carse
Window Cleaners
Woodchoppers

Relief, Public, Private

Unemployed (No Occupation)

Farmers
Share Croppers

This scale is premised upon the assumption that occupations have different values attached to them by the members of our society. The hierarchy ranges from the low evaluation of unskilled physical labor toward the more prestigious use of skill, through the creative talents of ideas, and the manipulation of men. The ranking of occupational functions implies that some men exercise control over the occupational pursuits of other men. Normally, a person who possesses highly trained skills has control over several other people. This is exemplified in a highly developed form by an executive in a large business enterprise who may be responsible for decisions affecting thousands of employees.
B. The Educational Scale

The educational scale is premised upon the assumption that men and women who possess similar educations will tend to have similar tastes and similar attitudes, and they will also tend to exhibit similar behavior patterns. The educational scale is divided into seven positions: (1) Graduate Professional Training. (Persons who complete a recognized professional course leading to a graduate degree are given scores of 1). (2) Standard College or University Graduation. (All individuals who complete a four-year college or university course leading to a recognized college degree are assigned the same scores. No differentiation is made between state universities, or private colleges.) (3) Partial College Training. (Individuals who complete at least one year but not a full college course are assigned this position. Most individuals in this category complete from one to three years of college.) (4) High School Graduates. (All secondary school graduates whether from a private preparatory school, a public high school, a trade school, or a parochial high school, are assigned the same scale value.) (5) Partial High School. (Individuals who complete the tenth or the eleventh grades, but do not complete high school are given this score.) (6) Junior High School. (Individuals who complete the seventh grade through the ninth grade are given this position.) (7) Less Than Seven Years of School. (Individuals who do not complete the seventh grade are given the same scores irrespective of the amount of education they receive.)

III Integration of Two Factors

The factors of Occupation and Education are combined by weighing the individual scores obtained from the scale positions. The weights for each factor were determined by multiple correlation techniques. The weight for each factor is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Factor Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To calculate the Index of Social Position score for an individual, the scale value for Occupation is multiplied by the factor weight for Occupation, and the scale value for Education is multiplied by the factor weight for Education. For example, John Smith is the manager of a chain supermarket. He completed high school and one year of business college. His Index of Social Position score is computed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Scale Score</th>
<th>Factor Weight</th>
<th>Score X Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of Social Position Score</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. Index of Social Position Scores.

The Two Factor Index of Social Position Scores may be arranged on a continuum, or divided into groups of scores. The range of scores on a continuum is from a low of 11 to a high of 77. For some purposes a researcher may desire to work with a continuum of scores. For other purposes he may desire to break the continuum into a hierarchy of score groups.

I have found the most meaningful breaks for the purpose of predicting the social class position of an individual or of a nuclear family is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Range of Computed Scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>11-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>18-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>28-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>44-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>61-77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the Two Factor Index of Social Position is relied upon to determine class status, differences in individual scores within a specified range are ignored, and the scores within the range are treated as a unit. This procedure assumes there are meaningful differences between the score groups. Individuals and nuclear families with scores that fall into a given segment of the range of scores assigned to a particular class
are presumed to belong to the class the Two Factor Index of Social Position score predicts for it.

The assumption of a meaningful correspondence between an estimated class position of individuals and their social behavior has been validated by the use of factor analysis.² The validation study demonstrated the existence of classes when mass communication data are used as criteria of social behavior.

APPENDIX D

Political-Economic Conservatism Scales

Adorno's Form 45-40 PEC Scale¹

1. Labor unions should become stronger and have more influence generally.
2. America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.
3. Most government controls over business should be continued even though the war is over.
4. Men like Henry Ford or J. P. Morgan, who overcame all competition on the road to success, are models for all young people to admire and imitate.
5. In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't need the money for eating and living.

Dobriner's PEC Scale²

1. Labor unions should become stronger and have more influence generally.
2. America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.

²William Dobriner, ed., The Suburban Community (New York:
3. In order to protect the health of the nation the Congress should pass a law in which the Federal Government would contribute to our medical bills.

4. Men like Henry Ford or J. P. Morgan, who overcame all competition on the road to success are models for all young people to admire and imitate.

5. In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't need the money for eating and living.

PEC Scale used in this research

1. Generally speaking labor unions should become stronger and have more influence. (Item 13).

2. America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us as close as human beings can get to a perfect society. (Item 10).

3. In order to protect the health of the nation Congress should pass some kind of law which would help everyone with medical bills. (Item 24).

4. A businessman who overcomes all competition on the road to success is a good model for all young people to admire and imitate. (Item 20).

5. In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't have to work for the money for eating and living. (Item 18).
APPENDIX E

TABLE 1

CLASS III INCOME$^a$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below $6,999$</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$7,000 - 9,999$</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 -12,999$</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$13,000 -15,999$</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$16,000 -18,999$</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19,000 and above</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(106)</td>
<td>(166)</td>
<td>(272)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$See page 75 for the discussion of this table.
TABLE 2.--A comparison of class III black and white responses to item number 47: Does your wife work?\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>73.6</td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td>68.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(N = (106)\) \( (166)\) \( (272)\)

\(X^2 = 0.7918\)

\(p > .30\)

\(\chi = 0.8078\)

\(p > .30\)

\(^a\)See page 75 for the discussion of this table.
TABLE 3.—A comparison of equivalent educational levels and annual family incomes of middle-class blacks and whites.\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Partial High School</th>
<th>High School Graduate</th>
<th>Partial College</th>
<th>College Graduate</th>
<th>Some Graduate School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below $5,000</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000 - 6,999</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,000 - 8,999</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,000 -10,999</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,000 -12,999</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,000 -14,999</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,000 -16,999</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17,000 -18,999</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above $19,000</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) All calculations are made from raw data.

\[ \begin{align*}
N &= \begin{pmatrix} 99.9 & 99.9 & 100.1 \\ 100.1 & 99.9 & 100.1 \\ 100.0 & 100.0 & 100.1 \\ 100.0 & 99.9 & 100.0 \\ 100.0 & 100.0 & 100.1 \end{pmatrix} \\
\begin{pmatrix} (3) & (12) & (15) \\ (7) & (16) & (23) \\ (43) & (62) & (105) \\ (10) & (13) & (23) \\ (11) & (2) & (13) \end{pmatrix} \\
t &= \begin{pmatrix} 0.1542 \\ 68 \\ .0305 \\ 2.4183 \\ .51 \end{pmatrix} \\
df &= \begin{pmatrix} 13 \\ 21 \\ 103 \\ 21 \\ 11 \end{pmatrix} \\
p &= \begin{pmatrix} >.50 \\ <.0005 \\ >.50 \\ >.01 \\ >.50 \end{pmatrix}
\]
TABLE 3.--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Master's Degree</th>
<th>Professional Degree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below $5,000</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000 - 6,999</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,000 - 8,999</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,000 - 10,999</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,000 - 12,999</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,000 - 14,999</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,000 - 16,999</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17,000 - 18,999</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above $19,000</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = (2), (2), (1), (2), (3), (77), (107), (184)

t = 6.928, 0.392

df = 1, 182

P = .05, .50
TABLE 4.--A comparison of equivalent educational levels and occupational levels of middle-class blacks and whites.\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Professional, technical and kindred workers</th>
<th>Managers, officials and proprietors, except farm</th>
<th>Clerical and kindred workers</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 9 years</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 11 years</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Graduate School</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Degree</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Degree</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(68)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)All calculations are made from raw data.
### TABLE 4.—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Operatives and kindred workers</th>
<th>Service workers except private household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - 9 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 11 years</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Graduate School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's Degree</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Degree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Books


Bibliography continued


Hollingshead, August B. **Elmtown's Youth.** New York: Wiley and Sons, 1949.


Bibliography continued


Bibliography continued


Periodicals


Bibliography continued


Other


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Bibliography continued

The dissertation submitted by Mr. James R. Neal had been read and approved by members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 28, 1970
Signature of Advisor