Determinants of Race Consciousness and Class Consciousness Among Blacks of a Southern City.

Kathleen Marie Handy

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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DETERMINANTS OF RACE CONSCIOUSNESS AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG BLACKS OF A SOUTHERN CITY

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col.

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DETERMINANTS OF RACE CONSCIOUSNESS AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG BLACKS OF A SOUTHERN CITY

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

The Department of Sociology

by
Kathleen Marie Handy
B.S., Louisiana State University, 1972
M.A., Atlanta University, 1973
December 1979
Dedicated to:

MY PARENTS

Charley and
Pauline Victoria Handy
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to the administration and faculty development committee of Winston-Salem University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina for granting to the author the opportunity, financial support and encouragement to pursue the doctoral degree. I would like to thank Dr. Thomas Durant for serving as the author's major professor and for his time, encouragement, guidance and counsel and thanks also to Dr. Carolyn Rutledge for her willingness to share her time, knowledge and insight in those phases of the research dealing with sampling and computer programming. Thanks to Dr. Kenneth Koonce for granting his time and expertise in the area of statistical analysis and Dr. Clarence Thornton for his helpful suggestions in the construction of the questionnaire and theoretical framework. Thanks also to Dr. David Haas, Dr. Lisandro Perez, Dr. Quentin Jenkins and Dr. Miles Richardson for serving on the Examining Committee and offering their suggestions for improvement and future research. I owe special debts of gratitude to the interviewers who skillfully collected the data and the nameless individuals who willingly provided the data for this study. Thanks to Ms. Nancy Fournier for typing the dissertation in its final form. Above all, special regards to family members and John, a special friend, whose emotional support was a source of strength while the author pursued the doctoral degree.
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ABSTRACT

Race Consciousness (feelings of loyalty, pride and commitment to one's race) has existed historically among Blacks. Recent economic gains, increases in educational levels and intergenerational mobility have aided in the development of a Black Middle Class. In the Black community, today, class differences are prevalent. To date, there is very little systematic research on the relationship between race consciousness and class consciousness or what determines these two levels of consciousness. Consequently, the present inquiry was an attempt to determine the extent to which Blacks in a Southern City were committed to their race and to their social class position.

The study focused on relationships between (1) demographic and socioeconomic variables and race consciousness (2) behavior patterns, life styles and social status and their relationships to race consciousness (3) race consciousness and class consciousness (4) social class and race consciousness.

An area stratified random block sample consisting of 102 males and 103 females ranging from eighteen to seventy-eight years of age encompassing all economic strata of the Black community in a Southern City was selected for this inquiry.

To test the extent to which age, sex, occupation, social class and class consciousness, respectively, affected
race consciousness, the analysis of variance test (specifically the General Linear Model) was the statistical test employed in the study. Alternatively, analysis was also made of the extent to which age, sex, social class and occupation affected class consciousness.

Our statistical test revealed associations between age and social class with race consciousness-individual orientation. Sex and social class were found to be related to class consciousness. The interaction between age and class consciousness had an effect on race consciousness-individual orientation and so did the interaction between age and social class.

In addition, Blacks (lower class and middle class) were more race conscious than class conscious. As age increased so did the level of race consciousness-individual orientation. Lower class individuals expressed higher levels of race consciousness-individual orientation than middle class individuals. Individuals who were highly class conscious expressed low levels of race consciousness-collective orientation, but high levels of race consciousness-individual orientation. Females, lower class individuals and blue collar workers expressed higher levels of class consciousness than their opposites.

The study provided implications for future studies of the Black Middle Class, mainly in the area of Black Middle Class Suburbanization and its affect on intraracial and interracial contact. In addition, the study implies
an area for future study by conflict theorists lies in the race versus class issue, that is, to investigate the effects race divisions might have on class unity in contrast to the effects class divisions have on racial unity.
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Much of the literature on Black Americans has directly or indirectly addressed two important questions pertaining to the status of Blacks as a racial minority within the American society: (1) the degree of racial and ethnic solidarity among Blacks, and (2) their social class position in the larger social stratification system, including their subjective and objective definitions of class. The answers to these two questions have several very important implications for understanding the social status, behavior patterns, and life styles of Blacks, the largest ethno-racial minority in America. The first implication is that valid and reliable information on ethno-racial solidarity can be used as an indicator of the extent to which Blacks perceive themselves as a unified whole, the degree of commonality of consciousness of their position in the social structure, the intensity of their attitudes toward upward mobility and toward taking actions aimed at overcoming structural obstacles to status equality, and to some degree a measure of the resistance by the larger White majority to the full integration of Blacks into the institutional system. A second implication is that such information on social class may permit a better understanding of the extent to which Blacks use conventional social class
criteria utilized by White Americans to assess social class in the Black community. One belief is that because Blacks are overrepresented in the lower classes, stratification tends to be based to a greater degree on behavioral patterns and social factors than on income and occupation, which usually are considered crucial class determinants in the White community (Pinkney 1969:68). It has also been assumed that in comparison with whites, social stratification among Blacks is more likely to be determined by style of life and family background.

A final implication of the two questions raised above concerns the relative impact of ethno-racial consciousness and class consciousness on behavioral patterns, social status, and life styles in the Black community. One belief is that, due to increased social mobility, status differentiation and diversity in life styles, race consciousness among Blacks has declined, while class consciousness has increased (Wilson 1978:150). On the other hand, James Blackwell (1968) attempts to demonstrate that, although the Black community has become more economically diversified, there is still a strong sense of ethno-racial unity within it. This implies that Blacks, regardless of social class position, identify strongly with their race. This could very well result from the fact that many Blacks believe that many Whites treat or respond to them on the basis of social class position. For this reason, it is possible that a high degree of race consciousness and a
high degree of class consciousness could exist simultaneously among Blacks. It is also possible that Whites have a high degree of race and class awareness of Blacks, which may influence Whites' attitudinal and behavioral reactions to Blacks.

In recent years, Black Nationalism has made inroads into the Black community, especially in urban areas. This development has led to a deemphasis, if not a cessation, of the conventional characteristics as criteria for status (Pinkney 1969:63). Traditional socioeconomic variables and upward mobility facilitate social differentiation in the Black community, as in the larger society. Blackness, however, has played an increasingly important role in upward mobility in the Black community in recent years (Blackwell 1975:65). Blackness has several dimensions, including both color and a high level of consciousness of one's identity. Symbolically, it is expressed in cultural symbols such as wearing the Afro hairdo, dashikis, African jewelry, handshakes and greetings. These external symbols are supposed to provide immediate identity to others as to "where people are coming from" (that is, their meaning, purpose and identity) and whether or not they are committed to a militant ideology (Blackwell 1975:96). These symbols seem to say to others "I am proud of my race and not ashamed to identify with it and if anyone should question my racial identity I will fully defend it." Indicators or factors relating to race consciousness include attitudes
toward such things as Black dress, food, music, art, leaders, mass media, Black control of institutions (schools, churches, government), ethnic labels, and race relations. Indicators or factors relating to class consciousness include attitudes toward various life styles, materialism, participation in voluntary associations, occupation, use of leisure time, political attitudes, money, savings, and education.

One of the manifest consequences or payoffs of the positive orientation toward Blackness, since its inception in the 1960's, has been increasing access to shared values with individuals in the larger White society. This led, in turn, to the access to more competitive resources, that is, better paying jobs, higher incomes, and upward mobility in the stratification system (Blackwell 1975:94). This has led to the assumption that the more vocal individuals proclaim their Blackness, the more they gain control of certain jobs in the Black community. Further, the increases in Afro-American and Black studies programs on university campuses during the early 1970's, have led to the employment of Black professionals to conduct them.

The importance of social class in the Black community, according to Billingsley (1968:124), is that the higher the social class of a family, the greater the access its members have to the resources of the wider community. The greater the level of support a family receives from the wider community, the greater will be the family's ability
to meet the requirements of society and the needs of its members. If this is true, then it is reasonable to think that not all middle class Black families are yet able or willing to see the connections they share with all other Blacks. According to Billingsley, many held to the belief that they are more middle class than Black and are seeking to convince the White middle class of that fact. Billingsley also indicates that it is amazing how little middle class Whites know about the conditions of life and the sensibilities of the middle class Black with whom they are in daily contact (Billingsley 1968:13).

The relationship between race consciousness (feelings of loyalty or commitment to one's race) and class consciousness (feelings of loyalty or commitment to one's class) is an intriguing one, especially when the study involves a minority group. An individual's life chances, attitudes, and behaviors are influenced by his social class, therefore, the degree or extent to which an individual is race conscious and class conscious can possibly also be influenced by social class.

Even though the roots of the stratification system in the Black community can be traced to slavery, its present dynamic character is a result of major transformations within our industrial society. There is also evidence of an increasing shift from ascription (race) to achievement (class) as the basis for stratification and mobility (Blackwell 1975:65). In this study emphasis will be on
investigating the differences and similarities in levels of race consciousness and levels of class consciousness among a sample of Blacks. Comparisons will be made within this group on variables such as age, sex, occupation, and social class.

Race consciousness has been defined as a collective sentiment in which race becomes the object of loyalty and idealization. Race consciousness takes the form of a feeling of solidarity among group members (Ferguson 1936:42). Race consciousness is a major form of group consciousness. For the individual who is race conscious, the race becomes an object of loyalty, devotion and pride. By virtue of this fact, it becomes an entity, a collective representation. Race pride is an aspect of race consciousness. It implies the tendency to regard highly one's race to exalt its virtues, and to take pride in its achievements. A race conscious individual posits his race as an entity to which he has obligations. He has a conscience about his race. He must serve it, fight for it, and be loyal to it. His race becomes the central pivotal human grouping for him. Invariably, race pride tends to be the expression of the sentiment of racial superiority (Brown 1936:92). However, this does not mean race pride is equated with racism.

Race consciousness has also been defined as identification with and allegiance to one's race, which is seen as conflicting with the dominant or in the case of Blacks,
the White race. This definition implies togetherness or an anti-assimilation attitude. It also implies conflict with the White race or militancy and the belief in the existence of discrimination against Blacks (Hurst 1972:659). Thus, race consciousness among Blacks involves an affective commitment in relation to Whites. Race consciousness is normative behavior that develops in a society where racial stratification is present. Brown (1936:92) points out that those who are race conscious react to their race as a social object and feel a sense of obligation to their race.

In a structural perspective,

the members of a race through race consciousness become a social unit struggling for status in a society. It is thus a conflict group and race consciousness itself is a result of conflict. The race of the group, though not intrinsically significant, becomes an identifying symbol, serving to intensify the sense of solidarity (Brown 1936:570).

Class consciousness refers to the awareness of one's own class interest, the development of strong identification with others who occupy the same role in the economy and thus share those interests and the rise of complementary hostility to other classes (Lewis 1965:325). The "class status consciousness" of a person has as its object his actual position in a class system and his relationships to others who share that position. This type of class consciousness include a person's self-identification with a particular class and a preference for members of his own
class as friends and leisure time associates (Landecker 1963:221). The first ingredient necessary for class consciousness of an individual is some sort of perception of differences in status of a status range or hierarchy in his society. Thus for class consciousness, there must be (1) a conscious awareness of and identification with one's own class interests, (2) an awareness and rejection of other class interests as illegitimate and (3) an awareness and a readiness to use collective political means to further the political interests (Mills 1951:325).

There are certain aspects of human awareness that are involved in the formation of class consciousness. These include social perceptivity or awareness of differences in individual skills and distribution of rewards in society; class awareness or the identification of crystallized economic and political interest groups in society; dimensional awareness or conception of factors underlying class divisions and membership, class placement or self-location of the individual within a subjectively conceived class structure; and class solidarity or the congruence of location and image with interests as represented by comparison of objective and self-assessed position and by expressions by unity in ideals and needs with other members of the self-assessed class (Lopreato and Hazelrigg 1972:126).

Class consciousness, in the full sense of the concept, refers to a subjective expression of an individual's identity with a given class to the point of adopting its
interests as his own and engaging in concerted action within that class against the interests of another.

In a racist society, the life chances of the members of individual minorities are essentially more a function of race than of class. However, as the influence of race on minority class stratification decreased, then, of course, class takes on greater importance in determining life chances of minority individuals. The clear and growing class divisions among Blacks today constitute a case in point. It is difficult to speak of a uniform Black experience when the Black population can be meaningfully stratified into groups whose members range from those who are affluent to those who are impoverished (Wilson 1978:133). As a result, for the first time in American history, class issues can meaningfully compete with race issues in the ways Blacks develop or maintain a sense of group position. If history tells us anything about the Black experience, it is that the different expressions of Black protest tend often to be by-products of economic class position (Wilson 1978:134).

Although during the first quarter of the 20th century, the vast majority of urban Blacks represented the very bottom of the occupational ladder and had a few, if any, prospects for occupational advancement, a class structure within the segregated Black community slowly but definitely took shape (Wilson 1978:124). The growth of the Black middle class occurred because of the expansion of
institutions created to serve the needs of a growing urbanized Black population. The Black doctor, lawyer, teacher, minister, businessman and mortician, excluded from the White community, were able to create niches in the segregated Black community. Although the income levels and life styles of the Black professionals are noticeably, and sometimes conspicuously different from those of the Black masses, the two groups had one basic thing in common, a racial status contemptuously regarded by most Whites in Society (Wilson 1978:20).

B. Statement of the Problem and Objectives of The Study

Among members of a minority group, one's level of race consciousness and one's level of class consciousness may be interrelated and even motivate or hinder the development of the other. Various factors such as age, education, social class, inequality, segregation, discrimination, community solidarity and political views play a role in determining the degree of importance of race or class factors in the development of one's attitude and behavior in everyday life.

The problems of Black Americans have always been compounded because of their low position in both the economic order (the average economic class position of Blacks as a group) and the social order (the social prestige or honor accorded individual Blacks because of their ascribed racial status). It is, of course, true that the low
economic position of Blacks has helped to shape the categorical social definitions attached to Blacks as a racial group, but it is also true that the more Blacks become segmented in terms of economic class position the more their concerns about the social significance of race will vary (Wilson 1978:20). Whereas this may be true, the fact that both race and class consciousness could be significantly represented among Blacks has often been ignored.

Class division is an age old technique of the ruling classes to create distinctions within the oppressed groups in order to weaken their ability to resist colonial rule. Class divisions create and maintain Black factionalism along class lines and disunity in a group that is systematically exploited by the colonial ruling class. Individuals who subjectively set themselves apart from other Blacks because of a belief that they have antagonistic class interests weaken the Black community's ability to establish group unity to combat the exploitation and inequality to which all Blacks are subjected (Staples 1976: 201).

Dubois (1903:33-75) predicted that as discrimination based on race subsided, class would become more important in determining Black attitudes toward labor, wealth and work. However, when Blacks obtain middle class status, a dilemma develops. On one hand, there is the need to stabilize their status, and on the other hand, the desire
to continue to identify with the Black masses who are at a lower class status. According to Frazier (1957:24-25), the fundamental dilemma of the Black middle class is one of frustration and insecurity, resulting from isolation and rejection by the White world and the breaking with its own cultural traditions. According to Kronus (1971:21), the Black middle class in terms of life styles, behavior patterns, and consumption patterns appears to live within its means, take life seriously and accept its responsibilities to family, work, and community.

The rise of the militant ideology has introduced strong feelings of guilt among successful Blacks who have not made their ties to the race explicit and evident. In any case, one consequence is clear: class improvements through the opening of channels of mobility for Blacks would seem to lead eventually to the growth of class consciousness at the expense of race consciousness (Reismann 1973:103).

Herein lies the problem: to what extent has social mobility through the agents of education and occupation led Blacks to make more of their class (class consciousness) than of their race (race consciousness)? Alternatively, has the effect of the Black Power Movement, the Black Cultural Consciousness Movement, and identification of the behavioral dispositions of Whites toward Blacks, raised the consciousness level of Blacks, in terms of being proud of their ethno-racial identity, who they are, and
their acceptance of their cultural heritage? Moreover, to what extent do socioeconomic and demographic factors such as age, sex, occupation, income, education and social class influence race consciousness and class consciousness among Blacks. According to one authority, William Wilson (1978), the significance of race to Blacks has declined in favor of economic class position. The present writer believes that the presence of class consciousness among Blacks need not deny the significance of race consciousness for them.

Using scales of race consciousness and scales of class consciousness to tap attitudes toward race and class, an analysis is made of the level of class and race consciousness among a cross section of middle class and lower class Blacks from a major southern city. Hopefully, this will permit us to determine the prevalence of race consciousness and class consciousness, respectively, when social class is controlled.

The researcher assumes that, on a whole, a significant amount of race consciousness exists among Blacks, in spite of a growing class identity and awareness. The assumption, here, however, is that when social class is controlled, race consciousness will be found to a greater extent among lower class Blacks than middle class Blacks; while class consciousness will be found to a greater extent among middle class Blacks than lower class Blacks. In addition, it is expected that the extent to which race consciousness
and class consciousness, respectively, will vary among Blacks is dependent upon the age, sex, occupation, income and education of the respondents.

The interaction between race and economic class only assumed real importance for Blacks in the latter part of the industrial era of race relations. The significance of this relationship has grown as the nation has entered the modern industrial period (Wilson 1978:144). In the pre-industrial period of American race relations, there was, of course, very little variation in the economic class position of Blacks. Occasionally, a few individual Blacks were able to emerge and were able to accumulate some wealth or property, but they were overwhelmingly the exception. Thus, the uniformly low economic class position of Blacks removed the basis for any meaningful distinctions between race and class issues in the Black community (Wilson 1978:20).

A logical conclusion is that Black successes must move the Black leadership ever closer to a recognition of the growing importance of class for their cause. In effect, as long as most Blacks were poor, then the Black community was rather homogeneous as far as class was concerned. The gains of the last three decades, though, have created class divisions and class has begun to assume greater differentiation and importance than ever before (Reismann 1973:103).

Therefore, the specific objectives of this study are
as follows: (1) to determine the levels of race consciousness and class consciousness among Blacks; (2) to make a qualitative assessment of perceived class structure, life styles, behavioral patterns, and social status among Blacks in various socioeconomic backgrounds and the relationship between these factors and race consciousness; (3) to determine the effects age, sex, occupation, social class and class consciousness have on race consciousness; (4) to determine the effects age, sex, occupation, and social class have on class consciousness.

C. Significance of the Study

This study will be significant in a number of ways. (1) The focus on the Black dilemma (among middle class Blacks) will provide a comparison with Frazier's early study (1957) of Black middle class individuals. That is, do members of the Black middle class today have feelings of frustration and insecurity and live in a world of make-believe or nothingness due to their social class position in the stratification system? (2) Considering the social changes and increases in social mobility which have occurred among Blacks over the past three decades, this study will provide some current information on the extent to which attitudes toward one's race and attitudes toward one's class have affected each other. This will serve to update studies in this area. (3) This study will provide current information on the social status, life
styles, behavioral patterns and attitudes among Blacks.

(4) This study will determine the relationship between race consciousness and class consciousness and especially provide insight into the past assumption that high class consciousness attenuates race consciousness. (5) This study will also make a contribution to the study of Race Relations and Ethnic Stratification. According to Himes (1973:8), race relations not only include inter-racial relations but intra-racial relations as well. This research will provide a comparison among the Black population as opposed to the traditional comparison between Blacks and Whites.

This research will make a contribution to the small number of investigations and studies of the Black middle class. Studying the Black middle class enhances the knowledge about the extent to which social changes in status have influenced behavior patterns, life styles and attitudes within the group. The researcher gets a view of mobility from lower class status to middle class status, that is, the agents of mobility and the problems and the aspirations regarding further movement up the social scale. Thus, studying this group (Black middle class) in particular provides insight into attitude change due to social mobility.

Even though the main focus of this study will be on the levels of race consciousness and class consciousness among Blacks as influenced by various social, economic and
As is stated in the review of the literature, most studies on race consciousness focus exclusively on minority groups and those studies on class consciousness focus exclusively on the majority group. This study is also limited in scope, it focuses on one group, blacks. However, the study does focus on both race and class consciousness and their interrelationships within the Black population in a major Southern city.
Studies of class consciousness (especially working-class consciousness) have been extensive and tend to concentrate mainly on Whites, while there is sparse systematic study of race consciousness that concentrates on Blacks. This review will focus on four aspects of the literature: (1) literature on race consciousness with a brief look at the social and physical definitions of race; (2) literature on class consciousness and a brief look at social class defined; and (3) literature on the interrelationships between race consciousness and class consciousness; (4) literature on demographic and socioeconomic variables and race consciousness.

A. Social and Physical Definitions of Race

The word "race" is applied to both physical and social classifications. The two classifications overlap, but, because they are designed to serve different ends and are based upon different criteria, they can never be identical (Banton 1967:55). One of the most striking figures of modern American society is the man, who to outward appearance is White, but socially defined as Black. The possibility of a person of White appearance being of Black status can cause a fury in a society founded upon distinctions of racial status. Throughout the world there are people who social characteristics are not what other
members of their societies expect of people with their racial characteristics (Banton 1967:55). To deal with such situations the society distorts the physical classifications to make them fit its social conceptions. According to Banton (1967:56), from a biological standpoint, only persons with 50% Black descent could be referred to as Black, but in many parts of the United States, any person with any known Black ancestry whatsoever is referred to as Black. The tendency has been not only to classify mulattoes as Black but to think of them as fully Black, as if a fraction of Black heredity were more powerful a determinant of individuality than a much larger portion of White heredity.

In social organizations, people are divided up and allocated positions in the division of labor based on differences of age, sex, race and kinship. Differences of sex, race, age and descent are easily observed and ordered in the mind; social roles are based on sex, age, and race and the physical variations then come to serve as indicators or signs of the roles (Banton 1967:68-92). When racial differences are used as a way of dividing up a population and different sets or rights and obligations (roles) are ascribed to the divisions, then these outward differences serve as signs telling others the sort of privileges and facilities to which the person in question is conventionally entitled. Race is a role sign only in multiracial societies or in situations of racial contact
in which expectations of behavior have crystallized into certain patterns. How race is employed as a sign varies from one culture to another.

Race designates a group of human beings set apart from others by one or more marks of physical difference. The biological differences which enable us to classify the human species into races are superficial differences. There are few racial differences deep inside our bodies. Racial differences are mostly in the outermost layer. The visible racial characteristics constitute a marker, a label for all to read (Redford 1943:193-5). It is the association of some such label with cultural differences and in combination with real or imagined biological differences that brings about a socially supposed race. The observable physical difference is alone not enough. The cultural differences between groups come to be associated with noticed and imagined physical differences. The social significance of race, which is its only practical significance, is a product of history. It results from the interplay of human nature with situations of group differences and group relationships (Redford 1943:69).

The question of "What race am I?" is a part of the larger question "Who am I?" It is part of the problem of self-identification or self-definition. The process of identifying with a group and thinking of oneself in terms of a group begins early in childhood. A number of studies show that the tendency of Black children to identify with
Whites and to reject their own group decreases as they grow older. This change probably occurs because as children grow older, they come to terms with their color and the place it assigns them in society can not be escaped (Greissman 1975:212-13).

What is commonly referred to as race in the United States depends upon social belief and not upon biology (Young and Mack 1959). Whether or not one is Black depends upon whether or not the people living around him thinks he is, not upon any specific hair color, hair type, head form or degree of darkness of skin color. It should be remembered that these are the physical and visible traits that people seek to determine race. These traits can be overlapping in some individuals. In short, the ultimate trait which determines whether or not an American is Black is whether or not he is believed to have any Black ancestry (Jackson 1965:2).

B. Race Consciousness

In the literature, several concepts as race pride, racial solidarity, Black nationalism, and Black identity are sometimes used interchangeably with race consciousness. It is assumed that much, if not all, of Black behavior explicitly related to race involves something called race consciousness. It is further assumed that race conscious behavior can take various model forms in different historical eras and in different regional and international situations (Pitts 1974:667). Brown (1936)
notes that, through race consciousness, the members of a race become a historic group acquiring a past, aware of a present, and aspiring to a future. A racially conscious group is more than a mere aggregation of individuals zoologically distinguishable from other ethnic groups. It is a social unit struggling for status in a society. One of the effects of race consciousness on a group is the development of race pride, and a long and glorious race history is the foundation for this pride (Ferguson 1936:34). Ferguson notes that, discrimination is the one factor which cuts across all social distinctions within the Negro group and which stimulates a race consciousness from the group as a whole. The Negro group is very much concerned with the individual. When a Negro makes success it is credited not only to him but to the race (Ferguson 1936:34). The agencies fostering race consciousness among America-Blacks during the time of Ferguson's writing included the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Negro Press, the Negro Church, Negro Literature, and Negro Fraternal Organizations. Ferguson concludes, however, that there is a growing gap between upper and lower classes. The Negro group is far from united and this lack of unity works directly against the development of race consciousness which involves group solidarity and unity (Ferguson 1936:39).

In his article on "Social Origins of Black
Consciousness," Turner (1971), states that a framework which interprets Black Nationalism as the emergence of group consciousness, self-assertion, and identity, on the part of some members of a disparaged minority, is useful for objective sociological analysis. The movement of Black Nationalist ideas is dominated by collective consciousness of its adherents as members of a minority group subordinated to another and more powerful group within the total political and social order. The economic exploitation and social discrimination that have been experienced by persons of African descent as a social category give many of them an avid sense of race consciousness as a consequence of shared humiliation (Turner 1971:169). There exist different nationalist tendencies in the Black community with varying means and goals, all of which are a part of race consciousness. Staples (1976) categorizes them as (1) Bourgeois Nationalism—refers to belief that Black economic power can solve the plight of Black people; (2) Cultural Nationalism—which has as its main concern the development of a Black identity; and (3) Revolutionary Nationalism—belief that there must be Black control of the Black community. Pinkney (1975) also advocated cultural nationalism as a major element in Black nationalist ideology. Cultural nationalism holds that Black people throughout the world possess a distinct culture and before Black liberation, Blacks must reassert their cultural heritage. One of the most striking social psychological
innovations of Black Nationalism deals with the reversal of the negative connotations of color associated within a dominant and pervasive White-ideal cultural context. A reversal of White-western symbols implies a reversal of the concepts associated with them as well. Thus Black Nationalism is a refusal of those White values that are regarded as oppressive constraints (Turner 1971:179). In its crudest and simplest form, Black Nationalism is based on a vehement racial consciousness that can be imputed to racism that grew out of White domination (Turner 1971:179).

Methodologically, it follows that the study of consciousness should be linked to that of the patterned activity and relationships of everyday life. It is not enough to correlate normative behavior with either aggregated or individual attributes (Pitts 1974:672). Consciousness is always a social product; purposive actions and interpretations of actions operating in social relationships. It is not the product of individuals, nor does it persist independently of the social behavior of men. Consciousness emerges, it changes, and it declines. The assumption that race consciousness, like other world views is collectively generated, contrasts with perspectives which assume that "extremist" forms of consciousness are the products of deviant social and psychological processes (Paige 1971:810) and Portes (1971:820).

It is observable that race consciousness among Blacks is not a static phenomenon and that it is stronger among
some elements of the Black population than others (Pitts 1974:680). The manifest reality of Black class differences is conceived as channeling Black protest in various directions, each segment of the Black community having its own interest, its own goals and compatible rationale (Wilson 1961:291).

C. Social Class Defined

The most important term in the social strata lexicon is "social class." By "social class" we ordinarily mean a population group whose members are characterized by similarities of income, wealth and economic position, by comparable levels and styles of living, by educational and cultural similarities and by at least some similar patterns of social interaction. Members of a common social class are also distinguished from members of other groups or segments of their communities or societies by economic, cultural and life style differences and by barriers to social interaction (Matras 1975:90). The common legal status of members of different social classes, the absence of class monopolies over status symbols and behavior patterns and the obscurity of class boundaries all combine to render difficult the identification, description and study of concrete social classes and social class systems (Matras 1975:95).

Research in the area of identifying and describing social classes has employed various techniques. Three main
techniques that have been used are the objective approach, the reputational approach and the subjective approach. The assignment of individuals to social class on the basis of objective criteria, such as occupation, income, education, and place of residence is used most frequently (Objective approach). An alternative approach to delineating and assigning class membership draws upon a society's view and images of the overall class system itself and of the social class location of others in the society or community (Reputational approach). This approach uses knowledgeable informants of the community to provide the researcher with the set of class or rank categories in the community and then ranks everyone in the community in these categories. The subjective feelings and awareness of individuals with regard to their own positions in the system of social ranking which they perceive is the basis of another approach to the identification and delineation of social class (Subjective approach). This subjective awareness, identification and solidarity-class consciousness is a crucial dimension of the class system and its dynamic (Matras 1975:103).

Studies of racial-ethnic groups have always confused social class theorists, because like a social class, racial-ethnic groups consist of interacting groups, associated subcultures and often have opposing group interests. Nevertheless, racial-ethnic groups are regarded as conceptually independent of rank systems. Society is
regarded as vertically differentiated into classes and horizontally defined into different racial-ethnic groups, so that a class structure exists within each group and vice-versa (Jackson and Curtis 1968:125). However, empirically race and class may be associated in any given society.

D. Class Consciousness

The most popular measure of class consciousness refers to class identification as opposed to the Marxian ideology synonymous with class action. In their "Paradigm for the Study of Class Consciousness," Murphy and Morris (1966:307) state that it is theoretically useful to speak of class consciousness with or without class action on the part of individual members, and the separation clarifies the nature of the class action itself. They further state that in all of the techniques used to study class consciousness (nationally, community, use of judges, etc.), the assumption seems to be that unless and until a number of members in a community are able to say how many classes exist in their community, are able to name the classes, and can place themselves and others in the identified classes, class consciousness does not exist.

Lopreato and Hazelrigg (1972) suggest that what we study and define as class consciousness is actually class-implicated consciousness. Questions designated to tap dimensions such as class solidarity, dimensional awareness
and social perceptivity include questions such as "To decide whether a given person belongs to your class, what single factor do you have to consider most?" or "Do you think that your needs and your ideas are similar or different from other persons in your class?" or "Do you feel a sense of unity with your class?"

In a study of class consciousness and inter-class sentiment, Lionel Lewis (1965) found the common predisposition to class action held by people in a particular class reflects an awareness of common class interests and individuals of various social classes will show a more negative attitudes toward those individuals in other classes than toward individuals in their own social class. People will feel more distant from those in other classes than from those in their own class. However, there are other scientists (Manis and Meltzer, 1969; Glantz, 1958; Leggett, 1968) who argue that it is essential to the very idea of class consciousness that some sort of commitment to class interest or ideology be present together with participation in a program of action in the name of the class.

Manis and Meltzer (1969) in their study of textile workers, based their correlates of class consciousness upon the Marxist conception of class which includes (1) to perceive the class structure in dichotomous terms; (2) to perceive the criteria of class placement in economic terms; (3) to perceive the relations between classes
in terms of antagonism; (4) to perceive classes as cohesive entities; and (5) to perceive the class system as neither desirable nor inevitable.

Glantz (1958:376) cites that if class consciousness is supposed to mean more than a simple awareness of economic position, one should expect this awareness to be accompanied by class related politico-economic values. In his study, Glantz addressed the question, "Does Class Consciousness lead to political cohesiveness at the ballot box, not only in party preference but also in the motivational basis for that preference?" He concluded: (1) Class Consciousness was related empirically to political solidarity in voting -- "Class conscious" big businessmen gave 100% of their votes to Dewey and Eisenhower respectively in 1948 and 1952 while "class conscious" unionists gave 91% and 86% of their votes to Truman and Stevenson respectively in 1948 and 1952; (2) Moreover, "class consciousness was related intrinsically to solidarity in voting. Much more often than not, and more often than their occupational peers who voted the same way, class conscious persons had class-related motives for voting as they did.

Class consciousness has been used to refer to a large number of social phenomena probably because social classes have many different properties which can be singled out as possible objects of consciousness. Landecker (1963) distinguished three types of class consciousness, namely,
class status consciousness, class structure consciousness, and class interest consciousness. Evidence suggests a positive relationship between class status consciousness and class interest consciousness with class crystallization. Class crystallization is defined as the degree to which mutually equivalent rank levels of different rank systems such as income, occupation, education and racial or ethnic group coincide in their incumbents, thereby, forming social classes and class statuses. It may be assumed, then, that the experience of having some clear-cut equalities and some inequalities tends to evoke an acute consciousness of class. This tends to agree with Laumann and Senter's (1963) study of a comparative inquiry among Germans and Americans in subjective social distance reactions to occupations in which the assumption is made that the amount of social stratification in a society can be defined usefully as the variable degree to which persons of approximately equal social status choose one another for intimate relationships such as marriage and friendship beyond what would be expected on the basis of chance factors alone.

E. The Black Middle Class Dilemma: The Interrelationships Between Social Class and Race Consciousness

Controversy and confusion surround the role of the Black Middle Class. Rustin (1969:237) stated that the confusion results from the fact that the Black Middle class behaves in a way that is characteristically middle class
but uniquely Black. There are Blacks, for example who ask the middle class Black to behave as if class were totally unimportant. By ignoring the class factor, they arrive at a sentimental notion of Black solidarity. If they are apologists for middle class Blacks, and if they are their critics, they condemn them for deserting their poor Black brothers. When the Black middle class acts in a way that is typically middle class, the Black lower class response is either to close their eyes to this phenomenon or to become enraged about it (Rustin 1969:237).

Until the early part of this century, most Black leaders and many individuals among the first generation of educated Blacks proudly styled themselves as "race men" who were above all concerned with reconstructing the economic, moral and cultural life of their people. The identification of middle class Black leaders with the masses of their race has grown increasingly tenuous and weak (Essien-Udom 1962:16). They reject and despise the Black masses, whom they deem responsible for what they know to be a continuing rejection by the Whites, into whose society they are not really assimilated (Essien-Udom 1962:16).

Lincoln (1962) finds that the Black middle class is ambivalent toward Black nationalism. In addition, Lincoln reports that middle class Black Americans will coalesce with Black nationalist organizations only for collective struggle against subordination. Albeit, they reject Black
identity and the quest for their cultural roots. The main appeal of all Black nationalist movements, then is to the Black lower classes. Lincoln (1962:184-85) asserts that within the lower class, the Black's resentment is crystallized and open. He has long despaired of the White man's justice and of the trustworthiness of the "acceptable" Black leaders who count the White man's favor. Moreover, he is already at the bottom of the ladder, so his economic and social position is not vulnerable.

However, the "new" Black middle class has achieved its measure of job security, and its conception of status achievement is dissociation from the Black masses (Frazier 1957:168; Essien-Udom 1962:2). There is among the Black Bourgeoisie a compelling urgency to leave behind themselves everything which would identify them with lower class Blacks (Brennan 1940:195). However, today in comparison to the last three decades (1940's, 1950's, 1960's) there seems to be a more positive relationship between middle class and lower-class Blacks. The status orientation of the "New" middle class, that class of professional and quasi-professional Blacks possessed of special skills or whose positions are insulated in civil service employment, invariably involves a policy of social integration and a concerted effort to reduce the social distance which obtains between it and the privileged White middle class (Gregor 1963:420).

In times of cultural and political revolution, the
money, the energy and the leadership for a forward thrust is provided by the middle class (the class that is better off); this forward thrust is also in the interest of the poor. It was the middle class Black who founded the schools, churches, and newspapers which helped unify and uplift all Black people. Moreover, it was the middle class Black who provided the leadership and initiative for the Black struggle during its very early stages (Rustin 1969:239). When upper class and middle class people speak of advancing the race, what they really mean is creating conditions under which lower class traits will eventually disappear and something approaching the middle class way of life will prevail in Bronzeville (Drake and Cayton 1945:710).

In *Black Bourgeoisie*, Frazier (1957:157) states that "because of its deep seated inferiority complex the Black bourgeoisie hungers for any form of recognition by people or groups that have status or power in the world. While rejecting any genuine identification with the Black race, the Black bourgeoisie seeks, nevertheless, whatever recognition it may enjoy because of the high status of individuals of Black ancestry in the world. The Black Press provides this recognition for the Black bourgeoisie in various ways."

In a study of the Philadelphia NAACP during the thirties, Nelson (1975:257) observed by 1935 that a precedent was firmly established which equated race
consciousness with philanthropic donations and the ability to raise funds for NAACP ventures. When circumstances dictated choosing between race advancement and preserving personal or class interests, more persons elected to pursue the latter course and maintain the status quo.

Members of the Black bourgeoisie are explicitly villified by the militants because they make more of their class than of their racial position (Reissman 1973:103). The militant gives relatively little attention to class in favor of race. The pursuit of class interests is unacceptable in large measure because it would dilute the singular primacy of race as a focus for identity, and loyalty, and thereby, it would attenuate some of the political potential developed from racial identifications (Reissman 1973:103). However, Dizard (1970:202), in looking at two extremes in occupational status, professional and unskilled laborers, observes that there is very little difference between these categories in the respective proportions for high and low attachment to Black identity. This similarity between such otherwise diverse strata as the highly educated and relatively well paid professionals and the unskilled Black laborers suggest quite powerfully that there is indeed a sense of group belonging or identity that does in fact link a broad spectrum of the Black community together. Dizard also concluded, that whatever their age, the better educated
Blacks are the most likely to possess those skills that are necessary to influence the general community, and to the extent that the well educated partake in community affairs, their attachment to Black identity is bound to affect the consciousness of the wider community. One could reasonably infer that it is the middle class, at least as defined by educational achievement that is the chief repository of Black pride (Dizard 1970:20).

With the emergence of a distinct Black middle class, the middle class Black man is beginning to redefine himself in relation not only to the larger White community but to his race and to his traditions (Kronus 1971:140). From his study of the Black middle class, Kronus stated that it is evident in the past that personal self-interest has been the norm among middle class Blacks as among middle class Whites. The Black middle class person feels an ever increasing identification with his race in general, but at the same time fears that the scope and intensity of the problems of the lower class preclude solution in the foreseeable future (Kronus 1971:14). The Black middle class will continue to expand and differentiate but in so doing it will tend more to solidify its position and become much more class conscious. The infusion of more and more socially mobile individuals may add to the conservative trend (Kronus 1971:142).

Consequently, class consciousness takes precedence over racial consciousness and this factor seem to dull
racial perception in toto (Thomas 1973:80). Thomas concludes that his data seem to imply that some reticence exists on the part of the Black middle class to indulge in Black nationalist activities. The literature suggests that the Black middle class functions as intermediaries between the White oppressors and the oppressed Black masses. Thus, they must not only attempt to appease the Black masses but also their White benefactors. The non-commitment of middle class Black Americans to Black Nationalism and Negritude may not be one of apathy or indifference but rather anonymity (Thomas 1973:96).

In conclusion, I would like to cite two studies that focus particularly on race, class and political consciousness. Hurst's (1972) findings indicate that while race is important for one's feelings of being manipulated politically, both race and occupational status play a part in one's feeling subjugated economically; however, occupational status rather than race appears to be the important factor for interest in politics and it appears that one's sense of being exploited is more activated by the fact of being Black than by being lower class.

Leggett (1968), in a study of Working-Class Consciousness in Detroit, found that within the Black community, many workers expressed extremely high degrees of consciousness which they translated into political choice. He attempted to account for Black class consciousness by emphasizing the impact of job discrimination, uprootedness,
and union membership on workers who are able to discuss their common problems at the work place and in their neighborhoods (Leggett 1968:130). The overriding question for this research, then is to determine the extent to which race consciousness and class consciousness exist among a sample of Blacks, and to determine the extent to which race consciousness and class consciousness respectively, correlate with social class.

F. Demographic and Socioeconomic Variables and Race Consciousness

One important indicator of race consciousness among Blacks may be seen in the effect of age on attitudes toward Black nationalism, race pride, racial solidarity, or Black identity. Young Black Americans more readily embrace Black nationalism and negritude than any other Black age groups (Thomas 1973:84). Young Black Americans are at the forefront of Black cultural movements. Thus, there is an overrepresentation of young Black Americans in most nationalist outbursts (Blauner 1972; McConie 1965 and Kerner 1965). While attachment to Black identity is highest among the very young, it would be a mistake to characterize the attraction of Black identity as simply a phenomenon of youth. It is clear that attachment to Black identity has penetrated well beyond the ranks of the young and has involved a substantial proportion of persons, who by their age and education at least, can only be regarded as "responsible adults" (Dizard 1970:201).
The socialization process in all societies takes into consideration the sex of the individual. Sex roles play an important role in the development of certain behavioral dispositions and attitudes. Thus an individual's level of race consciousness is influenced by his sex. The American social structure accords differential treatment to the sexes. The Black male and Black female are no exceptions to this norm. Even though there is a common racial identity, the differences in sex do have profound effect on how one feels about his race. Traditionally, the Black female has served as a sexual partner for White males (Epstein 1973:36). As a consequence, she has become a liason between the Black and White communities. Thus, she not only internalized the values of the White world but also transmitted them to her female offspring (Defleur 1972:159-60). In all of this suffering, Black women showed a remarkable and perhaps unprecedented courage, not to be paralleled in human history. They adjusted to all of these conditions, fought them with vigor and emerged with fewer scars than normal (Ladner 1971:276). Many Black women who have traditionally accepted the White models of femininity are now rejecting them. The battle between the sexes which characterizes the women's liberation groups - struggles over equalization of power in interpersonal relations - is the kind of luxury which Black people as a race can ill afford (Ladner 1971:276). Black women do not perceive their enemy to be Black men, but rather the enemy
is considered to be the oppressive forces in larger society which subjugate Black men, women and children. A preoccupation with the equalization of roles between Black men and women is almost irrelevant when one places it within the context of total priorities related to the survival of the race. All of the energies and resources of males and females are necessary to obliterate institutional racism (Ladner 1971:278).

Much has been written about the elimination of the male's traditional functions under the slave system. It is true that he was often relegated to working in the fields and siring children, rather than providing economic maintenance or physical protection for his family. It was the male slave's inability to protect his wife from the physical and sexual abuse of the master that most pained him (Staples 1976:118). Today with the problems of menial jobs, unemployment, loss of dignity and family responsibility among Black men, insecurities and frustrations develop. Males are more likely to be exposed to values that reject the status quo than females (Marx 1964:53). Males are more likely to dislike control mechanisms and authority structures that place restrictions on their behavior than females (Thomas 1973:37). Thus, Black males are the first to become affiliated with Black nationalist movements and overt expressions of negritude (Thomas 1973:37). Therefore, sex differences are relevant to the development of race consciousness. Black males have
traditionally been treated worse than females. In a study by Marx (1964:53) one in three of the men in the sample were militant while only about one in five of the women were.

Behavior dispositions of Blacks are influenced by their social class positions. Studies such as Glantz (1958) and Hurst (1972) suggest that class differences affect political attitudes and behavior. Hyman (1966:488) found a dissimilar value system among different social classes. Man's social position, rather than his innate, personal qualities is conceived of as the major influence on his total life situation (Abrahamson 1976:35). Therefore, social class differences among Blacks can be assumed to be related to their levels of race consciousness. Although most sociological research on racial stratification is devoted to the distinctions between races, there are corresponding intraracial class and status patterns within the Black community and these are highly responsive to interracial tensions. During slavery (1661-1865) the most important status distinctions stemmed from the occupational stratification of Blacks as either house slaves (butlers, maids, cooks, and nursemaids) or as field slaves (performing non-household roles on the plantation such as that of a field hand). The distinction between house slaves and field slaves was paramount. The former were accorded a higher status than the latter (Blackwell 1975:8). It is this distinction between house slaves and field
slaves that is so critical in the development of parallel institutions in the assimilation of some slaves into the culture of the Whites (acculturation) and in the argument for African cultural survivals among Black American slaves (Blackwell 1975:9). Thus the development of the Black community with its separate institutions should be viewed in light of the changing character of race relations in the United States. The Black community as a distinctive social entity can only be understood within the larger context of the status of Black people in American society. Having been systematically excluded from full participation in the larger society, it became necessary for Black Americans to develop separate (although frequently parallel) community institutions (Pinkney 1969:53). Thus those individuals who were teachers, ministers and businessmen (barbers, beauticians, morticians, insurance agents) were able to make economic gains and receive prestige in the community. If one had to summarize the class and status change among American Blacks from the 1930's to the 1970's in a single sociological phrase, the most apt would be "a substantial reduction in absolute deprivation but a small increase in relative deprivation". Blacks have experienced considerable increases in levels of real income, housing standards, medical care, educational access, occupational advancement and virtually every other measure of the quality of life available.

Social and economic changes for Blacks has increased
the awareness of the middle class Black man to the plight of his race and given him greater positive identity as being Black. Yet at the same time it has lifted him higher, socially and economically, away from the majority of his people (Kronus 1971:42). Lower class Blacks are highly suspicious of middle and upper class Blacks whose contributions to the larger Black community are not well known. This suspicion leads to generalizations about inaction and nonparticipation of the financially well-off Blacks in causes designed to bring relief to the Black poor (Blackwell 1975:97).

G. Summary

The literature on class consciousness among Blacks is scarce but that on race consciousness among Blacks is somewhat more abundant. However, the literature does show a relationship between social class among Blacks and their attitudes or feelings toward their race as a group. Historically, it seems that middle class Blacks have been viewed as less concerned about their racial status than those Blacks in the lower class. On the other hand, some of the literature indicated that there was genuine concern for their race. It is very possible that there is a simultaneous concern for both social class and race among Blacks. There seems to be a reasonable amount of consensus on the definition of race consciousness but agreement on what is actually class consciousness varies due to the
fact of the precarious definitions of social class. In most cases in the literature, race consciousness is used as a dependent variable, in comparison with class consciousness which has been used interchangeable as a dependent and an independent variable. Factors such as unity, pride, racial solidarity and identity with one's race are qualities that the literature mentioned most often as being prevalent among Blacks for the development or presence of race consciousness. Social class position (specifically middle class) seems to be the one factor that may be an obstacle in the development of a very high level of race consciousness. Race conscious sentiments are expressed in a wide variety of actions, symbols and activities. Some of the factors which can influence whether race consciousness will be displayed in various situations are (1) familiarity with an issue (2) familiarity with race conscious explanations of it and (3) the fear of hostile reaction by Whites and/or other Blacks (Pitts 1971:672).

It is common agreement among writers on class consciousness that individuals must believe in and recognize social classes, whether on the national level or community level, before class consciousness can exist. A second casual factor of class consciousness is some feeling (usually negative or antagonistic) toward others who are not in one's class. Any action that is class motivated such as voting preference or protests relating to economic
conditions are situations expressing class consciousness on the part of the individuals in a particular social class.

Historically (in the 1940's, 50's, 60's, 70's) Blacks have always expressed degrees of race consciousness reflecting the circumstances and situations of the times. However, in the late thirties, most scholars typically overlooked the question of race consciousness. Those studies that did focus on race consciousness specifically (Brown 1936 and Ferguson 1936) were more theoretically oriented. Later studies which did focus on race consciousness, focused on specific aspects such as (1) the structure and development of race consciousness through the process of the Black Nationalist Movements (Udom 1962; Turner 1971); (2) a look at the kinds of data that are required to link Black race consciousness to a social context which involves both societal institutions and social patterns among Black Americans (Pitts 1974); (3) the relationship between Black identity, social class and Black power (Dizard 1970). Thus in the 1960's and 1970's Blacks were openly expressing positive aspects of their Blackness, that is, Black pride, Black identity as they had never done before in their history. The literature showed race consciousness was influenced by one's age and sex. Younger Blacks in comparison to older Blacks and males in comparison to females, according to the literature, expressed more race consciousness. Most of the class
consciousness studies focused on whites, however, the one specific study that focused on class consciousness among Blacks (Leggett 1968) showed high degrees of class consciousness are expressed by Blacks, specifically in relation to job discrimination. This study will add to those studies of Blacks in relation to their race and class consciousness and add new dimensions to studies in the field.
Chapter III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The purpose of this chapter is to set forth an appropriate theoretical framework for viewing the phenomenon of race consciousness within the Black community. It is the opinion of the writer that most of the existing theoretical frameworks are too narrow in scope to account for the complexities of the phenomenon of race consciousness. No single theoretical framework can adequately or appropriately explain the structural and organizational entities of race consciousness in the Black community. No single theory, yet developed, can explain fully the authentic Black experience in America.

This study addresses itself to answering the question, are there differences among Blacks in various social economic positions and demographic categories in terms of their levels of race consciousness? If so, what are the variables accounting for these differences? In order to answer this question, this theoretical framework utilizes three components: (A) A focus on certain demographic and socioeconomic variables (age, sex, occupation and social class), with special emphasis on social class and the implications it has for race consciousness among Blacks; (B) A focus on class consciousness in the Black community as a factor in motivating or hindering race consciousness among Blacks and (C) A focus on behavior patterns, life
styles and social status in the Black community. Another major concern is with the attitudes and behaviors of these individuals in reference to their feelings about their race and their social class. The major focus, then is to determine how and to what extent demographic variables, class consciousness, behavior patterns, life styles and social status in the Black community aid in the shaping and development of race consciousness among Blacks.

The main model used in this study is graphically pictured below:

\[ X_1 = \text{AGE} \]
\[ X_2 = \text{SEX} \]
\[ X_3 = \text{OCCUPATION} \]
\[ X_4 = \text{SOCIAL CLASS} \]
\[ X_5 = \text{CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS} \]

\[ X_1 \cdot X_2 = \text{AGE} \cdot \text{SEX} \]
\[ X_1 \cdot X_3 = \text{AGE} \cdot \text{OCCUPATION} \]
\[ X_1 \cdot X_4 = \text{AGE} \cdot \text{SOCIAL CLASS} \]
\[ X_1 \cdot X_5 = \text{AGE} \cdot \text{CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS} \]
\[ X_2 \cdot X_3 = \text{SEX} \cdot \text{OCCUPATION} \]
\[ X_2 \cdot X_4 = \text{SEX} \cdot \text{SOCIAL CLASS} \]
\[ X_2 \cdot X_5 = \text{SEX} \cdot \text{CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS} \]
\[ X_3 \cdot X_4 = \text{OCCUPATION} \cdot \text{SOCIAL CLASS} \]
\[ X_3 \cdot X_5 = \text{OCCUPATION} \cdot \text{CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS} \]
\[ X_4 \cdot X_5 = \text{SOCIAL CLASS} \cdot \text{CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS} \]

\[ Y_1 = \text{RACE CONSCIOUSNESS} \]

Figure 3-1 Main Effects and Interactions Affecting Race Consciousness
An alternative model as shown below will also be analyzed:

\[ X_1 = \text{AGE} \]
\[ X_2 = \text{SEX} \]
\[ X_3 = \text{OCCUPATION} \]
\[ X_4 = \text{SOCIAL CLASS} \]
\[ Y_1 = \text{RACE CONSCIOUSNESS} \]
\[ Y_2 = \text{CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS} \]

\[ X_1 \cdot X_2 = \text{AGE*SEX} \]
\[ X_1 \cdot X_3 = \text{AGE*OCCUPATION} \]
\[ X_1 \cdot X_4 = \text{AGE*SOCIAL CLASS} \]
\[ X_2 \cdot X_3 = \text{SEX*OCCUPATION} \]
\[ X_2 \cdot X_4 = \text{SEX*SOCIAL CLASS} \]
\[ X_3 \cdot X_4 = \text{OCCUPATION*SOCIAL CLASS} \]

*The variable Social Class is defined on the basis of education and income. See operationalization of Concepts.

Figure 3-2 Main Effects and Interactions Affecting Race Consciousness and Class Consciousness

The theoretical model for this study is based on the following basic assumptions.

Assumption 1 - Social differentiation occurs in every social situation based on sex, age, race and social status (social class).

Assumption 2 - Differential treatment of a racial group or a social class leads to heighten group consciousness, that is, race consciousness and class consciousness.
Assumption 3 - Age, sex, occupation, and social class influence levels of race consciousness and levels of class consciousness among Blacks.

Assumption 4 - There is a relationship between class consciousness and race consciousness among Blacks.

A. Class Consciousness and Race Consciousness

Race consciousness refers to feelings of identity, loyalty, devotion, unity and pride in one's race. This awareness of one's racial identity is expressed in a strong commitment to the race. Class consciousness is defined as awareness of one's social class position in the stratification system accompanied by a strong identification with others in the same position and an antagonistic attitude toward others not in the same class. Class consciousness and Race consciousness may be subsumed within the more general category of "group consciousness". Other forms of this generic concept include Nationalism, Familism, and Religious group consciousness. The common denominator of these otherwise diverse phenomenon is an awareness on the part of those concerned that they are members of a distinctive group. They think of themselves as forming a collective separate and apart from the rest of a larger aggregate, with interests that are unique to themselves. On this basis they are capable of taking co-operative action in furtherance of their own collective
interests and possibly in opposition to the interests of non-members (Lopreato and Hazelrigg 1972:118). The several variants of group consciousness differ most fundamentally in the basis on which that awareness of common interests and membership is constructed. However, interrelationships whether positive or negative can occur between two different types of group consciousness. In race consciousness, the basis for common interests and membership rests with loyalty or devotion to one's racial group (based on physical features as skin color, hair texture, etc.). Race consciousness can however, be expressed in two ways, namely, with an individual orientation or a collective orientation. Race consciousness with an individual orientation refers to a valued belief in the American experience that the good life follows as a reward to moral discipline, hard work and ambition (Gurin 1975: 217). Therefore, individual mobility made possible through education and advanced training is the best way for individual Blacks to deal with the realities of discrimination. Race consciousness with a collective orientation refers to insistence on the necessity of group action. The basis here is that racial subordination violates two preconditions for individual mobility: (1) access to favorable life opportunities and (2) evaluations of performance by nonracial, universal achievement standards, thus the nature of the race situation demands constant protest, pressure and group action. Using Marx's terminology of
class consciousness the basis for common interests and membership rests in the awareness of common membership in a distinct community of economic interests. The question becomes one of whether or not class consciousness leads to race consciousness or vice-versa. A relationship does exist between the two. Turner (1971:169) describes the Black Nationalist as belonging to an out-group, an alien in White society that controls the total universe in which he moves. Turner then goes on to express how sentiments of belonging no longer to oneself but to another, accompanies an awareness of being Black, which becomes translated in social terms, into a caste and class consciousness. Becoming a Black Nationalist involves a realization that Blacks are treated categorically by the dominant group (Turner 1971:169).

Membership in multiple groups can lead to competing forms of group consciousness. Whether class consciousness is an obstacle to race consciousness or race consciousness impedes the formation of class consciousness depends on the circumstance or situations that would call for an alignment along class lines or race lines. In recent history self-conscious religious, ethnic, racial and generational communities of people have defined their respective interests as mutually contradictory. When these forms of group consciousness are strong, the formation of a unified consciousness of class is highly problematic.
(Lopreato and Hazelrigg 1972:262). In its stead, complex patterns of consciousness of "ethclass" (Gordon 1964:51) religious-group, class or racial class emerge. In the extreme case, the salience of socioeconomic class distinctions may be almost completely submerged in the welter of ethnic, religious or racial strife (Lopreato and Hazelrigg 1972:262).

Self-conception refers to the individual's subjective definition of his class location. For a number of reasons, Blacks have a higher level of class consciousness than other groups in the United States. Even those who would objectively fall in the middle class act in strong defense of the working class and call for a society free of class exploitation (Staples 1975:198-99). Many American Blacks have displayed class consciousness by expressing militant views and by taking aggressive political action. Some have expressed anger over economic inequity, such as in Watts and Detroit, where they demonstrated how they felt toward private property of businessmen (Leggett 1968:5).

General conditions that foster the development of class consciousness include recurrent economic insecurity, relative class isolation, heavy population density and class homogeneity. In Leggett's study of Working Class Consciousness in Detroit, he revealed that the marginal working class belonged to a sub-community subject to considerable discrimination and consequent social isolation.
Interaction with middle class employers and other businessmen was characterized by occupational and housing biases, factors which in turn contributed to their labor force marginality since they were last hired and first fired.

Since marginal working class conflicts occur simultaneously along class and racial lines, certain aspects of class consciousness can be correlated with racial awareness. Specifically, Black workmen's differences with White middle class interests or craft unionists on matters of employment, promotion or job retention generate both class and race consciousness (Leggett 1968:103). Class and racial consciousness were in many cases interrelated; when one occurred, the other did so as well. In studying class and race consciousness among the marginal workmen Leggett analyzed the responses or verbalizations used by the workmen to refer to working conditions. If a workman used racial terms he was coded as engaging in racial verbalization as opposed to class verbalization. This simple correlation (use of racial rather than class terms) does not mean that class consciousness is directly related to race consciousness. This question remains problematic; however, the implication is there.

Progressive movements in general and industrial unions in particular have always hoped that class consciousness would both affect political choice and improve race relations. Many labor intellectuals cherish
traditional belief that greater class consciousness will be accompanied by a lessening of inter-ethnic and interracial animosity (Leggett 1968:125). On the other hand we find others who believe the assumption that racial conflict is merely a special manifestation of class conflict. Accordingly, ideologies of racism, racial prejudices, institutionalized discrimination, segregation and other factors that reinforce or embody racial stratification are seen as simply part of a superstructure determined and shaped by the particular arrangement of the class structure (Wilson 1978:4). One explanation of how class conflicts actually shape and determine racial relations is the orthodox Marxist theory of Capitalist exploitation. This theory postulates that because the ultimate goal of the capitalist class is to maximize profits, efforts will be made to suppress workers' demands for increased and wages and to weaken their bargaining power by promoting divisions within their ranks. The divisions occur along racial lines to the extent that the capitalist class is able to isolate the lower priced Black labor force, not only by developing and encouraging racial prejudices, but supporting job, housing and educational discrimination against Blacks. Orthodox Marxists argue that racial antagonism is designed to be a "mask for privilege" that effectively conceals the efforts of the ruling class to exploit subordinate minority groups and divide the working class (Wilson 1978:4).
The presence of ethnic stratification that cross cuts economic groups will tend to reduce the cohesiveness of the classes. The hypothesis is that class polarization tends to be reduced when such an alignment would conflict with ethnic stratification (Lieberson 1970:176). The conditions under which different class segments of an ethnic group will unite on the ethnic stratification issues as opposed to pursuing their somewhat independent class interests requires further empirical study.

B. Behavior Patterns and Life Styles and Race Consciousness

Behavior patterns, life styles and social status in the Black community can be seen as reflecting race or class consciousness among Blacks. The Black community is shaped by its' relationship to the larger social structure as well as the structure and dynamics of its' own organization. Race consciousness in the Black community is typified by behavioral and attitudinal reactions to external conditions (prejudice, segregation, institutional racism, discrimination) imposed on the Black community as a whole, as well as the nature of the internal state of affairs within the Black community itself. Black responses (assimilation, separatism, integration, Nationalism or Race consciousness) to inequality and discrimination crisscross a number of different boundaries including education, economics, politics, family variables, power, class and privileges. Blackwell (1975:1) views the
Black community as a highly diversified, interrelated aggregate of people who unite into relatively cohesive structure in response to White oppression, racism and patterned repression. The diversity within the Black community manifests itself in economic life, occupational pursuits, earned income, and business ventures and in their successes and failures.

Observing certain consumer patterns such as whether there are Black magazines, Black books, Black paintings, or Black statues in the home, can be an indicator of how racial and cultural conscious a particular family may be. Also, membership in organizations and social clubs whose main purpose or goal is in some way to aid in the betterment of the race can be an indicator of some degree of caring about one's race and attempting to do something to improve conditions. How well informed Black individuals are of Black leaders by merely being able to identify them, whether nationally known or not, gives an indication of interest in wanting to know who they are as a group and who those individuals are who have made progress for the race as a whole. A close look at the names (Black, Negro, Afro-American, Colored) they prefer to be called and how they feel about conditions for Blacks today in terms of housing, education, job opportunities, and social acceptance by Whites reveal the differences found among Blacks in terms of race consciousness.

Thus by focusing on demographic and socioeconomic
variables, class consciousness, and certain behavioral patterns, and life styles, the writer hopes to explain how race consciousness develops among Blacks and what factors are associated with race consciousness among Blacks.

The following hypotheses will be tested:

1. Middle class individuals will be more class conscious than race conscious, while lower class individuals will be more race conscious than class conscious.

2. Middle class individuals will express more individual race consciousness than collective race consciousness, while lower class individuals will express more collective race consciousness than individual race consciousness.

3. Middle class individuals will exhibit more individual race consciousness than lower class persons, while lower class persons will exhibit more collective race consciousness than middle class persons.

4. Middle class individuals will be more class conscious than lower class individuals, while lower class persons will be more race conscious than middle class persons.

5. Among both middle class and lower class Blacks, younger people will be more race conscious than older people.

6. Males will exhibit a higher level of race consciousness than females.

7. Blue collar workers will exhibit more race consciousness than white collar workers.
8. Highly class conscious individuals will express less race consciousness than low class conscious individuals.

9. There will be a relationship between age, sex, occupation and social class, respectively, and class consciousness. Older persons, males, white collar workers and Middle Class individuals will exhibit higher levels of class consciousness than their opposites.

10. The different interaction combinations of the independent variables will be significantly associated with race consciousness and class consciousness.

C. Theoretical Perspective

Ethnic stratification and social class stratification are the two basic frameworks from which race consciousness and class consciousness, respectively, are derived. In every social system involving a plurality of individuals, there is some degree of social differentiation; that is, differences between individuals, groups or social positions become defined in the course of social interaction. These differences may be based on sex, age, skin color or achievement factors such as skills, expertise, education or training and are assigned different value priorities that come to be ranked, in terms of normative importance. Persons who share similar beliefs and values, relative to these and other characteristics, as well as the same life chances, may develop a sense of common identity.
Williams 1964:19). A group emerges when it ceases to be simply a potential membership group and develops into a social unit whose members are aware of their common identity and common interests. This also occurs to members of a social class as Marx makes the distinction, calling a potential membership group a class in itself and a self-conscious collectivity, a class for self (Greissman 1975:94-5).

**Ethnic stratification** is a system of stratification wherein some relatively fixed group membership (race, religion or nationality) is utilized as a major but not necessarily the only criterion for assigning social positions with their attendant differential rewards. Achievement oriented factors such as levels of education, income, and occupation may also act in concert with ethnic or ascribed factors in determining one's position in the stratification system. Some writers hold, however, that a system of ethnic or racial stratification depends upon three essential conditions: ethnocentrism, competition, and differential power (Noel 1968:157-172). Racial domination and exploitation have occurred repeatedly throughout history. Usually when two distinct racial groups have established contact and have interacted for a continuous period, one group has ended up dominating the other. Continuous or sustained interactions between racial groups after contact are prerequisites both for the development of **racial stratification** and for the establishment of
equalitarian relations between racial groups (Wilson 1973:17-18). Differential power is a marked feature of racial group interaction in complex societies: the greater the power discrepancy between subordinate and dominant racial groups, the greater are the extent and scope of racial domination (Wilson 1973:18). Further, if groups in contact differ in their capacity to impose change on the other group, then we may expect to find one group "superordinate" and the other population "subordinate" in maintaining or developing a "suitable environment" (Lieberson 1961:291).

It is true, as Ernest Barth and Donald Noel (1972:340) have pointed out, that racial and ethnic groups in a given society must share communication symbols, but the critical issue is the presence or absence of consensus between groups on other issues. In the United States, despite racial consensus on fundamental issues of morality not related to race relations (e.g., support of the legal code with respect to property, crime and murder) and despite the sharing of communication symbols and the interdependence in the division of labor, one must conclude that there is and has been significant dissensus between dominant and subordinate groups with respect to values and norms reinforcing racial stratification (Wilson 1973:10-11). Some segments of the Black population have at certain time periods internalized White group norms of racial domination and have been influenced by racist thought to the degree
that they have openly rejected Black identity and have desperately striven to identify with White society. Of course, it should be recognized that there may be discrepancies in views and opinions within the respective racial groups. Some minority members are heavily committed to ending racial stratification and are more upset about the structural arrangements than others. Indeed, as E. Franklin Frazier (1957) attempted to show, many Black professionals serving the Black community have a vested interest in maintaining racial segregation because they are not thrown into competition with Whites. Rose and Rose (1965:247) have emphasized that ethnic group identification implies a positive orientation. It involves not only a recognition that because of one's ancestry one is a member of a racial or religious group, and a recognition that the majority group defines one as belonging to that racial or religious group, it also involves a positive desire to identify oneself as a member of a group and a feeling of pleasure when one does so.

The term race consciousness, when in reference to Blacks, has been used interchangeably with ethnic (racial) identity or Black pride. Heighten group consciousness whether the group is of a particular race or social class does not occur simply on the basis of differential treatment but when the members of a particular group become aware of differential treatment that they begin to establish group identity on that basis. A "sense of
identity" obviously has conscious aspects such as the experience of an increased unity of the physical and mental, moral and sensual selves, and of a oneness in the way one experiences oneself and the way others seem to experience such persons (Erikson 1966:145). Ethnic groups are the prototypical examples of collectivities possessing a common identity, but national groupings, and social classes as well, can often be typified as possessing among other things, a sense of collective identity. The important features of collective identity are essentially two (1) a common thread of historical experience and a sense that each member of the collectivity, regardless of how distinctive he may be somehow shares in this historical experience and (2) a sense of potency or strength inherent in the group. Black Americans have been typically regarded as possessing either no collective identity, or worse, a negative identity and a sense of self-disparagement (Dizard 1970:196). But with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's, Blacks began to "feel beautiful" and identified with the new nations of Africa. The label "Afro-American" has recently become more popular with Blacks. The development of a mass society has been associated with a high degree of alienation on an individual level and a great rate of change on the sociocultural level, both of which have led individuals to seek out some nostalgic, warm and comfortable source of security—for instance, one's ethnic group. In addition, the Black revolution's success
on a social-psychological level in transfiguring the de-
gradation of being Black to soul-inspiring pride, as in
the slogan "Black is Beautiful" has strongly encouraged
other ethnic groups to follow the Afro-American example.
Recent events, for example, the apparent flourishing of
Black pride and Black power movements, suggest that what-
ever may have once been the case, Black people now seem to
be developing a group consciousness that could greatly
alter the character of future relationships between the
races (Dizard 1970:196). Not only the external forces
(institutionalized racism, prejudice, discrimination,
segregation) of ethnic stratification on the Black com-
munity give rise to Black ethnicity but certain internal
forces (migration, urbanization and intergroup conflict)
also play a part in heightening group consciousness among
Blacks or the development of Black ethnicity. By focusing
on the urban history of Black populations in Northern
cities, Taylor (1979:1401-1423) suggests that the pheno-
menon of Black ethnogenesis was inspired by essentially
the same structural conditions as the development of ethnic
identities and communities among White ethnic populations
in American cities. Taylor shows how Blacks within an
urban context of structured inequality, have sought not
only to develop and sustain group cohesiveness and identity
but also to establish social networks and communication
patterns as the bases of their institutional and communal
life. The problems of Black migrants to Northern cities
during the early 20th Century were much like those experienced by European immigrants to America. Moreover, to the degree that Blacks in Northern cities experienced relatively little intergenerational mobility and were subjected to increasing patterns of ghettoization, the potential for the emergence of collective consciousness and subcultural development was maximized. Opportunities to enter the political process not only fostered group consciousness and solidarity but also perpetuated the division of cities into ethnic components. Religious and civic leaders were frequently active in promoting a national ideology for the Black community and in providing the moral justification for identification with it. Thus community integration and ethnic identification seem to have been intensified by the nature of intergroup contacts and by political and violent conflict (Taylor 1979:1412).

Ethnicity, like age, sex, social class or any other categorical difference, can be emphasized or relatively ignored in a given society. The pattern of social relations may be such that it is brought home constantly to the person: "You are a Black man", or a person's ethnic background may be permitted to sit lightly upon his consciousness. A fairly high degree of ethnic (race) consciousness seems to be a "normal" feature of human society, but in American society this aspect of identity seems to be minimized in theory rather than in practice. The value system of our country prescribes discrimination
on the basis of race, color or creed. In more technical terms, American society has been characterized as embodying an achievement rather than an ascriptive set of values. However, there is considerable disparity between the expressions of objective-achieved equality and the subjective-ascribed realities of American practice (Rose 1976:16-17). Blacks in America can be considered one of the unmeltable ethnics, thus supporting the persistence of ethnic or racial consciousness in American society. Not only are there variations in ethnic identity between ethnic groups, but variations in ethnic identity within ethnic groups. One particular variable within ethnic groups is social class. Individuals at different levels of social respectability, that is, social classes, may differ considerably in the degree of importance they attach to their ethnic affiliations. When the ethnic group (Blacks) occupies a relatively inferior status position in a society, persons of higher class positions within an ethnic group will tend to identify with their social class rather than with their ethnic status (Rose 1976:30). If the Black movements of the 1960's had their intended effects of removing the sense of stigma from Black identity, then, according to Rose, there should be less tendency for Middle class Blacks to deemphasize their racial identity in order to maintain their self-respect.

Black pride, Black identity, Black ethnicity and race...
consciousness are all forces arising out of ethnic stratification. To be singled out as a distinct group fosters a sense of solidarity and common awareness among the members. The degree or extent of identification with one's group, however, varies.

The emergence or development of class consciousness rests on the traditional marxian theory of Class development. According to Marx, the characteristics of the economic system and of its property relations wield a predominant influence in determining the structure of each society. The forms of ownership of the means of production and the forms of labor give rise to the formation of the principal social groups - the social classes. These, in turn, have different styles of life and conflicting economic, social and political interests. The struggle between social classes - class conflict or social conflict - renders the social classes the central instruments of political activity (Matras 1975:64). Marx clearly implies that social classes are objectively real; that is, an individual's class position can be determined simply in terms of his relationship to the means of production.

However, Marx also indicates that a subjective reality in the form of "class consciousness" will inevitably arise in response to the conflict and oppression that is inherent in the class sytem. Thus, Marxian theory predicts that the bourgeoisie will unite in common defense against the proletariat, which, in turn, unites in order to rid itself
of the oppressive yoke of the ruling bourgeoise (Abrahamson and "et al" 1976:170). Marx's use of the important concept of class consciousness in a sense spells out the conditions under which such consciousness arises. Individuals in the same economic situation constitute a class (objectively) even when no awareness of its distinctive interests exists among them. This Marx refers to as a "class in itself". When such a class develops consciousness of its distinct interests, it becomes a "class for itself" (Heller 1969:9). This subjective awareness, identification and solidarity - class consciousness - was viewed by Marx as a crucial dimension of the class system and its dynamics. Contemporary students of social class have used this concept both to define social classes and to impute class membership to individuals (Matras 1975:103).

It is a fact that the majority of Blacks are in blue collar or unskilled occupations. Members of these occupations experience economic insecurities especially in the form of low paying jobs. These conditions lead to recognition of its subordinate economic position in relation to the dominant group (owners of production) and encourage the awareness of common interests. When economic conditions improved for Blacks - thus the development of the Black Middle Class - Blacks were then able to recognize class differences within their racial group. Some Blacks ignore these class
differences and view all Blacks as belonging to the same social class (lower), especially in relation to the larger dominant society. But those Blacks in the middle class do become conscious of their class position and as a group develop common interests and identity.

Table 3-1 diagrammatically depicts the theoretical perspective of this study, specifically in reference to the relationship between social class and race consciousness.
**Table 3-1 Ethno-Class Stratification and Race-Class Consciousness**

**ETHNIC STRATIFICATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Classes</th>
<th>Group Consciousness</th>
<th>Individual Race Consciousness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Class</strong></td>
<td>Middle Class (High) Collective Race Consciousness (Low)*</td>
<td>Middle Class (High) Individual Race Consciousness (High)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lower Class</strong></td>
<td>Lower Class (Low) Collective Race Consciousness (High)*</td>
<td>Lower Class (Low) Individual Race Consciousness (Low)*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NOTE: It is possible for both social classes to possess a high level of collective race consciousness and a high level of individual race consciousness. "High" and "Low" are used simply to denote the relative differences between the two classes for both race and class consciousness. In addition, it should be noted that class consciousness is inherently implied in the definition of the term "class".*
Chapter IV
METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the research methods and procedures used in conducting this study. Descriptions of the study area, the sampling design and description of the sample are outlined. The interview schedule, operationalization of concepts and the statistical tests used are all explained in this chapter.

A. Description of the Study Area

The study area in this research is a medium-sized southern city which has a total population 165,963 according to the 1970 Census. Blacks comprise about one-fourth (46,121) of the total population of the city. A view of the 1970 Census Tracts of this city, show most of the Blacks are located in a cluster in the western part of the city in and near the Mississippi River. Figure 4-1 shows the percentages of Blacks in each of the Census Tracts that were a part of the sample for this study.

In terms of years of school completed for persons 25 years and older, tracts 6 (26.95%), 9 (20.66%) and 13 (20.96%) have the largest percentage of individuals completing four years of high school. Tracts 25 (14.20%), 10 (14.40%) and 11 (8.74%) have the lowest percentages. The largest percentages of individuals with four years or more of college completed are found in tracts 22 (11.56%), 27 (10.66%) and tract 9 (8.5%). The lowest percentages
Figure 4-1. Percent Black in 1970 Census Tracts in a Major Southern City
are in tracts 17 (2.01%), 5 (2.16%) and 6 (2.10%).

Of the total number of families in the 1970 Census, those representing the largest percentages and falling in the $10,000 or more brackets, were in tracts 7 (25.43%), 9 (24.47%), and 22 (21.15%). Those falling in the $5,000 to $5,999 bracket were in tracts 7.02 (13.87%), 11.01 (13.75%), 21 (13.37%) and 24 (19.06%) and the lowest percentage of individuals in the same bracket was in tract 22 (6.0%).

A look at the changes in the occupational status of Blacks in the city from 1950 to 1970 show an increase in individuals moving into middle class occupations and a decline in individuals in lower class occupations (See Tables 4-1 and 4-2).

B. Sampling Design

An area stratified random block sample design was used. The aim was to give every Black dwelling unit in the city an equal opportunity of being selected in the sample. A minimum sample size of 200 individuals was selected by the following procedure: The entire area was divided into blocks based on the stratifying variables race and socioeconomic status. Using the U.S., Census publication of Block Statistics which lists the percentage Black population, any block with 25% or more Blacks was considered. New additions of blocks with 25% or more Blacks developed since the 1970 Census, were made available
by knowledgeable informants, mainly real estate agents. A grouped frequency distribution of the mean house value of all blocks with 25% or more Blacks was compiled. Mean house value was given in the U.S. Census publication of Block Statistics for each block enumerated. From these distribution, cut-off values dividing the frequency counts into block quartiles were calculated. The cut-off values for each quartile were as follows: quartile 1-less than or equal to $9,978, quartile 2-$9,979 to $12,039, quartile 3-$12,040 to $14,946 and quartile 4-$14,946 and above. Each quartile was representative of the percentage of Blacks in the total population of the city living in homes as designated in the cut-off values. Quartile 1 represented 19.35%, quartile 2 represented 32.75%, quartile 3 represented 22.48% and quartile 4 represented 25.42%.

Each block quartile was fully enumerated on a listing where the number of dwellings per block was noted for each block in the quartile. Because the number of dwellings in a block varied, the total number of dwellings per quartile was computed. The number of dwellings per block was given in the U.S. Census of publication for Block Statistics. By using the total number of dwellings in quartile 1, for example, as the numerator and the total number of dwellings in all four quartiles as the denominator, a fraction was obtained for quartile 1, as well as the others, which resulted in the representation of that quartile in the total sample. For reasons of efficiency and convenience, it was
desirable to keep the number of dwellings constant in each block. A subsample of four dwellings was selected. This increased the probability of selecting blocks with the same ratio (number of dwellings in blocks divided by total number of dwellings in the quartile) and at the same time decreased the probability of selecting the same block twice. Thus, a block containing an exceptionally large number of dwellings, if selected, might result in eight dwellings instead of four. Having the actual number of dwellings per block, instead of rough estimates of size, greatly facilitated the accuracy and representativeness of the process. Numbering was adopted as that used in the U.S. Census Block Statistics (as shown on the maps). Using the subsample of 4 dwellings, sample blocks were sketched and boundaries designated. Each intersection and mid-block was numbered. A random number was chosen as the starting point. After the random start, the sampling fraction of 4 divided by the number of dwellings was applied. Using interview schedules, the researcher and eleven trained assistants, nine Black females and two Black males collected the data. Individuals 18 years and older were randomly selected in each household and interviewed.

C. The Interview Schedule

A nine page questionnaire was used to gather information on demographic characteristics, family relations,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Employed</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Employed</td>
<td>15,522</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>15,481</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>15,176</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>5.17%</td>
<td>1,016</td>
<td>6.56%</td>
<td>1,341</td>
<td>8.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, Administrators</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>2.28%</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>1.76%</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>2.24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Workers</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>1.28%</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>1.02%</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>2.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Workers</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>1.79%</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>2.85%</td>
<td>1,431</td>
<td>9.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, Foremen</td>
<td>1,406</td>
<td>8.02%</td>
<td>1,294</td>
<td>8.35%</td>
<td>1,496</td>
<td>9.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives &amp; Kindred</td>
<td>2,766</td>
<td>15.78%</td>
<td>2,357</td>
<td>15.22%</td>
<td>2,258</td>
<td>14.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>3,724</td>
<td>21.25%</td>
<td>2,211</td>
<td>14.28%</td>
<td>1,342</td>
<td>8.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers</td>
<td>3,251</td>
<td>18.55%</td>
<td>3,422</td>
<td>22.10%</td>
<td>4,041</td>
<td>26.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Household</td>
<td>3,486</td>
<td>19.89%</td>
<td>3,528</td>
<td>22.78%</td>
<td>2,423</td>
<td>15.96%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-2  Percentages of Blacks in Blue Collar and White Collar Occupations in a Major Southern City from 1950-1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar</td>
<td>1,848</td>
<td>10.54%</td>
<td>1,889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Collar</td>
<td>14,633</td>
<td>85.51%</td>
<td>12,812</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
behavior and life style patterns, religious affiliation and beliefs, leisure activities, attitudes toward being Black, community participation and satisfaction, political behavior, level of living, social organization affiliations, child rearing practices, and criteria for social class placement. Scales measuring race consciousness and class consciousness were also part of the questionnaire.

D. Pretesting Procedures

A selected sample of 12 Black males and 8 Black females representing both blue collar and white collar occupations were interviewed in order to pretest the instrument. Interviewees were encouraged to comment on the clarity of the questions and the content of the entire questionnaire. Some minor revisions were made based on their suggestions.

E. Operationalization of Concepts

The variables appearing in this study are operationalized as follows: The variable SEX is self explanatory: male and female. The variable AGE was operationally defined in this study by the question: How old were you on your last birthday? The variable OCCUPATION was operationalized in the same fashion as that used in the U.S. Census. The question to elicit this variable was stated as follows: What is your present occupation? After coding the occupations, those individuals who fell in the following categories were classified as white collar:
Professional, technical and kindred; Managers and Administrators; Sales Workers and Clerical and kindred Workers. Those individuals whose occupations fell in the following categories were classified as blue collar: Craftsmen and kindred Workers; Operatives (machine operators); Laborers (except Farm); Service Workers, and Private Household.

Those individuals who were not active in the Labor Force (housewives, unemployed persons, retired persons, and students with part-time jobs) were classified as not in The Active Labor Force. The variable SOCIAL CLASS refers to those individuals in this study who were similar in respect to educational and income levels. The questions to elicit these responses were "What is your highest level of education completed?" and "What is your total family income (yourself and spouse before taxes)?" Those individuals with some college education, completed college, M.A. Degrees and Ph.D. Degrees and with incomes ranging from $16,000 and above were categorized as Middle Class. Those individuals with a vocational education and less and earning less than $15,999 were categorized as Lower Class. Those individuals who were low on the education level and high on the income as designated were also classified as Lower Class along with those individuals who were high on education but low on income. The variable RACE CONSCIOUSNESS was operationalized by a 5 item Likert Scale which determined the extent of feelings, awareness and commitment to one's race as a group (See questions R1-R19 in
the Schedule). The variable CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS was operationalized by a 5 item Likert Scale which determined the extent of feelings, awareness and commitment to one's class as a group (See questions C1-C13 in the Schedule).

F. Construction of Attitude Indices

A total of 19 items were initially formulated to measure race consciousness and 13 items were used to measure class consciousness. After principal component factor analysis of both scales, two scales emerged measuring race consciousness and class consciousness respectively. Factor loadings that were greater than 0.40 were used to weigh the relative item importance within each scale. Tables 4-3, 4-4 and 4-5 show the items retained for each scale and the corresponding factor loading. The first scale for measuring race consciousness consisted of 5 items which stressed an individual orientation for handling racial discrimination and promoting social change for Blacks. This orientation stresses individual advancement both as a personal solution and as a strategy for aggregate change in the group's (race) status as well. The other scale for race consciousness consisted of 6 items stressing a collective orientation. This orientation stresses the necessity for group action in promoting social change for Blacks. A 6-item scale was retained to measure class consciousness. The contents of this scale measure consciousness of the following: status position,
differences between one's position and that of others, how one fits into a particular social class, prerequisites or important steps to class development and class identity.

In this study, factor scores for each respondent were calculated by multiplying the response score—1, 2, 3, 4, 5—by the factor scoring coefficients for each item in the scale. The sum of these coefficients multiplied by the original data for all the variables yielded a factor score for each respondent for each of the attitudinal variables.

G. Description of the Sample

This section provides a brief description of the demographic characteristics of the sample used in this study. A total of 205 individuals of a middle-sized Southern City were interviewed. Using the educational level of the respondent and the total family income, the sample was divided into middle class and lower class. Thirty percent or 60 families were categorized as middle class in contrast to 70% or 145 lower class families. These proportions were thus representative of the larger Black population of the city as a whole.

The Black population was young. The median age of Black males and females in 1971 was 21.1 and 23.6 respectively. In this study, the age range for the total sample was 18 to 78. The lower class sample had a median age of 39 and the middle class had a median age of 35. Most of
Table 4-3  Factor Loadings for RACE CONSCIOUSNESS - INDIVIDUAL ORIENTATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Factor Loading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Black Panther Party and other similar militant organizations have not done a lot for Black People</td>
<td>-0.55256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Blacks should not identify themselves with Africa by wearing African-styled clothing, jewelry and hairstyles.</td>
<td>-0.056543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Black to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified White person.</td>
<td>0.53995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Many Blacks have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life if they tried harder they'd do better.</td>
<td>0.69120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Blacks may not have the same opportunities as Whites but many Blacks have not prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.</td>
<td>0.69306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-4 Factor Loadings for RACE CONSCIOUSNESS-COLLECTIVE ORIENTATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Factor Loadings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Schools with mostly Black children should have mostly Black teachers and principals.</td>
<td>0.59636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Only if Blacks pull together in Civil Rights Groups and Activities can anything really be done about discrimination.</td>
<td>0.55772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The only way Blacks will gain their Civil Rights is by constant protest and pressure.</td>
<td>0.74202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The attempt to &quot;fit in&quot; and do what's proper has not paid off for Blacks. It does not matter how &quot;proper&quot; you are, you will still meet serious discrimination if you are Black.</td>
<td>0.60316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Educated Blacks who have good jobs should try to use their talents and leadership ability to help other Blacks.</td>
<td>0.44946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The best way to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action.</td>
<td>0.68838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Factor Loadings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. It is more important to have a career with prestige than a skilled job making lots of money.</td>
<td>0.64241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Immediate success is more important than long range planning.</td>
<td>0.66788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. If people would just work hard they could get ahead in life.</td>
<td>0.54832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Community decisions should be made primarily by those individuals who are financially well-off.</td>
<td>0.69667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The wealth of our country should be divided up equally so that people will have an equal chance to get ahead.</td>
<td>0.49791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. One should choose his friends and associates from his own social class.</td>
<td>0.58636</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the respondents based on age, were or had been, at the time of the study, established in their main occupational role in life. However, more retired (9.6%) persons fell in the lower class sample than the middle class sample (1.6%). Only one respondent refused to give his age. Our sample yielded an even distribution of 102 males and 103 females. The differences in sexes, however, were prevalent in the class division. Forty-four percent of the males interviewed were members of our designated lower class families compared to 61% who were members of our designated middle class families. More females were found in our lower class category (55%) compared to the 38% in our middle class category. In the literature, the Black family structure has been referred to as ranging from an extreme of pathology (crime, delinquency, poverty) to one of a stable, very accommodating source of strength and survival for Blacks. Almost all Black people follow the practice of monogamy and serial monogamy which occurs in the Black population just as it does in the wider society. Economic conditions in the Black community, however, have their effect on the structure of Black families. Among our middle class sample, 83% of the respondents were married, 5% were divorced, 1% lived in common law and 10% had never married. In comparison, among the lower class families, 49% were married, 11% were divorced, 2% were common law and 22% had never married. In addition, in the lower class sample 5% were separated
and 8% were widowed. Thus, we can see more family dissolutions among the lower class than middle class sample which is reflective not only of the Black population but the wider society as well. Among the middle class families, the average number of children living in the home was two, compared with three in the lower class families. There were more lower class homes with five or more children living in them than was the case for middle class homes. A large percentage of the lower class sample had lived at their present address for a longer period of time than the middle class sample. Thirty-five percent of the middle class sample had lived in the city 21 to 31 years. Whereas 37% of the lower class sample had lived in the city 32 years or longer. Even though there were no significant differences in migration patterns among the middle class and lower class, most of the middle class respondents lived in suburban areas, having moved from the inner city.

H. Analytical Techniques

Two statistical analysis techniques were employed in this study: factor analysis and analysis of variance (specifically, the use of General Linear Model GLM). Factor analysis was utilized in that stage of the research dealing with the construction of the attitude scales of race consciousness and class consciousness. Factor analysis is a body of methods by which the relationships
among a group of variables may be accounted for by a smaller number of variables or common factors. The two variables race consciousness and class consciousness were factor analyzed, after which those items that were highly intercorrelated with each other were considered as representing the same factor. Thus, those items were retained and are felt to actually measure what they purport to measure.

Analysis of variance is, as its name implies, the analyzing or breaking up of variance into portions arising from specified sources and the testing of these portions to discover if they are significantly different. The procedure used in this analysis was the GLM procedure. The GLM procedure analyzes General Linear Models. Although GLM is a regression procedure, it handles classification variables - those that name discrete levels - as well as continuous variables, which measure quantities. Thus GLM can be used for many analyses including analysis of variance (ANOVA), especially for unbalanced data. The ANOVA procedure should be used whenever possible for analysis of variance, since it will process data more efficiently than GLM. But for unbalanced data, GLM must be used as in the case of this study. The GLM procedure uses the principal of least squares to fit linear models. GLM performs both univariate and multivariate analyses. The GLM printout provides the following: (1) analysis of variance table - the overall analysis table breaks down
the total sum of squares for the dependent variable into the portion attributed to the model, and the portion attributed to error. The mean square term is the sum of squares divided by the degrees of freedom. The mean square term is the sum of squares divided by the degrees of freedom. The mean square for error is an estimate of the variance of true residuals. (2) F Value - This value is the ratio produced by dividing MS (model) by MS (error). It tests how well the model as a whole (after adjusting for the mean) accounts for the dependent variable's behavior. If the significance probability, labeled pr>F is small, it indicates significance. (3) R-Square ($R^2$) - measures how much variation in the dependent variable can be accounted for by the model. $R^2$, which can range from 0 to 1, is the ratio of the sum of squares for the model divided by the sum of squares for the corrected total. In general, the larger the value of $R^2$, the better the model's fit. (4) STD DEV - This is the standard deviation of the dependent variable. It is equal to the square root of MS (error). (5) Results for Special Type I and Type IV Tests - These tests are used primarily in analysis of variance applications. The Type I SS measures incremental sums of squares for the model as each variable is added. The Type IV SS is the sum of squares due to adding that variable last in the model. Although several forms of estimable functions are available for testing hypothesis in GLM, Type IV Tests are usually the type of test selected in
In this case. In fact, for data with no missing cells, the Type III and IV estimable functions are the same, and both test the same hypotheses that would be tested if the data had been balanced. (6) The F Value and Pr F Values for Type IV tests on the output are equivalent to the results of a t-test for testing hypothesis that the regression parameter equals zero. (7) Least Squares Means are computed for each effect listed in the LSMEANS statement. Least squares means are to unbalanced designs as class and subclass arithmetic means are to balanced designs. Simply put, they are estimates of the class or subclass arithmetic means that would be expected had equal subclass numbers been obtainable.
Chapter V

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF BEHAVIOR PATTERNS, LIFE STYLES AND SOCIAL STATUS BETWEEN MIDDLE CLASS AND LOWER CLASS BLACKS

In this chapter, a comparison of behavioral patterns and life styles will be made between middle class Blacks and lower class Blacks of the study sample. This chapter also will include a qualitative analysis of the social status of these two social class groups, comparing criteria for social class placement, unity with one's social class and the occupational and educational levels of the parents of the individuals in our sample.

A. Behavioral Patterns and Life Styles

The phrase Black Middle Class has become a familiar one in American society today. The aspirations of owning a home, a car, taking a vacation, education for the children and material possessions are viewed as the "good life". In a cover story in the New York Times Magazine (December 1978), William Brasher describes the Black middle class as being preoccupied with owning Mercedes Benz cars, restoring Victorian homes, wearing Gucci shoes and even seeing psychiatrists. Brasher states that a strong mobile Black middle class is carving a distinct identity for itself and making it difficult to define an undifferentiated "Black Community". Brasher also cites things like material possessions, status, an address, a mortgage, and a job without a uniform, as being among the concerns
presently dominating the life styles of middle class Blacks.

The classic study entitled "Black Bourgeoisie", conducted by E. Franklin Frazier (1957), presented a graphic description of the behavioral patterns and life styles in the Black community in the 1940's and 1950's. This study, more than 20 years after its publication, still causes controversy and many Blacks shun identification with the middle class due to some of the conclusions Frazier drew from his study. He described the Black middle class as people who lived in a world of make believe and unreality seeking recognition only from the White community. They lived beyond their means, emphasized social life and consumption, rejected their race, and took no interest in leadership. He summarized that their lives had generally lost both content and significance (Frazier 1957:45).

In contrast, a recent study by Sidney Kronus (1971) showed that the contemporary Black middle class does not fit the classic model described by Frazier. Kronus's data fit much better into the model of a Black middle class which represents responsible, striving, realistically-oriented people, working within the context of a larger White society and evidencing little of the unreality and falseness of life attributed to them by Frazier. Frazier's classic description of the Black middle class was that this class was predominantly composed of light-colored aristocrats who were descedents of house slaves and of
landed *gens de couleur*. They ranged occupationally from craftsmen and clerks to professionals and included those who had attained a high school education or some sort of special training. Most of the individuals Kronus interviewed were sons of blue-collar workers, and skin color seemed to play a lesser role in their status attainment. Three-fourths of his sample were brown or dark brown in color, indicating achievement rather than ascription was likely to have been the primary factor in determining middle class status. All of Kronus's sample held white-collar occupations and an average income of $1,000 a month was representative of his sample, as well as a pattern of stable small families with rigid traditional sexual norms. From these two comparisons, we can see that a tremendous change has occurred within this stratum of the Black population, perhaps due to the striking differences in life styles of the Black middle class in the two time periods.

In order to get a picture of the life styles of the middle class Blacks in our sample and to demonstrate that there are differences between the middle class and lower class segments of the Black population, not only on objective criteria (occupation, income, education) but on subjective criteria, comparisons will be made in the following areas: (1) family relations; (2) child rearing patterns; (3) consumption patterns; (4) leisure activities; (5) political behavior and community participation; (6) religion; (7) relations with Whites; (8) attitudes
toward socioeconomic conditions for Blacks; (9) special activities and interests; (10) levels of satisfaction; and (11) "Blackness" as a value.

We know that these groups (lower class and middle class) are different, at least in terms of education and income levels. In the middle class, are those individuals who have some college education or a B.A., M.A. or Ph.D. degree and a total annual family income before taxes of $16,000 or more. In the lower class, the educational level is vocational school or less and the income level is $15,999 or less. However, there are a few cases in the lower class where the educational level is high but the income is low or the educational level is low but the income is high.

Those individuals who had some college or a B.A. degree had attended the local predominantly Black university and, on a whole, those who went to obtain higher degrees attended the local predominantly White university or some other predominantly White university out-of-state. Since in our sample social class is based on education and income, some similar occupations are found in both, but with different percentages of course, due to the fact that occupations are determined by education and income levels. In our middle class sample, 31% are professions, 23% are clerical, 15% are craftsmen, 8% are managers, 5% are salespeople, 1% are operatives, 1% are laborers, 3% are service workers, 1% are housewives, 3% are unemployed, 1% are retired and 3% are students.
Because the study area has many large chemical plants, we find a large number of persons with college degrees employed as craftsmen in these chemical plants. In the lower class sample 13% are craftsmen, 22% are service workers, 8% are operatives, 4% are laborers, 4% are private household workers, 6% are professional, 0.69% are managers, 0.69% are in sales, 6% are clerical, 15% are housewives, 4% are unemployed, 9% are retired and 0.69% are students.

(1) Family Relations

On a whole both middle and lower class persons kept in close touch with their families. The majority in both groups saw their parents daily. In the case of frequency of interaction, 31% of the individuals in the lower class indicated that they see their brothers and sisters daily, compared with 13% for those in the middle class. Regarding interaction with aunts, uncles or grandparents, there was more contact by lower class individuals than middle class individuals. Helping networks seem to be active among both lower and middle class Black families. In our sample, we found substantial kinds of help being given in the areas of finances and child care. Forty percent of the middle class sample compared to 28% of the lower class families felt that if they needed financial help they could depend on their families all the time. On the other hand 18% of the middle class respondents and 31% of the lower class respondents felt they could not depend on their
families for financial help at all or none of the time. In most cases those individuals in the lower class also had families and relatives in the lower class so there was no help to be given; whereas middle class persons were probably more often the ones being asked for financial help from their lower class relatives. A typical response from middle class individuals was that they never needed financial help and they were the ones who were asked by relatives for financial help.

In terms of child care (preschoolers or elementary school), 37% of the middle class respondents had relatives who cared for their children, usually the mother or mother-in-law of the respondent. The frequency of child care was several times a week. In contrast, only 10% of the lower class respondents had relatives who cared for their children and in most cases these were the mother of the respondent or an aunt or grandparent who did so everyday in the majority of the cases.

Extended families or those which include other relatives or in-laws of the family head who share the same household have been somewhat characteristic of Black families. In our study, this was more characteristic of the lower class, 28% having other relatives living in the household, usually a mother or father, compared to only 10% of the middle class families. On a whole, nuclear families (husband, wife, and children) were the predominant family types of both the lower and middle classes.
In terms of who makes the final decisions on such matters as whether to buy a new house or car, the overwhelming response in both classes was both husband and wife. Responses for equalitarian authority were 69% for the middle class and 60% for the lower class. However, for those who gave the response "husband" or "wife" the findings are as follows: In the lower class 30% responded "the husband" and 9.2% responded "the wife". In the middle class 27% responded "the husband" and 3.9% responded "the wife".

In both samples, the respect of parents' advice was stronger than advice of brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, grandparents, or cousins. Both lower class and middle class respondents felt that the degree of importance accorded to them by their parents was greater than that accorded by other family members or close relatives.

(2) Child Rearing Practices

The average number of children living in both middle class and lower class homes was three. In terms of educational aspirations for their children, most lower class respondents aspired for their children to receive four years of college but actually expected them to finish high school. In the middle class, the majority (94%) aspired for their children to attain some graduate or professional schooling after college and the least amount of schooling they expected their children to attain was four years of
college. Thus it seems apparent that class position has an influence on educational aspirations for children. Medical care for children also varied along class lines. Visits to the dentist for the children of lower class persons were only when necessary, compared to between one and two times a year for children in the middle class.

In the middle class, the technique used most to discipline children for misbehaving was to take away privileges, such as television watching, bike riding, and playing with friends, along with having a long talk with them. In the lower class family the technique for child discipline often was spanking, followed by taking away privileges. We can see at least some variation among middle class and lower class Blacks in terms of the most common method used to discipline their children for family norm violations.

Among both lower and middle class respondents, it appeared that honesty was a strong value. Among middle class and lower class respondents with and without children, honesty was reported as the most desirable quality that a child should possess today. As second choice, middle class persons felt self-control was important, while lower class persons felt that having "good manners" was second. The least important quality for a child to have seemed hard to choose for most respondents of both classes. Nevertheless, most respondents felt that all of the qualities were important. However, a concern of children
with appropriate sex roles was seen as the least important quality by both classes. Most respondents felt that a child should not be concerned about anything related to sex. Some of the comments along this line were as follows: "They will learn that anyway" or "That's not so important at their age".

(3) Consumption Patterns

To get a general idea of standard of living or lifestyle, consumptive behavior is a good indicator. Although we can expect many similarities between middle class and lower class Blacks in their consumption patterns, we also expect some major differences that stem from the different educational, income and social background characteristics of these two groups.

Differences in level of living between middle class and lower class Blacks can be seen in the number and type of durable goods found in their homes, kinds of insurances they have, type and number of cars they own, ownership of homes and credit card ownership.

First we shall look at health care among the two groups. Ninety-three percent of the middle class had hospital insurance, 96% had life insurance and 60% had burial insurance. The majority visited the doctor twice a year. Seventy-nine percent of the lower class had hospital insurance, 87% had life insurance, and 80% had burial insurance. In terms of doctor visits, 24% visited
the doctor once a year, and 24% visited the doctor only when necessary. Regarding medical care we found that the middle class spent more money on hospitalization and regular visits to the doctor whereas the lower class spent more money on burial insurance.

Credit card purchasing has become somewhat of a "status" norm in American society, especially among the middle class. To have and use a large number of different credit cards (department stores, gasoline, and bank) symbolizes a middle class lifestyle. In our sample, 43% of the lower class, compared to 16% of the middle class, had no credit cards. In terms of kinds of credit cards, the majority of the lower class families had only department store cards compared to the middle class families who had more combinations of department store cards, gasoline cards and national credit cards such as Master Charge or Visa.

Home ownership has long been a traditional value in our culture. Homes are also symbols of middle class status if they are new, large, and located in a suburban setting. In our sample only 13% of the middle class owned their homes (that is had paid off the mortgage), compared to 27% of the lower class. However, 66% of the middle class families were buying their homes in comparison to only 37% of the lower class. The majority of the middle class individuals lived in large spacious homes located in suburban areas. The interiors and furnishing were very
modern, neat and clean, almost giving the impression no one lived there or only in special areas of the home. Among the lower class, some of the homes were shabby or run down on the outside but the interiors were well kept.

Table 5-1 gives a breakdown of the percentages of families in the middle class and lower class having certain items found in their homes.

(4) Leisure Activities

In reference to entertainment of family and friends in the home, more lower class individuals (29%) entertained on special occasions. The typical drink served by lower class individuals (34%) was beer. The largest percentage of middle class individuals (35%) also entertained on special occasions. Mixed drinks was the typical drink served by middle class individuals (31%). Most of our middle class respondents (36%) enjoyed jazz, compared to the majority of the lower class respondents (37%) who preferred to listen to gospel music. Most of the middle class families spent their vacations traveling, and a few had gone abroad. In the lower class, traveling was also the main agenda for vacations which largely included visits to relatives who lived far away. Most of the lower class sample watched television in their leisure time, compared to middle class persons who engaged in some type of intellectual activity (reading, writing, chess, checkers) in their leisure time. A large number of the middle
Table 5-1 Standard of Living

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lower Class</th>
<th>Middle Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=145</td>
<td>N=60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Appliances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washer</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dryer</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freezer</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacuum Cleaner</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micro-Wave Oven</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio (Am-Fm)</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Television</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxury Items</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boats</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereos</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameras</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movie Projectors</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bars (for drinks)</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vans</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Automobiles</td>
<td>1-21%</td>
<td>1-33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2-50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3-11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Black Literature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Magazines</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Books</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Statures</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Paintings</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5-1 (cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lower Class</th>
<th>Middle Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=145</td>
<td>N=60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Miscellaneous</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Heating/Cooling</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encyclopedias</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Baths</td>
<td>1-71%</td>
<td>1-45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-27%</td>
<td>2-43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-1%</td>
<td>3-11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*There was more than one television set in middle class homes, two on the average, one black and white and one color. Middle class individuals owned large-size cars and owned foreign model cars. It also should be noted that more literature of any type would be found in middle class homes than in lower class homes.*
class individuals in our sample engaged in sports (such as basketball, football) as a leisure time activity, compared to the lower class persons, who largely engaged in outdoor activities such as fishing, hunting, camping, etc. In terms of partying or night clubbing, a small percentage in both classes engaged in this as a leisure time activity. We also found that religious activities were reported more as a leisure time activity by the lower class respondents than by middle class respondents.

(5) Political Behavior and Community Participation

A large majority (92%) of our middle class respondents were registered voters, compared to 73% of our lower class sample. Of those registered voters in the middle class, the majority were Democrats and a small percent were Republicans. This was also the case in the lower class. The overwhelming majority of those registered middle class individuals (90%) voted in the 1976 Presidential election, compared with a little over half of the registered lower class individuals. Thus, it seems social class position among Blacks has no significant effect on choice of political party, but political action (voting) does seem to be affected by class position. A little less than half of the middle class individuals had attended a political rally or speech within the last year. Only a small percentage (11%) of the lower class individuals had done so. A large majority of the middle class individuals
(71%) had also discussed civic problems with more than one person within the last year but a large percentage (69%) of the lower class had not. About half of the middle class individuals had visited community organizations or board meetings in the last year in comparison to 20% of the lower class persons. As would be expected, only individuals in the middle class had held or had run for a political office within the last year; one was a lawyer, one a university professor and one was a supervisor for the Sunbeam Bakery Corporation. In both classes the majority had neither signed a petition nor spoken to key leaders about problems within the last year. Most of the lower class respondents (79%) belonged to no social clubs or organizations, compared to 46% of those in the middle class. Most affiliations for middle class persons were of the social club type, along with professional and fraternal type associations. A very small percentage (1%) of individuals in both classes belonged to the nationally known National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

(6) Levels of Satisfaction

In both the lower class and middle class most individuals were moderately satisfied with the communities they lived in and the jobs they held. More than half of the lower class (57%) compared to less than half of the middle class respondents (43%) were satisfied with the unity
among Blacks in their communities. Blacks' participation in politics was viewed as satisfactory by lower class individuals but middle class persons were largely dissatisfied. More lower class individuals (60%) were satisfied with school integration in the city compared to only 36% of the middle class persons. These levels of dissatisfaction on the part of the middle class could be due to their greater exposure in community affairs than the lower class and thus the observation of the need for improvement of Black political office holders and integration in the schools. The lower class may view both of these as progress but be unaware of the need for continuous improvement or change. Another possibility is that lower class persons may view school integration as being undesirable and thus not be overwhelmingly favorable to it.

(7) Religion

The majority of individuals in both classes were of the Baptist faith, however, there was more diversity in denominations among the lower class. Seventy-five percent of the lower class were Baptist, compared to sixty-six percent of the middle class. More individuals of the Catholic and Methodist faiths were found in the middle class than in the lower class. Jehovah Witness and persons of the Pentecostal and Holiness faiths were found in the lower class, but none were found in the middle class. The existence of these kinds of religious faiths in the lower
class not only indicate religious preference but imply that more lower class persons were members of expressive or emotion-laden types of religious faiths. Only two individuals in the middle class and one in the lower class reported they had no religion. Whether these individuals were atheists or just did not affiliate with an organized religion could not be determined. The overwhelming majority of individuals had been brought up in the same religion in which they were currently affiliated. Of those who had been brought up in a different religion, the change from Baptist to mainly Catholic or Methodist was the common trend. Individuals in both classes were very proud of their religion, however, most of the middle class individuals said they would not feel badly if someone said something derogatory about their religion. As a whole, lower class individuals felt just the opposite, they would feel almost as if someone had said something bad about them if they had said something bad about their religion. More lower class persons than middle class persons said that religion was very important to them and this was, in a sense, revealed in their church attendance. Frequency of church attendance for the majority of the individuals in the lower class was every Sunday, compared to twice a month for the majority of the middle class individuals. In most cases in the lower class, husband and wife attended church together all of the time, compared to attending sometimes together by most middle class persons. More
individuals in the lower class were very satisfied with the role of the church they attended than were individuals in the middle class.

(8) Relations with Whites

More middle class individuals (46%) were satisfied with the Black-White relations in their city than those (30%) who were not satisfied. Among the lower class, there was a significant number (53%) who were more satisfied than dissatisfied (20%) with the Black-White relations in their city. The majority of the lower class families lived in neighborhoods with no White families, whereas 30% of the middle class families lived in neighborhoods with ten White families or more. Middle class attitudes then may be influenced by the attitudes and behaviors of their White neighbors toward them. Of the individuals in the middle class who said they had Whites as friends, the reported number of White friends ranged from 10 to 20. In the lower class, the number of White friends was usually less than five. We find, also, that more middle class individuals worked with Whites than lower class persons, and more middle class individuals attended social activities (other than job related) with Whites than lower class individuals. These facts seem to imply that as Blacks move up the social scale there is more contact with Whites, not only on the job but in the neighborhoods and in their social life. However, greater interaction of Blacks with
Blacks who expressed dissatisfaction with Black-White relations.

(9) **Attitudes Toward Socioeconomic Conditions for Blacks**

**Lower class attitudes** - Individuals in the lower class were in limbo as to whether or not housing for Blacks today is good. They did, however, agree that it was definitely poor ten years ago and felt it would be good ten years from now. Some individuals even pointed out areas in their communities where housing conditions were bad and some made reference to the fact that housing for Blacks could be better if Blacks would take pride in their living environment and keep it up. In the area of education, lower class individuals felt education at the time was good for Blacks, compared to ten years ago when it was not very good and in most cases poor, however, they felt that ten years from now education for Blacks would be excellent. On a whole, the mood was that opportunities for Blacks to obtain a good education exist, and all one has to do is take advantage of the opportunities. Some individuals felt that Black youth were not taking full advantage of educational opportunities. In the area of job opportunities for Blacks, the attitudes were different. Most felt job opportunities were good today, but definitely poor ten years ago and will be good ten years from
now with no major improvements. As far as social acceptance of Blacks by Whites was concerned, lower class individuals felt that it was not very good today and the majority felt it was poor ten years ago; most, however, were optimistic about the future in that they felt social acceptance of Blacks by Whites would be good ten years from now. In conclusion, the lower class felt the conditions for Blacks in 1989, with reference to housing, job opportunities, and social acceptance by Whites would be good and education for Blacks would be excellent.

**Middle Class Attitudes** - A look at the attitudes of the middle class revealed that they felt that housing for Blacks today is not very good and was poor ten years ago, but will be much improved ten years from now. In relation to education for Blacks today, middle class individuals felt that it is good compared to ten years ago when it was poor; however, they foresee no improvements for the future, that is, ten years from now they expected education to still be good. Middle class persons felt that job opportunities for Blacks today are good, and will still be good ten years from now and were definitely poor ten years ago. They also felt that social acceptance of Blacks by Whites today is good and should still be good ten years from now but was poor ten years ago. So conditions for Blacks in 1989, in the areas of housing, education, job opportunities and social acceptance by Whites will be good,
as viewed by individuals in the middle class. There seems to be no trends of optimism among this group that things will get significantly better in these areas than they were at the time. They simply thought that things would remain just as good as they were at the time.

(10) Activities and Interests

As shown in Table 5-2, there are some similarities and some differences in how middle class and lower class individuals ranked the most important and the least important activity or interest in their life at the present time. Other activities and interests such as career and vocational pursuits and identity were found for the most part ranked in between the most important and least important activities and interests. We can observe that one's family and one's religion were ranked very close as top priorities in activities and interests by both middle class and lower class individuals. Then we see a shift in priority. Middle class individuals were concerned about their economic security, which implies that they were also concerned about their status positions. They may have just arrived in the middle class or simply wanted to make sure they maintained their positions; thus, economic security becomes important. Whereas, in the lower class, individuals may be making ends meet or living as comfortably as possible on the basis of their current financial status, and perhaps do not see a great need for
concern with economic security, however, they give greater importance to helping others. Sex seems to unanimously hold the last place among the eleven activities and interests, the writer questions whether this is true or if individuals simply responded so because they felt it to be the socially approved answer.

(11) Blackness as a Value

Voting and turning to God were expressed by lower class individuals as the best approaches for Blacks to use to improve their conditions. Middle class individuals on the other hand felt voting and education were the best choices for Blacks to use to improve their conditions. The choice of turning to God reflects how religious beliefs overflow into other areas of the lives of lower class individuals. Both lower class and middle class persons were very proud of their Blackness and would not like to be born of a different race if they could be born again. Of those small number of individuals who would like to be born of a different race, more were members of the lower class than middle class. As part of the Black power movement in the 1960's, the reversal of the connotation of the color "Black" provided the basis for a shift in name preferences among "Negroes". The majority of individuals in both lower class (57%) and middle class (65%) preferred to be called Black rather than Afro-American, Negro or Colored. However, we found 18% of the lower class sample and 10% of
Table 5-2 Ranked Activities and Interests in Life at Present Time

**Middle Class**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most Important</th>
<th>Least Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Family</td>
<td>9. Intellectual/Artistic Pursuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Family/Religion</td>
<td>10. Participation in Community Affairs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lower Class**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most Important</th>
<th>Least Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Family</td>
<td>9. Intellectual/Artistic Pursuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Family/Religion</td>
<td>10. Social Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Helping Others</td>
<td>11. Sex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the middle class sample preferred to be called Negro and 3% of the lower class and 7% of the middle class preferred Afro-American. Only 1% of the lower class and 6% of the middle class preferred Colored. It is interesting to note that 20% of the middle class and 17% of the lower class said it did not matter what name they were called. One common response to this question was "They are going to call you what they want anyway". A much larger percentage of the lower class (88%) compared to 68% of the middle class respondents said being Black was very important to them. More middle class than lower class individuals therefore, felt that being Black was simply important or not very important. However, middle class persons were more informed about outstanding national Black leaders than the lower class in that they recognized more correct occupations of well known Black leaders than the lower class persons were able to recognize. In the lower class, there were a few individuals who knew none of the leaders. This was not the case in the middle class, where some individuals knew all of the leaders. The one name that was recognized most often by individuals in both classes was Martin Luther King, Jr.

B. Social Status in the Black Community

This section looks at criteria for social class placement by Blacks in both the lower class and the middle class; specifically, in what social class do they place
themselves, how do they recognize a person in their class and what are the social traits of individuals in the two social classes. We shall also look at the educational and occupational levels of the parents of individuals in both classes.

When asked, "what are the social classes found in your city?" most respondents in both the middle class and the lower class used the terms "upper class", "middle class", and "lower class". Other terms used were "rich", "average", "poor", "working", "non-working", "high class", "between", "education", "occupation", "income" and "Black". A small percentage (8%) of the individuals in both classes did not believe in classes or that classes existed. They felt that all Blacks were categorized in the same group. They seemed to deny the differences in education, occupation and income among Blacks, even if they were not significant differences.

"Middle class", specifically "Middle-Middle Class", was the overwhelming response from both middle class and lower class persons as the class in which they felt they belonged. More middle class persons than lower class persons put themselves in a higher class position in relationship to just Black families than they put themselves in relations to White and Black families in their city.

Among the middle class respondents, the main criteria for recognizing whether a person belonged to one's class
was his education and secondly his income. Among the lower class respondents, the main criteria for recognizing whether a person belonged to one's class was his mannerisms or personality characteristics, and secondly, a closely related factor was "the way they act or carry themselves".

Environment, surroundings or living conditions along with income and types of homes were the three factors or conditions mentioned most often by the lower class individuals as criteria for recognizing a lower class family. Again environment, surroundings or living conditions and income but along with occupation were mentioned most often as criteria for recognizing a working class family. To recognize a middle class family, lower class respondents mentioned factors or conditions such as environment, surroundings, or living conditions, income and homes or housing. An upper class family could be recognized, according to the lower class, by income (financial status), environment, surroundings or living conditions and neighborhood or living in the suburbs. The one common factor, according to the lower class, in recognizing different social classes seemed to be the environment surroundings or living conditions of the groups. Emphasis was placed on the physical setting; such as the conditions of the homes, the lawns, garbage pick-up, whether broken appliances or old cars were stored neatly or kept hanging around, etc. Variations from dirty, shabby, crowded conditions to clean, neat, spacious and aesthetic
surroundings or living conditions were associated with the different social classes.

Among the middle class, a lower class family could be recognized by their income, their environment, surroundings or living conditions and their low educational level. A working class family could be recognized by their dress or appearance, their incomes, their homes and their occupations. The middle class individuals mentioned income most often as the single factor or condition that could be used to recognize a middle class family, along with homes, material possessions and occupations. To recognize an upper class family, income or financial status was mentioned most often in addition to neighborhoods, material possessions and wealth. Income seemed to be the common factor or condition that was used by middle class individuals to recognize the differences of families in different social classes.

As mentioned, most of the individuals in both classes, when subjectively placing themselves in a social class chose the "middle-middle class". Eleven percent of our designated middle class sample felt their ideas and values were very similar to others in their class compared to only 6% of our designated lower class sample. The largest percentage in both the lower class (41%) and the middle class (40%) felt that their ideas and values were just simply similar to others in their social class.

To get an idea of the extent of social mobility that
has occurred among our sample, we shall focus on the occupational and educational levels of the parents of the respondents. First, a look at those individuals in the middle class revealed that the largest percentage (28%) of their fathers were craftsmen, 18% were laborers, 10% were professionals, 10% were managers and administrators, and 10% were farm laborers or foreman. The majority of our sample were professional and clerical workers and 15% were craftsmen. Therefore we see that upward mobility has occurred. In terms of education, 16% of the fathers of the middle class sample had attended college. Most of the mothers of the middle class sample were housewives but 18% were professionals and 20% of the mothers had attended college.

Among the lower class sample, most of their fathers were farm laborers and foremen (29%), 19% were laborers and 20% were craftsmen. In terms of education, 56% had an elementary school education and 12% had no education. The majority of the mothers (45%) were also housewives only, 16% were private household workers, and 12% were service workers. In terms of education 46% of the mothers had an elementary school education, 29% had attended high school, and 7% had no education. The fathers and mothers of the middle class sample held higher levels of education and occupation than the fathers and mothers of lower class sample. Thus, it seemed that the high educational and occupational levels of parents gave children a decisive
advantage in establishing themselves in middle class status.

C. Summary

By comparing the behavioral patterns and life styles of Blacks in the lower class and Blacks in the middle class we can see distinct differences between the two. Different levels of education and different levels of income (that is social class) have profound effects on behaviors and attitudes in our sample. We found, middle class persons more politically active, but dissatisfied with the number of Blacks in political offices, and with progress being made in school integration. They belonged to more social clubs and organizations than the lower class individuals and participated more in community affairs. They had higher aspirations for their children in terms of education, and used psychological methods to discipline their children. They were proud of their religion but not to the extent of defending it at all costs. They owned more material items, both of necessity and luxury, than the lower class individuals. They engaged in more intellectual activities in their leisure time and had more contact with Whites on the job, at home and in their social world. They, however, expressed greater dissatisfaction with Black-White relations than the lower class. They had close ties with their families and were often called on for financial assistance. They were not too
optimistic about future conditions for Blacks, and although they identified strongly with their "Blackness", this was somewhat less than that for the lower class individuals. We found both classes used objective and qualitative or descriptive type criteria for social class placement in their communities. However, criteria such as environment, living conditions, homes, mannerisms or personality characteristics, dress or appearance, neighborhoods, the way they carried themselves, material possessions and suburban residence were reported frequently.

In designating criteria for placement in their own class, lower class individuals used more qualitative or descriptive type criteria whereas the middle class individuals used more objective criteria. We also found that most of the middle class respondents came from middle class backgrounds based on the educational and occupational levels of their parents.

D. The Black Middle Class: Profiles in Diversity

The position of middle class is not easily defined, and a closer look at families who are middle class show that there is some diversity among this class position. Below are five profiles of Black middle class families from our sample. Some are well established and have been secure in their position longer than the others and then there are those who are just arriving. Their life styles are diverse as well as their attitudes toward their race.
Interviewees below were given anonymous names.

Mr. Johnson, 37, an Equal Employment Opportunity Officer and his wife Janice have five children ranging in ages from 5 to 13, with a set of twins three years old. Mr. Johnson enjoys flying to remote locations and camping and sailing in his leisure time. He also studies Law and Mathematics. Both of his parents are professionals. His father is a college professor and administrator and his mother is a school teacher. Mr. Johnson has a Masters Degree and so does his wife. She attended the local Black university while he attended two predominantly White universities, out-of-state. Mr. Johnson served in the Armed Forces, and was stationed in Viet Nam. The Johnsons' total family income for last year was between $24,000 and $27,000. Mr. Johnson belongs to two social clubs and one community organization. He is active in all three. He was brought up as a Baptist and Methodist but is now a Catholic. He is very proud of his religion's which is important in his life. He and his wife attend church together regularly. His favorite type music is classical and the Johnsons have two cars, a Ford Thunderbird and a Ford LTD. They also own a 1967 GMC van and a sailboat. In relationship to White and Black families in his city, Mr. Johnson feels he belongs to the upper-lower class and in relationship to just Black families he feels he belongs to the lower-middle class. He would like his children to go to graduate school and expect them to do
just that. In terms of community participation, he is very active, having spoken to key leaders about problems and discussed civic problems frequently with more than one person. Mr. Johnson says, "Colloquially, the man has been referred to as the macho, super jock, who is strong, persuasive, dominating and provocative. The Black man is all of the above but add a degree of humility and the image of Black man is misconstrued as either weak, self-centered or militant. A Black man is often misunderstood, challenged and often used as a cannon fodder for comical issue. A Black man is often taken for granted".

Mr. Washington, 51, a divorced university professor lives with his nine year old son in an exclusive suburban area where other university professors and administrators live. He enjoys traveling and camping-out. He reads and writes in his leisure time. He would like to be an auto salesman ten years from now. His father was an assistant manager at the neighborhood theatre and his mother was a housewife. Neither of his parents went to high school. He has six semester hours of credit above his doctoral degree and attended three prestigious colleges (Xavier University, Catholic University in Washington, D.C. and Carnegie-Mellon in Pittsburg). He classifies himself in the upper-middle class and his total income for the last year was between $20,000 and $23,000. He has numerous credit cards, gasoline, department stores and bank cards. He drives a 1978 Toyota and likes to listen to sentimental
or easy listening music and operas. He belongs to only one social club. He is dissatisfied with Black participation in politics and very dissatisfied with school integration in the city. He is very committed to his profession. He is constantly lecturing his students. He wishes he were born in a place where there was no awareness of race. He is light-skinned with Indian and French ancestry. He feels race should not be emphasized so much. He responds, "There should not be emphasis on being a Black man, just a man; race should not be focused on so much; if Blacks are in positions higher than Whites, they should not use their positions to pay Whites back. If there was not so much emphasis on being Black and more emphasis on being a human the race problem would not be a problem".

Mr. Jackson, 35, a public school teacher and his wife have two children, a boy 10 years old and a girl 6 years old. Mr. Jackson travels during vacations but sometimes works at his second job as an apartment maintenance man. He plays baseball and basketball in his leisure time. Mr. Jackson completed college at the local predominantly Black university, his wife did also and is a Builder Planner Analyst. His father is a cement mason and his mother works in private homes. His father had some high school but his mother only an elementary school education. His mother-in-law takes care of the children everyday after school. Mr. Jackson belongs to no social clubs or
organizations but is rather active in community affairs. The Jacksons are buying their home in a not so exclusive neighborhood. Their total family income last year was between $24,000 and $27,000. Mr. Jackson classifies the family as belonging to the middle-middle class. He has no preference for what name he would like to be called and he says, "To be a Black man today means constant struggles to make a better life for yourself and your family".

Mrs. Lewis, 29, is a PBX operator and has three children whose ages range from 8 months to 11 years. Her husband is a foreman at a chemical corporation. During vacations, they visit relatives in California. They entertain in their home several times a month usually serving their guest beer. Mrs. Lewis's father is now a retired naval man and her mother is a public school teacher. Both Mr. and Mrs. Lewis have two years of college and attended the local predominantly Black university. When the kids misbehave they are spanked and Mrs. Lewis's mother takes care of them everyday. Mrs. Lewis is very dissatisfied with the community in which she lives. They live in a modest brick house in a rather busy neighborhood. She would like to build a home in "a better section of town". She doesn't belong to any social clubs or organizations and is not active in community affairs. She is of the Baptist faith and is proud of her religion. The total family income was between $20,000 and $23,999 last year. They have two cars, a 1976 Ford Thunderbird and a 1972
Mrs. Lewis feels they belong in the middle class. She prefers to be called Black and responds, "Being a woman today, you have to get on top, women should be paid equal. I cannot see a woman going into a job doing a man's work. Black women today encounter a lot of pressures and strains in the home and at work".

Mrs. James, 34, is an instructor at the local predominantly Black university. Her husband is an Army Officer. They have two children, a boy 11 and a girl 6 years old. The James Family entertains friends and relatives several times a week in their large spacious home. Mrs. James reads, works out at the health club and practices vocal and piano music in her leisure time. Her father is an Air Force Officer and her mother a teacher. She wants her children to go to graduate or professional school. She talks to them whenever they misbehave. Both she and her husband have Masters Degrees. They met each other while attending New Mexico State University. Mrs. James is dissatisfied with her job at the present time and also dissatisfied with Blacks participation in politics and school integration. She enjoys rock and jazz music. She was brought up in the Presbyterian faith but is now a United Methodist. She has a 1979 Fiat and her husband drives a 1976 Lincoln. Their yearly income ranges from $46,000 to $50,999. She says they are in the middle class. She is proud to be a woman and a Black woman.
E. The Black Lower Class: The Working Non-Poor and the Working Poor

The lower classes, constituting about 70 percent of the Black population include those individuals classified as the working non-poor, working poor, and the lower-lower class or underclass. They comprise the bulk of the Black population by whatever measure employed. Below are five profiles from our sample.

Dan Adams, 31 and his wife have two children ages 5 years and 16 months. Mr. Adams is a service worker at a plant supply store at the local predominantly White university. His wife is a short order cook. Last year the total family income was $12,000. He completed high school and she has a year of college. In his leisure time, Mr. Adams raises tropical fish and goes fishing. He expects his children to finish high school but would like them to go to graduate school. Mr. Adams belongs to one social club. He is dissatisfied with his community, his job, his social life and Blacks participation in politics. He is not active in community affairs. The family rents a home in a congested low income area near the inner city. Mr. Adams classifies himself and his family as in the lower class. They do not have an automobile nor credit cards. His father's primary occupation was a custodian and his mother was a short order cook. His father went to the 11th grade and his mother to the 8th grade. Mr. Adams is Baptist but not very proud of his religion. He was
brought up in this religion but seldom attends church. He is very proud of being Black and prefers to be called Afro-American. He responds, "there are more pressure and problems for Black men today than years ago but not that much. In raising children, however, emphasis should be placed on race."

Mrs. Jones, 24, is separated and has a seven year old girl. She works at the Coca-Cola Bottling Company as a utility laborer. Her income for a year is between $6,000 and $6,999. She completed high school. Her parents also have a high school education. Her father is a mechanic and her mother is a housewife. Mrs. Jones is renting a home in a quiet, well kept neighborhood. During vacation time, she does house repairs. She often visits her relatives in her leisure time. She expects her daughter to complete four years of college. She feels success is very important for children. She is satisfied with her community, her job, unity among Blacks in the community and Black-White relations, however, she is dissatisfied with Blacks' participation in politics. She does not belong to any social clubs or organizations and is totally inactive in community affairs. She is a Baptist and very proud of it. She has no credit cards and drives a 1975 Ford Elite. She classifies herself in an "in-between class". She is very proud to be Black and replies "being a Black woman today means still going through a hell of a lot like years ago, trying to make life equal to White
women, it means striving to do your best, and being proud of being Black and proud of yourself".

Mrs. Williams, 55, has worked for 13 years as a Food Service Worker at a local hospital. She is a widow and has eight children, all of whom are grown. Two of her daughters and their children live with her. Mrs. Williams completed fifth grade. She didn't know her father but her mother finished 5th grade and worked as a maid. Mrs. Williams is very dissatisfied with her community and her job. She is of the Holiness faith and very proud of it. Mrs. Williams has a 1976 Monte Carlo and credit cards for various department stores. Her total family income before taxes last year was between $7,000 and $7,999. She does not believe in classes and refused to place herself in a social class. The Williams family lives in a poor section of the city, their home is one of the better built and the interior furnishings are modern, and neat. Mrs. Williams says, "it means a lot to be a Black Woman, anyone can wear a dress, but to be a Black woman you have to work hard, raise your children and give them an education. If you come to the hospital you will see what a Black face has to take".

Mr. Smith is 51 years old. He and his wife are separated. He is a warehouseman and previously was a custodian worker. In his leisure time he goes fishing, watches television or attends a ball game. His father was a laborer and his mother was a housewife. Both of his
parents had an elementary school education. Mr. Smith has three years of high school. His income last year was from $11,000 to $11,999. He has a 1972 Ford Torino and a 1978 Mercury station wagon. He has no credit cards and belongs to the American Legion. He is not very active in community affairs. He is dissatisfied with his community and Black-White relations in the city. He is a protestant and very proud of his religion. He attends church several times a month. He says, "it is very important to be a Black man today and I'm proud to be Black".
Chapter VI
Discussion of Findings: A Comparative Analysis of Race Consciousness and Class Consciousness Among Blacks

This chapter provides the statistical findings of the relationship between the independent variables (age, sex, occupation, social class, and class consciousness) and the dependent variable race consciousness (individual and collective). An alternative model using class consciousness as a dependent variable is also tested. Before considering the findings of the analysis of variance tests, attention will be given to the cross classification of class consciousness and race consciousness among the middle class and the lower class Blacks in the sample.

A. Class Consciousness and Social Class

In discussing our findings of the relationships between class consciousness and social class (both within and between the two classes), we shall first restate the hypotheses and then give the statistical findings.

HYPOTHESIS 1 - MIDDLE CLASS INDIVIDUALS WILL BE MORE CLASS CONSCIOUS THAN RACE CONSCIOUS, WHILE LOWER CLASS INDIVIDUALS WILL BE MORE RACE CONSCIOUS THAN CLASS CONSCIOUS.

HYPOTHESIS 2 - MIDDLE CLASS INDIVIDUALS WILL BE MORE CLASS CONSCIOUS THAN LOWER CLASS INDIVIDUALS, WHILE LOWER CLASS INDIVIDUALS WILL BE MORE RACE CONSCIOUS THAN MIDDLE CLASS INDIVIDUALS.
The majority of the members of both the lower and the middle class in our sample disagreed or strongly disagreed with the majority of the items in the class consciousness scale. In comparison, however, the lower class individuals agreed more strongly with the items than individuals in the middle class. According to Tables 6-2, 6-4, and 6-6, middle class individuals expressed higher levels of race consciousness than class consciousness, and Tables 6-1, 6-3, and 6-5 show that lower class individuals also expressed higher levels of race consciousness than class consciousness. According to Tables 6-1 and 6-2, the lower class expressed higher levels of class consciousness than the middle class, and lower class individuals, according to Tables 6-3, 6-4, 6-5, and 6-6 were more race conscious than middle class individuals.

From the analysis of variance tests, we found that social class explained variance in class consciousness. The significance level of this relationship was 0.0004. As Figure 6-6 shows, the lower class had a larger mean class consciousness score than the middle class. In addition, we did a bivariate analysis of social class and class consciousness. The significance level of the relationship was 0.0001. The lower class had a larger mean class consciousness score than the middle class.

Contrary to our hypothesis, we found that Black middle class individuals were more race conscious than class conscious and lower class individuals were more class
conscious than middle class individuals. A possible explanation for why Black middle class individuals were not more class conscious than race conscious could be that there has been a shift from the class orientation of the past (the middle class Black for the Black Middle Class) to a mass group orientation (the middle class Black for the Black man). With the emergence of a distinct Black middle class, the middle class Black man is beginning to redefine himself in relation not only to the larger White community but to his race and to his traditions. It has been evident in the past that personal self-interests has been the norm among middle class Blacks, but now the Black middle class feels an ever increasing identification with his race in general (Kronus 1971).

The thesis that the more Blacks become segmented in terms of economic class position, the more their concerns about the social significance of race will vary, as postulated by William Wilson (1978), is not supported by our findings. But in order to obtain a more detailed assessment of our findings, we shall focus on the specific items in our class consciousness scale. More of the individuals in the lower class than in the middle class agreed that if people would work hard they could get ahead in life, and they also agreed more often than individuals in the middle class that the wealth of our country should be divided up equally so that people will have an equal chance to get ahead. These feelings are possibly stronger among the lower class than middle class due to their low socioeconomic position. To a certain degree, the middle class Black individual has achieved
or is achieving the American Dream, that is, of owning a home, getting an education and having a well paying job; and the lower class individual has the same aspirations. From his position, however, the lower class individual can easily recognize the "haves" and the "have nots", and thus feels there should be more equality among people in terms of wealth. Another interesting finding was that 11% of the lower class compared to none of the middle class, felt community decisions should be made primarily by those individuals who were financially well-off. It seemed that the lower class felt wealth carried power, or it should, probably because in their communities they had observed this occurrence and felt that it was the norm. In conclusion, even though we found that the lower class was more class conscious than the middle class, within their own group, they were more race conscious than class conscious. Now we shall focus on the findings concerning the relationships between social class and race consciousness.

B. Race Consciousness and Social Class

HYPOTHESIS 3-MIDDLE CLASS INDIVIDUALS WILL EXPRESS MORE INDIVIDUAL RACE CONSCIOUSNESS THAN COLLECTIVE RACE CONSCIOUSNESS, WHILE LOWER CLASS INDIVIDUALS WILL EXPRESS MORE COLLECTIVE RACE CONSCIOUSNESS THAN INDIVIDUAL RACE CONSCIOUSNESS.

HYPOTHESIS 4-MIDDLE CLASS INDIVIDUALS WILL EXHIBIT MORE INDIVIDUAL RACE CONSCIOUSNESS THAN LOWER CLASS
INDIVIDUALS, WHILE LOWER CLASS INDIVIDUALS WILL EXHIBIT MORE COLLECTIVE RACE CONSCIOUSNESS THAN MIDDLE CLASS INDIVIDUALS.

In this discussion, we shall begin with our findings of the relationships between race consciousness with an individual orientation and race consciousness with a collective orientation WITHIN each of the social classes. On a whole, both lower class and middle class individuals expressed high levels of race consciousness on both collective and individual orientations. However, we found that the lower class individuals expressed higher levels of collective race consciousness than individual race consciousness (see Tables 6-3 and 6-5). Also, among the middle class, a higher degree of collective rather than individual race consciousness was expressed (See Tables 6-4 and 6-6). In comparing the responses given by middle class individuals on the two race consciousness scales, we found that, on a whole, there was a much more consistent amount of agreement with the items on the race consciousness-individual scale than with the items on the race consciousness-collective scale.

In terms of the relationships BETWEEN the two classes, according to Tables 6-1 and 6-2, the lower class individuals did exhibit more collective race consciousness than the middle class individuals. But, according to Tables 6-5 and 6-6, the middle class individuals did not exhibit more individual race consciousness than lower class individuals. In our statistical analysis, we found that social
class had an effect on race consciousness with an individual orientation. The significance level was 0.0858. Figure 6-2 shows that the least squares mean for race consciousness-individual orientation of the lower class is larger than that of the middle class. A bivariate analysis of social class with race consciousness-individual orientation revealed the same results, that is, the lower class had a larger mean than the middle class. The significance level was 0.0001.

Contrary to our hypothesis, we found that middle class individuals expressed more collective race consciousness than individual race consciousness and they did not exhibit more individual race consciousness than the lower class. The lower class did in fact exhibit more collective race consciousness than individual race consciousness and did express more collective race consciousness than middle class individuals.

On the collective orientation of race consciousness, where emphasis is on group action, lower class individuals conformed more than middle class individuals to this type of philosophy as we hypothesized. Earlier studies (Lincoln 1962, Pinkney 1969, Udom 1962) stressed that it was the lower class Blacks who were often recruited and became members of Black Nationalist Movements in which the main purpose and goal was collective action. The majority of the lower class individuals expressed more strongly than the majority of the middle class individuals the need for
group action on the part of Blacks when dealing with racial inequality. The lower class stressed the need for constant protest, pressure, social action and the pulling together or uniting of Blacks. This is probably due to the fact that within the lower class, Blacks express their views on racial inequality more openly. Lincoln (1962) states, moreover, the Black lower class person is at the bottom of the ladder, so his economic and social position is not vulnerable.

The individual orientation of race consciousness focuses on the Black individual's advancement itself as being the best method for coping with inequality in our society. This orientation also expressed an individual blame rather than system blame for inequalities between Blacks and Whites, with which most of the middle class individuals agreed. It can be assumed that because factors as achievement, hard work, individual motivation, self-discipline and status attainment are prevalent in middle class life styles that these factors would play an important role in how middle class individuals view their world. Thus, our hypothesis was based on the assumption that the middle class would be more inclined than the lower class to stress individual achievement as a means of coping with any type problem they might encounter, specifically, racial inequality. Although this has not been entirely refuted in our study, we found that the lower class did
Table 6-1  Item Responses for Class Consciousness Among Lower Class Individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QC1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>35.17%</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>57.24%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC7</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>38.62%</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>57.24%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC8</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>68.27%</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>30.34%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11.03%</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>86.89%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC11</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>73.10%</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23.44%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC13</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>35.17%</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>61.37%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

QC1 - It is more important to have a career with prestige than a skilled job making lots of money.

QC7 - Immediate success is more important than long range planning.

QC8 - If people would just work hard they could get ahead in life.

QC9 - Community decisions should be made primarily by those individuals who are financially well-off.

QC11 - The wealth of our country should be divided up equally so that people would have an equal chance to get ahead.

QC13 - One should choose his friends and associates from his own social class.

*High - number of responses that were agreeing and strongly agreeing to items.

Low - number of responses that were disagreeing and strongly disagreeing to items.
Table 6-2  Item Responses for Class Consciousness Among Middle Class Individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
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<th>Percent</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QC1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13.33%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.66%</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>73.33%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>56.66%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>98.33%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36.66%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

QC1 - It is more important to have a career with prestige than a skilled job making lots of money.

QC7 - Immediate success is more important than long range planning.

QC8 - If people would just work hard they could get ahead in life.

QC9 - Community decisions should be made primarily by those individuals who are financially well-off.

QC11 - The wealth of our country should be divided up equally so that people would have an equal chance to get ahead.

QC13 - One should choose his friends and associates from his own social class.

*High - number of responses that were agreeing and strongly agreeing to items.

Low - number of responses that were disagreeing and strongly disagreeing to items.
Table 6-3  Item Responses for Race Consciousness-Collective Orientation Among Lower Class Individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QR2</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>46.65%</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>46.20%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR3</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>84.82%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12.41%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR10</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>64.82%</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>30.34%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR11</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>86.89%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11.72%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR14</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>97.93%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.37%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR17</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>35.86%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

QR2 - Schools with mostly Black children should have mostly Black teachers and principals.
QR3 - Only if Blacks pull together in Civil Rights groups and activities can anything really be done about discrimination.
QR10- The only way Blacks will gain their Civil Rights is by constant protest and pressure.
QR11- The attempt to "fit in" and do what's proper has not paid off for Blacks. It does not matter how "proper" you are, you will still meet serious discrimination if you are Black.
QR14- Educated Blacks who have good jobs should try to use their talents and leadership abilities to help other Blacks.
QR17- The best way to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action.

*High - number of responses that were agreeing and strongly agreeing to items.
Low - number of responses that were disagreeing and strongly disagreeing to items.
Table 6-4  Item Responses for Race Consciousness-Collective Orientation Among Middle Class Individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QR2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>51.66%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>46.66%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR3</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18.33%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>43.33%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR11</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>83.33%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.66%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR14</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>43.33%</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

QR2 - Schools with mostly Black children should have mostly Black teachers and principals.
QR3 - Only if Blacks pull together in Civil Rights groups and activities can anything really be done about discrimination.
QR10 - The only way Blacks will gain their Civil Rights is by constant protest and pressure.
QR11 - The attempt to "fit in" and do what's proper has not paid off for Blacks. It does not matter how "proper" you are, you will still meet serious discrimination if you are Black.
QR14 - Educated Blacks who have good jobs should try to use their talents and leadership abilities to help other Blacks.
QR17 - The best way to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action.

*High - number of responses that were agreeing and strongly agreeing to items.
Low - number of responses that were disagreeing and strongly disagreeing to items.
Table 6-5  *Item Responses for Race Consciousness-Individual Orientation Among Lower Class Individuals*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>QR5</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>46.20%</td>
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<td>31.03%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR8</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>37.24%</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>53.10%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR9</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>76.55%</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16.55%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR18</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>84.13%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12.41%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR19</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>90.34%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.51%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

QR5 - The Black Panther Party and other similar militant organizations have not done a lot for Blacks.

QR8 - Blacks should not identify themselves with Africa by wearing African styled clothing, jewelry and hairstyles.

QR9 - The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Black to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified White person.

QR18 - Many Blacks have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life, if they tried harder they would do better.

QR19 - Blacks may not have the same opportunities as Whites but many Blacks have not prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.

*High - number of responses that were agreeing and strongly agreeing to items.

Low - number of responses that were disagreeing and strongly disagreeing to items.
Table 6-6 Item Responses for Race Consciousness-Individual Orientation Among Middle Class Individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QR5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26.66%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>66.66%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR8</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR9</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>68.33%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26.66%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR18</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>73.33%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23.33%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QR19</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>78.33%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

QR5 - The Black Panther Party and other similar militant organizations have not done a lot for Blacks.

QR8 - Blacks should not identify themselves with Africa by wearing African styled clothing, jewelry and hairstyles.

QR9 - The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Black to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified White person.

QR18 - Many Blacks have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life, if they tried harder they would do better.

QR19 - Blacks may not have the same opportunities as Whites but many Blacks have not prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.

*High - number of responses that were agreeing and strongly agreeing to items.

Low - number of responses that were disagreeing and strongly disagreeing to items.
express more individual race consciousness than middle class persons. By looking closer at specific items on the individual orientation scale, we can speculate why the lower class expressed slightly higher levels of race consciousness-individual orientation than the middle class. The lower class agreed more strongly than the middle class that the best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Black to be even better trained and more qualified than the White person, and that Blacks may not have the same opportunities as Whites but many Blacks have not prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way. The Black middle class individual may see himself as better trained and more qualified than many White persons and has prepared himself to make use of the opportunities that have come his way. But this may not be enough or the best strategy in a White dominated society. Results from a study by Dizard (1970), found that a large proportion of Blacks felt that even if Blacks had the same education and training as Whites, they have a harder time getting ahead. Blacks do have a keen sense of being singled out and treated differently because of their skin color regardless of social class position. The lower class, just as the middle class, saw individual advancement as a means of attempting to rectify racial inequalities, but because they are not in the same position as the middle class, they failed to see the shortcomings of this strategy.
In conclusion, we found that lower class individuals, on a whole, were slightly higher on race consciousness with an individual orientation than the middle class.

C. Statistical Findings

Analysis of variance (specifically the General Linear Model) was the main statistical test used to explore the extent of relationship between the dependent variables, race consciousness-collective (RCC) and race consciousness-individual (RCI) with the independent variables age, sex, occupation, social class and class consciousness.

From the factor loadings of the RCI and RCC scales, a scoring coefficient matrix was obtained. The scores for each individual on the scales were computed by multiplying these scoring coefficients and the original data responses. The results of this multiplication was an output data set containing the linear combinations of the coefficients and the original data values (factor scores). The scores in this form on the RCA and RCC scales were used directly in the analysis of variance.

The main model focused on the relationships between RCC and RCI as dependent variables and the independent variables (age, sex, social class, occupation and class consciousness). The value of $R^2$ in which RCC was the dependent variable was 0.172027. This was rather small when we consider the fact that the larger the value of $R^2$, which can range from 0 to 1, the better the model fits. Based on the F-tests, there were no significant
relationships at the .05 level of significance for any of the independent variables. It was concluded that some other sources could possible explain variation in RCC. What we found, however, according to the means was that the age group 31-45, females, blue collar workers and the lower class were higher on race consciousness collective orientation than other groups.

The value of $R^2$, in which $RCI$ was the dependent variable was 0.311645, a much larger value than that of RCC, which means that a considerable amount of the variation in $RCI$ was explained by the model. We shall now focus on the remaining hypotheses and the findings of the analysis of variance test.

**HYPOTHESIS 5-YOUNGER BLACKS WILL BE MORE RACE CONSCIOUS THAN OLDER BLACKS.**

The independent variable age did have an effect on race consciousness-individual orientation. The significance level of this relationship was 0.0046. As depicted in Figure 6-1, we see that the least square mean for individuals in the age bracket 46 years old and older was larger than the other two age brackets. As age level increased so did the level of race consciousness, with a larger difference between the youngest and oldest age groups. Thus, we found in our sample the younger Blacks were not more race conscious than the older Blacks. We can speculate that maturity, wisdom and experiences that come along with an increase in age are important here in
accounting for our findings. Our measurement of race consciousness did not encompass actually being a member of a Black Movement. Early studies (Blauner 1972, McCone 1965, Kerner 1965) reported more younger Blacks were involved in Black movements, in comparison to older Blacks. And it would be a mistake to characterize the attraction of Black identity as simply a phenomenon of youth, which like other youthful "fads", is likely to pass as the people involved come to assume the adult responsibilities of family and job (Dizard 1970). It seems as Blacks grow older their attitudes about their race become more crystallized, they encounter a number of experiences and their attachment to their race becomes even stronger.

HYPOTHESIS 6-MALES WILL EXHIBIT A HIGHER LEVEL OF RACE CONSCIOUSNESS THAN FEMALES.

There was not a significant association between sex and race consciousness. However, the least square mean for females was slightly larger than that for males on the RCC scale and the mean for males was slightly larger than that for females on the RCI scale. The differences in the sexes on the different scales might be explained in terms of their position in the social structure. Not all of our females were in the labor force as were the majority of our males. The males would, therefore, be more inclined to express an individual orientation (do your job better or just as well as the White person and that will advance the
Figure 6-1  LSMEANS of Race Consciousness-Individual Orientation and Age

Figure 6-2  LSMEANS of Race Consciousness-Individual Orientation and Social Class

Figure 6-3  LSMEANS of Race Consciousness-Individual Orientation and Interaction Between Age and Class Consciousness
Figure 6-4 LSMEANS of Race Consciousness-Individual Orientation and Interaction Between Sex and Social Class

RCI

-1

Males

Females

Lower Class Middle Class

Figure 6-5 LSMEANS of Class Consciousness and Sex

Class-CS

-1

Males

Females

Figure 6-6 LSMEANS of Class Consciousness and Social Class

Class-CS

-1

Lower Class Middle Class
the race) rather than the collective orientation; while the females, from their view of the world, might feel more could be done by group action or Blacks pulling together as a collectivity. How Black males and Black females were socialized by their parents in terms of their awareness of being Black has a profound effect on their levels of race consciousness, as well as the experiences of being male or female. The Black woman has been forced to accept the images of what the larger society says a woman should be but at the same time accept the fact that no matter how she strives to approximate these models, she can never reach the pedestal upon which White women have been put (Ladner 1972). Until recently this was a source of a considerable amount of anxiety in many Black women, but the new thrust toward Black consciousness and Black identity have allowed the development of an internal set of standards by which many Black women have begun to judge themselves.

Males are taught to be aggressive, independent and strong. A popular theme projected by social scientists in the popular literature is that Black men have been physiologically castrated because of the strong role Black women play in the home and community. This projection along with the other injustices the Black man encounters in the economic world (menial jobs, unemployment) combine to add a heighten consciousness of their race. The Black man is proud of his Blackness and is striving in his way
HYPOTHESIS 7-BLUE COLLAR WORKERS WILL EXHIBIT MORE RACE CONSCIOUSNESS THAN WHITE COLLAR WORKERS.

There was no significant association between occupation and race consciousness. The mean for the blue collar workers, however, was larger than both the means for the white collar workers and those individuals not in the active labor force on both the RCI and the RCC scales. Due to the types of occupations (craftsmen, laborers, operators, service workers, and private household workers) held by blue collar workers, their employers were more than likely to be members of the dominant society (White). The kinds of relationships that blue collar workers might have with their employers, in terms of job discrimination, poor working conditions and low wages, could quite possibly lead to heighten race awareness that is openly expressed. Even though there may be greater contact with Whites among the White collar workers, latent feelings and attitudes in reference to race consciousness develops among this group.

HYPOTHESIS 8-HIGHLY CLASS CONSCIOUS INDIVIDUALS WILL EXPRESS LESS RACE CONSCIOUSNESS THAN LOW CLASS CONSCIOUS INDIVIDUALS.

There was not a significant relationship between class consciousness and race consciousness. However, we found different relationships between class consciousness and the two race consciousness scales. A direct relationship existed between class consciousness and race consciousness
with an individual orientation. As class consciousness increased, so did individual race consciousness. Thus, low class conscious individuals tended to express low race consciousness. On the other hand, on the collective race consciousness scale, an inverse relationship occurred. We found that high class conscious individuals expressed low collective race consciousness, and those individuals who were medium on class consciousness expressed high collective race consciousness. We would expect an individual's level of class consciousness and level of individual race consciousness to be somewhat the same or similar since the orientations of the two scales stressed individual achievement or the work ethic. In comparing these two types of group consciousness (race and class), we found that both classes, on a whole, were more race conscious than class conscious.

We can speculate that class consciousness did affect the degree of race consciousness, specifically the individual orientation. As we reported, individuals who were high on class consciousness were high on race consciousness—individual orientation, but low on race consciousness—collective orientation. Thus, a strong concern for one's social class would seem to lead to a lesser collective orientation toward one's race, but a greater individual orientation toward one's race.

HYPOTHESIS 9—THERE WILL BE A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE, SEX, OCCUPATION AND SOCIAL CLASS, RESPECTIVELY, AND CLASS
CONSCIOUSNESS. OLDER PERSONS, MALES, WHITE COLLAR WORKERS AND MIDDLE CLASS INDIVIDUALS WILL EXHIBIT HIGHER LEVELS OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS THAN THEIR OPPOSITES.

The alternative model, which includes class consciousness as a dependent variable, had an \( R^2 \) value of 0.289604. The independent variables sex and social class had an effect on class consciousness. The significance level for the relationship between sex and class consciousness was 0.0654. The significance level for the relationship between social class and class consciousness was 0.0004. Figures 6-5 and 6-6 show the relationships between these variables. Females had a larger mean class consciousness score than males and the lower class had a larger mean class consciousness score than the middle class. The youngest age group and the oldest age group had the same mean for class consciousness, and blue collar workers had a larger mean than the white collar workers.

Contrary to our hypothesis, we found that females and lower class individuals were more class conscious than males and middle class individuals, respectively. We can speculate that the reasons for these findings can be found by looking at the positions of females and lower class individuals in the labor force. In general, they both hold jobs that are on the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder. Thus, in their work world they encounter the same problems in terms of poor working conditions and low wages. They would be very aware of their subordinate positions and
would feel strongly about class differences. Thus, we can see why they agreed more strongly with the items in the class consciousness scale.

HYPOTHESIS 10-THE DIFFERENT INTERACTION COMBINATIONS OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WILL BE SIGNIFICANTLY ASSOCIATED WITH RACE CONSCIOUSNESS AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

None of the interactions were significantly associated with class consciousness. A very high level of significance (0.0001) occurred for the interaction of age and class consciousness in relation to RCI. A look at Figure 6-3, in which age interacts with class consciousness, shows that the level of race consciousness varied considerably. Individuals who were under 46 years of age and high on class consciousness were also high on race consciousness. Among the 46 years and above group, those who were low on class consciousness were the highest on race consciousness. For the youngest groups (18-30 and 31-45), as class consciousness increased, so did race consciousness. For the 46 years and older group, the reverse was true that is, as class consciousness increased, race consciousness decreased. If we take a closer look at the age bracket of 46 years and older, we can assume that these individuals are more concerned about their social status, are possible well-established in their occupational roles or possible retired and may feel a bit apathetic about racial concerns.
Another significant interaction occurred between sex and social class in relation to RCI (significant at the .05 level). Figure 6-4 shows that among lower class individuals, the females had the largest mean race consciousness score, whereas in the middle class, the males had the largest mean race consciousness score. The mean for males in the middle class is slightly larger than the mean for males in the lower class. We have already noted that females in comparison to males, and lower class individuals in comparison to middle class individuals had high levels of race consciousness. Thus, we found that the lower class female had the largest mean race consciousness score in this interaction. This interaction combination reinforced the effects sex and social class had in explaining variance in race consciousness.
Chapter VII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter provides a summary of the overall procedures and findings of the study and the conclusions derived based on the findings of the study. In addition, limitations of the study and implications for future studies in this area are discussed.

A. Summary

The major purpose of this study was to determine the degree to which Blacks in a southern city were committed to their race (race consciousness) and to their class (class consciousness). In addition, the objectives of the study were (1) to determine the levels of race consciousness and class consciousness among Blacks (2) to make a qualitative assessment of perceived class structure, life styles, behavior patterns and social status among Blacks (3) to determine the effects age, sex, social class, occupation and class consciousness have on race consciousness and (4) to determine the effects age, sex, occupation and social class have on class consciousness.

An area stratified random block sample consisting of 102 males and 103 females ranging from eighteen to seventy-eight years of age and encompassing all economic strata of the Black community in a Southern city was selected for this inquiry. The data were collected through interviews. The interview schedule consisted of a total of 89 items and
two Likert scales measuring race consciousness and class consciousness. The contents of the schedule consisted of information on family background, demographic characteristics, religious activities, community participation, social organization affiliations, level of living, attitudes toward being Black and criteria for social class placement.

Two statistical analysis techniques were employed in the study. They were factor analysis and analysis of variance. The two variables, race consciousness and class consciousness were factor analyzed, after which those items that were highly intercorrelated were retained as the items used in the scales to measure respectively, race consciousness and class consciousness. The analysis of variance technique (specifically the General Linear Model) was utilized to test the major empirical hypotheses posited. This analysis technique provided an interpretative device for comparing the effects the independent variables (age, sex, occupation, social class) had in explaining the dependent variables (race consciousness and class consciousness).

The underlying assumptions of the study were that (1) social differentiation occurs in every social situation based on sex, age, race and social status (social class), (2) differential treatment of a racial group or a social class leads to heighten group consciousness, that is, race consciousness and class consciousness, (3) age, sex,
occupation, and social class influence levels of race consciousness and levels of class consciousness among Blacks, and (4) there is a relationship between class consciousness and race consciousness among Blacks.

Based on these assumptions and the theoretical perspective of Ethno-Class Stratification and Race-Class Consciousness, several hypotheses were formulated to be tested. In the remainder of this section of the chapter, I shall restate the hypotheses and summarize the findings.

In reference to the relationship between social class and class consciousness, we hypothesized that middle class individuals would be more class conscious than lower class individuals, while lower class individuals would be more race conscious than middle class individuals. Within the middle class, we hypothesized individuals would be more class conscious than race conscious, whereas, in the lower class, individuals would be more race conscious than class conscious. Our findings revealed both lower class and middle class individuals were more race conscious than class conscious and the lower class was more race conscious than the middle class. From our statistical tests, we found that the variable social class was related to class consciousness. The lower class had a larger mean class consciousness score than the middle class. Contrary to our hypothesis, our study of contemporary Black middle class persons showed that they were more race conscious than class conscious. The Black middle class in the past,
on a whole, expressed more concern for their social class position than concern for their racial group. On a whole, they were proud of their Blackness and identified with their racial group. The Black middle class persons were aware of their status position in comparison to other Blacks, but expressed lower levels of class consciousness than the lower class. The lower class was very conscious, according to our class consciousness scale, of the differences between their position and that of others. They expressed more strongly than the middle class the idea that the wealth of our country should be divided up equally so that people will have an equal chance to get ahead and that one should choose his friends and associates from his own social class.

In reference to the relationship between race consciousness and social class, we hypothesized that middle class individuals would express more individual race consciousness than collective race consciousness, while lower class individuals would express more collective race consciousness than individual race consciousness. We also hypothesized that in comparison, the lower class would exhibit more collective race consciousness than the middle class and the middle class would exhibit more individual race consciousness than the lower class. Our findings revealed that the lower class was more race conscious (individual and collective) than the middle class. Among the middle class individuals, a higher level of collective race
consciousness rather than individual race consciousness (as hypothesized) was expressed. Also, among lower class individuals, a higher level of collective race consciousness was expressed in comparison to individual race consciousness. Our statistical tests revealed an association between social class and individual race consciousness. The lower class had a larger mean race consciousness score than the middle class. Lower class individuals expressed a higher level of collective race consciousness than individual race consciousness. Past studies have shown that the lower class has been active participants in Black movements that stressed collective action and group protest as a strategy for dealing with racial inequality in our society. On the individual race consciousness scale, the lower class in comparison to the middle class, expressed more strongly that individual Blacks should be better trained and more qualified than Whites and that many Blacks have not prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way. Even though Blacks on a whole, have not been accepted fully into the mainstream of society, the few individual Blacks who have "made it" have done so by using their talents and abilities to the fullest. Blacks in the lower class and the middle class were aware of this fact, but the lower class individuals stressed the individual orientation more than middle class individuals.

We hypothesized that the independent variables (age,
sex, occupation and class consciousness), would have an effect upon race consciousness. The analysis test revealed one association which occurred between age and race consciousness. The cross tabulations revealed that as one's age increased so did one's level of individual race consciousness. Thus, Black identity and concern or commitment for one's race was not more prevalent among younger Blacks as hypothesized. As individuals assumed the adult roles of responsibilities of families and job, their concern and commitment to their racial group seemed to become more pronounced as well. The variables sex, occupation and class consciousness were not significantly associated with race consciousness. However, as the mean scores revealed, females expressed a slightly higher level of collective race consciousness than males. The males, on the other hand, expressed a higher level of individual race consciousness than the females. The fact that males in our society are expected to be strong, independent and the bread winners in the family, they would agree more strongly with the individual orientation; while, females who are expected to be dependent would express a collective orientation. Blue collar workers expressed higher levels of race consciousness (individual and collective) than the white collar workers or individuals not in the Labor force. Interaction between blue collar workers and their employers (who are members of the dominant society) in terms of job discrimination, poor working conditions, and low wages
could possibly be the reason why blue collar workers were more race conscious than the other occupational groups. Different kinds of relationships occurred between class consciousness and individual race consciousness and collective race consciousness. There was a direct association between class consciousness and individual race consciousness. As class consciousness increased so did race consciousness. Thus, a low class conscious individual tended to express low individual race consciousness. However, the relationship between collective race consciousness and class consciousness was inverse. We found that high class conscious individuals expressed low collective race consciousness. Thus, in this case, a strong concern for one's class seemed to indicate a lesser concern for one's race.

We hypothesized that age, sex, social class and occupation, respectively, would be associated with class consciousness. From our analysis of variance tests, we found that only sex and social class were associated with class consciousness. Females and lower class individuals were more class conscious than males and middle class individuals, respectively. In our society, females and lower class individuals are in subordinate positions. The kinds of problems they face, such as poor working conditions, low wages and unemployment perhaps lead them to express more strongly their awareness of status positions and social class differences in society.

We hypothesized that the different interaction
combinations would be significantly associated with race consciousness and class consciousness (when either is employed as a dependent variable). The only interaction combinations that were significant occurred between age and class consciousness and between sex and social class in relation to individual race consciousness. Individuals who were 18-46 years of age and high on class consciousness expressed a high level of race consciousness. Individuals who were 46 and older and high on class consciousness expressed a low level of race consciousness. Older individuals had been in their occupational roles for a longer period of time than the younger individuals, thus they expressed more concern for status position and steps for the development of class identity. Hence, the importance of class consciousness among older Blacks negatively affected their race consciousness. The interaction between sex and social class in relation to individual race consciousness was significant at the .05 level. Lower class females expressed a higher level of race consciousness than lower class males, middle class males or middle class females. This interaction combination supported findings, that have been discussed, regarding the importance of sex in explaining variance in race consciousness, as well as the importance of social class in explaining variance in race consciousness. In those instances the females rather than the males, and the lower class rather than the middle class had the largest mean race
consciousness score.

B. Conclusions

The most significant finding of this inquiry was that social mobility through the agents of education and income had not led Blacks to make more of their class (class consciousness) than their race (race consciousness). We conclude, therefore, that the growth of class consciousness was not at the expense of race consciousness.

One major assumption, in the recent literature, has been that race consciousness has been declining in significance for Blacks. The assumption has been that in the modern industrial period (after World War II) class had become more important than race in determining Black life chances. As race declined in importance in the economic sector, the Black class structure became more differentiated and Black life chances became more increasingly a consequence of class affiliations (Wilson 1978:153). Thus, this would seem to lead to more concern in obtaining class positions that would provide better life chances. Hence, there would be an increase in class identity and solidarity rather than racial identity and solidarity. The diversity in economic class positions did not significantly influence racial and ethnic solidarity among the Blacks in our sample. Rather, positive attitudes toward Blackness (proud of being Black, the importance of being Black, and preference to be called Black) indicated a
sense of collective identity among lower class and middle class Blacks. Our findings are in agreement with Dizard's study of "Black Identity, Social Class and Black Power." Dizard found that growing attachment to Black identity has helped to obscure the lines of stratification within the Black community. Not only is identity itself diffused throughout all strata of the community, but identity itself seemed to create a homogeneity sufficient to largely eliminate the influence of occupational status on attitudes toward militancy. Looking at the two extremes of occupational status (professionals and unskilled laborers), there was very little difference in the respective proportions for high and low attachments to Black identity (Dizard 1973:205).

Blacks appeared to be a unified whole, in that, the majority held a collective race consciousness orientation and the majority (middle class and lower class) chose voting and education as the best approaches for Blacks to use to improve their conditions. The thesis of Blackwell (1968:295) which stated that it is evident that the Black community is a highly diversified aggregate of people whose social organization and internal unity are a collective response to the external social forces unleashed by White racism, oppression and systematic repression in the United States, was supported by the findings of our study. In response to "What does it mean to be a Black man (woman) today?", the expressions of both lower class and
middle class Blacks showed unity around the commonality of their experiences in America, particularly those experiences resulting from systematic exclusion, patterned denials and deprivations structured on institutional racism.

The collective orientation showed Blacks (middle class and lower class) felt only if Blacks pull together in Civil Rights groups and activities can anything really be done about discrimination and the best way to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action. But, they also in a sense agreed that individual advancement by Blacks should be used to help the collective group. The lower class as well as the middle class felt that educated Blacks who had good jobs should try to use their talents and leadership abilities to help other Blacks. Earlier studies (Frazier 1957, Essien-Udom 1962, Lincoln 1962, Rustin 1969) found that the Black middle class wanted to disassociate itself from the Black masses. They wanted to leave behind everything that associated them with the lower class Blacks whom they felt were responsible for their not being fully accepted into the larger society. Despite the inevitable tension between Blacks who have made it and those who have not, there is ample evidence that middle class Blacks felt that they should lend as much a hand to their less fortunate brothers as most other ethnic groups in the past.

Measures of social class within the Black community were, in some respects, quite similar to those measures
used in the White community. The assumption by Pinkney (1968:68) that stratification in the Black community tends to be based to a greater degree on behavior patterns and social factors than on income and occupation held true mainly for lower class Blacks. The primary variables of social class placement (income, education and occupation) were utilized more by the middle class, but the importance of behavior or descriptive type criteria (environment, living conditions, mannerisms or personality characteristics) were often cited by members of the lower class as the basis for social stratification.

The type of class consciousness as defined by Landecker (1963) which includes a person's self-identification with a particular class and a preference for members of his own class as friends and leisure time associates was partly supported by our findings. The majority of the individuals subjectively classified themselves as Middle class but disagreed that one should choose his friends and associates from his own social class.

Class consciousness existed in the Black community, not only on the basis of the results of our class consciousness scale, but according to criteria set forth by Murphy and Morris (1966), that is, class consciousness does not exist until members in a community are able to say how many classes exist in their community, are able to name the classes and can place themselves and others in the identified classes. Except for a small minority (8%),
individuals named the social classes found in their city, placed themselves in an identified class and gave descriptions of individuals who were found in various social classes.

Even though there were discrepancies between the social class placement of individuals by the researcher and the perceived social class placement of the individuals themselves, there were expressions of unity with the ideas and values of one's social class.

The behavior patterns and life styles of the contemporary Black Middle Class were quite different from those described by Frazier in the 1940's, but similar to those described by Kronus in 1971. Members of the Black Middle Class had realistic goals and purposes in life and had high aspirations for their children. They were concerned about their race and were not merely status seekers. Most of the middle class individuals had been reared in middle class families. Black middle class individuals acted as responsible persons and engaged in intellectual activities. The Black Middle Class, however, was aware of their higher social class position; in comparison to other Blacks, some placed themselves in a higher class position than when in comparing themselves with Whites. They worked within the context of the larger White society and were satisfied with the Black-White relations in the city. Thus, there was no effort by the Black Middle Class to convince the White Middle Class of the importance of their social
status rather than the importance of their race.

We found no significant association between the two types of group consciousness (race and class consciousness), but the variable social class was significant in explaining variance in both types of group consciousness. The lower class was high on both race consciousness and class consciousness. Thus this group was a common focus point for observing the relationship between race and class consciousness. We are inclined to agree with conclusions in a study by Leggett (1968) which stated class and race consciousness were in many cases interrelated when one occurred the other did so as well. Black workman's differences with White middle class craftsmen or unionists on matters of employment generated both class and race consciousness.

This study was cross-sectional, that is, it focused on attitudes toward race and class at one point in time. We noted, however, economic changes have occurred for Blacks in this Southern City by the increases in white collar employment in the last twenty years. Social and economic changes experienced by individuals had an effect on our findings. Based on the review of the literature, hypotheses were developed. Our findings in some cases were contrary to our hypotheses, for instance, we found younger Blacks were not more race conscious than older Blacks, males were not more race conscious than females and middle class individuals were not more class conscious
than race conscious.

The rationales for why these hypotheses were not supported are (1) the diversity of the types of research on race consciousness that have been prevalent in the past and (2) significant historical events what have affected Blacks during different time periods. Most of the research reviewed on race consciousness (Pitts, 1974; Udom, 1964; Lincoln, 1964; Brown, 1936; Ferguson, 1936; Turner, 1971 and Frazier, 1957) were theoretically oriented or positional essays with very little if any empirical evidence. Other studies which did provide empirical evidence (Marx, 1964; Wilson, 1978; Kronus, 1971; Dizard, 1970) either used secondary sources or did not apply a statistical test as employed in this study. Therefore, there have been very few empirical studies conducted with which to compare our findings.

Events such as the Civil Rights Movement, Black Cultural Consciousness Movement, urbanization, population changes, social mobility, industrialization, intergenerational differences, and policy implications, such as affirmative action and non-discriminatory racial policies, had a significant impact on Blacks throughout the country. Two specific events that occurred in this particular city (confrontation between national guardsmen and students on the predominantly Black university campus and a confrontation between law enforcement officers and Black Muslims) also could have possibly had an effect on our findings.
The age differences we found contrary to our hypothesis, could possibly be explained by the fact that young Blacks who were active in the Black Movement in the 1960's, in our study (nineteen years later) are still expressing high levels of race consciousness but in a different way due to the fact that the mood of Black America has changed. The Black Movement is not as intense and goals and purposes have changed to adapt to the circumstances of the time. Today there is more actual community participation and community control, along with more Black political office holders. There is a need for the more mature and experienced individual and our scale for measuring race consciousness takes this into consideration, thus differing from other studies.

In conclusion, age, sex, social class, behavior patterns, life styles and class consciousness were found to be relatively important determinants of race consciousness and class consciousness of Blacks.

C. Limitations of the Study

This study was significant in that it provided current information on the social status, life styles, behavior patterns and attitudes among Blacks, current information on the extent to which attitudes toward one's race and toward one's class affected each other, and the level of race consciousness and class consciousness among Blacks. However, there were certain ways in which the study could
have been improved.

One limitation of the study was the sample size. Due to limited resources (time, finances and man power) a limited number of persons were interviewed. A larger sample size would have possibly given more variation in responses and would have permitted a more comprehensive analysis. In addition, broader generalizations could have been made if the sample size had been larger.

The study was also limited to one city in one region of the country (the South). The study would have been more representative of the total Black population if the sample had been nation-wide. However, such a design was beyond the scope of this study.

D. Implications for Future Studies

This study did not answer many of the questions about the relationship between race consciousness and class consciousness. There are possibly other variables that may be of importance in determining race consciousness and class consciousness which were not included in this research. In view of this, future studies should identify and examine other variables such as power, community solidarity, and interracial contact in search for more explanatory factors, especially for explaining variance in collective race consciousness. Also, new directions can be taken in studying race consciousness of Blacks. In this study attitudes were the focal point, a shift to actual
behaviors of Blacks in relation to their level of race consciousness would add more depth to how Blacks feel about their race. Particular attention would be to focus on participation in race-focused and issue-oriented groups and social movements.

This research did not answer many of the questions relating to the Black Middle Class. One specific area for study, using the Black Middle Class as the focus of investigation, is the influence of ecological and residential patterns in the formation of Black Middle Class neighborhoods and Black Middle Class suburbanization. We found that most of our Black middle class individuals lived in the suburbs, which had implications for intra-racial and inter-racial relations.

As mentioned, one of the limitations of the study was that the sample represented one city in the South. Another area for future research calls for the selection of a sample from diverse regions of the country. This seems to be of crucial importance in determining whether regional differences have an effect on race and class consciousness among Blacks.

One important issue, that should be investigated further which was implied from our study, is the relationship between race as a source of conflict versus class as a source of conflict. In focusing on the determinants of race consciousness and class consciousness, we found the
race versus class issue could be one area for future investigation by conflict theorists of Race Relations. What may seem a race issue could very well be seen as a class issue as well and vice versa. An analysis of race versus class will be useful in the future of race relations. Instead of focusing in on how class divisions cause disunity within a racial group, the effects of race divisions on class unity could be the focal point for further investigation.

A class view can be developed in which the predominance of Blacks in the lower class in America becomes a pivotal characteristic. Hence, to understand not only the events and developments within Black communities, but also to consider solutions to racial problems requires a full appreciation of the class lines that divide those communities (Reissman, 1973:100). One of the earlier class analyses of race was by Oliver Cox (1948). Cox argued that American race relations had to be seen in relation to a class, rather than in relation to a caste system. In effect, he explained, Blacks were kept in the lower class so as to provide a cheap and available labor supply that could be kept under tight control. For economic purposes, then Blacks were little more than an indentured class serving the needs of a White economy.

According to Himes (1973:8) conflict is defined as racial when considerations of race become a significant factor for one or both of the combatants. That is, if
either or both of the conflict actors perceive that the struggle relates to or is conditioned by considerations of race, then the conflict is racial conflict, and it is not necessary for the combatants themselves to belong to different racial groups.

The gains recently achieved by Black can easily be translated into advances in upward mobility - a process by which an increasingly large proportion of Blacks move out of the lower class and into either the working class, the lower middle class, or the middle class. Just as some signs of class factors have been given greater attention in the analysis of race and racial inequalities; today, due to the increases in the number of Blacks moving into higher social class positions, future studies can focus on the signs of race factors being given greater attention in the analysis of class and class inequalities. Some Blacks see their race, as perceived by the larger society, as inhibiting their social mobility. If Blacks and Whites still react to each other on the basis of race, as if race still influences the opportunities for Blacks, then further conflict will likely to ensue.
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APPENDIX

THE QUESTIONNAIRE
Community Survey

1. How long have you been living in Baton Rouge? _____ years
2. How long have you been at the present address? _____ years
3. What were your last two previous addresses?


4. What is your current marital status?
   a. never married ___
   b. married ___
   c. divorced ___
   d. separated ___
   e. common law ___
   f. widowed ___
5. How old were you on your last birthday? ____ years
6. How many children do you have living in the household?
   ____ Ages ____
7. How many children living away from home? ____ Ages ____
8. How many persons (besides yourself) live in the household?
   ____
9. Do any other relatives (besides spouse and children) live in the household? Yes ___ No ___
10. If yes, what are their relations to you? ________________
11. How do you usually spend your vacation? PROBE: For example, traveling, house repairs, visiting relatives far away, etc.
12. How do you spend your leisure time? In other words, how do you spend your time when you are not working?
13. How often do you entertain friends or relatives in your home?
   a. several times a week ___
   b. once a week ___
   c. three or four times a month ___
   d. once a month ___
   e. only on special occasions ___
   f. never ___
14. Which is the typical drink you serve your guests?
   a. beer____
   b. whiskey____
   c. wine____
   d. mixed drinks____
   e. coffee____
   f. soft drinks____
   g. other____ identify___________

15. What is your present occupation?__________________________

16. How long have you had this job?__________________________

17. What was your previous job?______________________________

18. How long did you have it?_______________________________

19. What kind of work do you think you will be doing 10 years from now?______________________________________________

20. If you could choose over again, what occupation would you have gone into?__________________________________________

21. What is your spouse's occupation?________________________

22. Do you have a second job? Yes____ No____

23. If yes, what is the nature of the job?____________________

24. What was your Father's primary occupation?_______________

25. What was his highest level of education completed?
   a. elementary school____
   b. high school____
   c. vocational technical____
   d. college____
   e. none____

26. What was your Mother's primary occupation?_______________

27. What was her highest level of education completed?
   a. elementary school____
   b. high school____
   c. vocational technical____
   d. college____
   e. none____
28. What is your highest level of education completed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>#Years</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
<th>#Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. elementary school</td>
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<td>a. elementary school</td>
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<td>b. some high school</td>
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<td>b. some high school</td>
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<td>c. completed high school</td>
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<td>c. comp. high school</td>
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<td>d. vocational technical</td>
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<td>e. some college</td>
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<td>f. completed college</td>
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<td>g. some graduate school</td>
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<td>h. Master's Degree</td>
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<td>h. Master's Degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>i. Doctoral Degree</td>
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<td>i. Doctoral Degree</td>
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Colleges Attended: 1. 2. 3.

29. What level of education would you like to have your children receive?

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. High School</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Vocational School</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. College (2 years)</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. College (4 years)</td>
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<tr>
<td>e. Graduate or Professional School</td>
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30. Realistically, what is the least amount of education that you actually expect of your children?

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<tbody>
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<td>a. Grade School</td>
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<td>b. High School</td>
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<td>c. Vocational School</td>
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<td>d. College (2 years)</td>
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<tr>
<td>e. College (4 years)</td>
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<tr>
<td>f. Graduate or Professional School</td>
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</table>

31. What type discipline do you use when your children misbehave?

-------------- No Children Non-applicable

32. Do any relatives help you take care of the children?

Yes ___ No ___ No children ___ Non-applicable ___

33. If yes, who are they? __________________________
34. How often do relatives help take care of the children?

   a. once a month  
   b. once a week  
   c. several times a month  
   d. several times a week  

35. Which three qualities listed on this card (sec below) would you say are the most desirable for a child to have? Which one of the three is the most desirable of all?

   Most Desirable  Most Desirable of All
   a. 
   b. 
   c. 

36. All of the qualities listed on this card may be desirable, but could you tell me which three you consider least important? Which of these three is least important of all?

   Least Important  Least Important of All
   a. 
   b. 
   c. 

37. How frequently do you see these relatives?

   a. Parents  Non-applicable
   b. Brothers & Sisters  Non-applicable
   c. Aunts, Uncles, Grandparents  Non-applicable
   d. Cousins  Non-applicable

38. To what extent can you depend upon relatives for financial help when you are in need?

   a. All of the time
   b. Most of the time
   c. Some of the time
   d. Not at all or none of the time

*Manners
Success
Honest
Judgement
Responsible
Sex Roles
Self Control
Gets Along Well
Obey
Considerate
Interested
Studious
39. Tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with these statements

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>N/A</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. I respect my parents advice</td>
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<td>b. I respect my sisters and brothers advice</td>
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<td>c. I respect my aunts, uncles and grandparents advice</td>
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<td>d. I respect my cousins advice</td>
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<td>e. What my parents think of me is important</td>
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<td>f. What my sisters and brothers think of me is important to me</td>
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<td>g. What my aunts, uncles and grandparents think of me is important to me</td>
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<td>h. What my cousins think of me is important to me</td>
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40. Indicate whether you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the following things:

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<th>Statement</th>
<th>VS</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>VD</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. The community in which you live</td>
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<td>b. The occupation or job which you hold</td>
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<td>c. The amount of unity among Blacks in this community</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Black-White relations in this community</td>
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<td>e. Your social life and social activities</td>
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<td>f. Blacks' participation in politics in this community</td>
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<td>g. School in your community</td>
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<tr>
<td>h. The role of the church (where you attend) in the community</td>
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</table>

41. Do you have hospital insurance? Yes____ No____

42. Do you have life insurance? Yes____ No____

43. Do you have burial insurance? Yes____ No____

44. How often do you visit a doctor for a check-up?
   a. Several times a year____   e. seldom____
   b. Once a year____           f. never____
   c. Twice a year____
   d. Only when necessary____
45. How often do the children visit the dentist?
   a. once a year ____
   b. twice a year ____
   c. only when necessary ____
   d. seldom ____
   e. never ____
   f. no children ____
   g. non-applicable ____

46. Are you a registered voter? Yes ____ No ____

47. What party? Democrat ____ Republican ____ Independent ____
   Other ____ Identify _______________

48. Did you vote in the 1976 Carter-Ford Presidential election? Yes ____ No ____

49. Name the Social or Community Organizations and Clubs in which you belong

   Financial

   Organization Type Support Committee Officer Active
   1. __________________________
   2. __________________________
   3. __________________________
   4. __________________________
   5. __________________________

50. In terms of community participation, did you in the last year:
   a. attend a political rally or speech Yes ____ No ____
   b. discuss civic problems frequently with more than one person Yes ____ No ____
   c. visit community organizations or board meetings to inform yourself Yes ____ No ____
   d. hold or run for political office Yes ____ No ____
   e. attend a public meeting on town or school affairs Yes ____ No ____
   f. signed a petition Yes ____ No ____
   g. speak to key leaders about problems Yes ____ No ____
   h. persuade others to take a particular position Yes ____ No ____
   i. write letters or circulate letters or hold some meetings Yes ____ No ____

51. What religion are you?
   a. Baptist ____
   b. Methodist (CME, AME, Zions) ____
   c. Methodist (United) ____
   d. Catholic ____
   e. Jehovah's Witness ____
   f. Jewish ____
52. Were you brought up in this religion? Yes ___ No ___

53. If no, which one? _______________________

54. How proud are you of your religion?
   a. very proud ___
   b. pretty proud ___
   c. not very proud ___
   d. not proud at all ___

55. If someone said something bad about your religion, would you feel almost as if they had said something bad about you? Yes ___ No ___

56. How important is your religion to you?
   a. very important ___
   b. pretty important ___
   c. not very important ___
   d. not at all important ___

57. How often do you attend Church?
   a. several times a week ___
   b. every Sunday ___
   c. several times a month ___
   d. once a month ___
   e. Holidays ___
   f. seldom ___
   g. never ___

58. Do both husband and wife attend Church together?
   a. Yes, all of the time ___
   b. Yes, most of the time ___
   c. sometimes ___
   d. never ___
   e. non-applicable ___

59. Which type of music do you prefer and listen to most often?
   a. Rock ___
   b. Blues ___
   c. Jazz ___
   d. Gospel ___
   e. Classical ___
   f. Other ___ Identify ___
60. Which of the following major credit cards do you have?
   a. Master Charge____
   b. Visa____
   c. American Express____
   d. Diner's____
   e. Gas cards____ Identify________________
   f. Department Stores____ Identify________________
   g. None____

61. When it comes to making major decisions such as buying a new house or car, or moving or deciding to take a vacation who usually makes the final decision?
   a. Husband____
   b. Wife____
   c. Both____
   d. Non-applicable____

62. Which of these items do you have?
   a. television___ types___
   b. washer___
   c. dryer____
   d. micro-wave oven___
   e. radio___ type___
   f. camera___ type___
   g. movie projector____
   h. vacuum cleaner_____
   i. bathroom____
   j. boat___ type____
   k. automobile____
      1. model___ type___
         year____
      2. model___ type___
         year____
   l. bathroom____
   m. encyclopedias___
   n. stereo ___
   o. Black Magazines____
   p. Black Books____
   q. Black Paintings____
   r. Black Statures____
   s. bar____
   t. freezer____
   u. # telephones____
   v. central air & cooling___
   w. pick-up___ Model____
   x. van___ Model____
   y. year____

63. Do you own your home? Yes____ No____

64. Are you buying? Yes____ No____

65. How old is your home? ________

66. Was it new when you bought it? Yes____ No____

67. What is your total family income (yourself and spouse) before taxes?
   a. less than $3,000____
   b. $3,000 to $5,999____
   c. $6,000 to $6,999____
   d. $7,000 to $7,999____
   e. $8,000 to $8,999____
   f. $9,000 to $9,999____
   g. $10,000 to $10,999____
   h. $11,000 to $11,999____
68. What is your income before taxes? USE SAME CATEGORIES AS ABOVE

69. Nowadays there is frequent talk about classes. By social classes we usually mean social categories or social ranks that differ from one another in terms of importance, power, style of life, wealth, privileges, education and occupation. In your opinion, what are the social classes in Baton Rouge?

70. In relation to all Families (Black and White) in Baton Rouge, in which social class do you feel you belong?

71. In relation to other Black families in Baton Rouge, in which social class do you feel you belong?

72. To decide whether a given person belongs to your class, what single factor or condition do you have to consider most? By what in particular can you recognize a person belonging to your own class?

73. Using the following categories, in which class do you feel you belong?

- a. upper-middle class
- b. middle-upper class
- c. lower-upper class
- d. upper-middle class
- e. middle-middle class
- f. lower-middle class
- g. upper-lower class
- h. middle-lower class
- i. lower-lower class
- j. working class

74. In your opinion, by what single factor or condition above all others can a lower class family be recognized?

75. In your opinion, by what single factor or condition above all others can a working class be recognized?

76. In your opinion, by what single factor or condition above all others can a middle class family be recognized?

77. In your opinion, by what single factor or condition above all others can an upper class family be recognized?
78. To what extent do you feel a sense of unity with your social class? That is do you think that your needs and your ideas are similar to or different from the needs and ideas of other persons in your class?

a. very similar____
b. similar_____  
c. somewhat similar_____  
d. different_____  
e. very different_____  

79. Rank these interests and activities 1 thru 11 in terms of their importance in your life at the present time.

NOTE: Place cards on table, have respondent reach back to you one at a time the most important and continue to least important. Record alphabet on back as it is chosen.

Record Sequence (A,K,J)

a. Career and Vocational pursuits 1.
c. Participation in Community Affairs  3.
d. Family  4.
e. Identity  5.
g. Social Life  7.
h. Intellectual/Artistic pursuits 8.
i. Sex  9.
i. Religion  11.

80. Which one or two of these approaches do you think are the best approaches for Blacks to use to improve their conditions?

a. voting_____  f. turning to God____  
b. making money____  g. the court and law_____  
c. peaceful demonstration____  h. education____  
d. violence_____  i. other____  
e. minding your own business____  Identify_____  
   j. None or don't know__________

81. How proud are you of being Black?

a. very proud__
 b. pretty proud__
c. not very proud__
82. If you could be born again, would you like to be born of a different race?
   a. Yes___
   b. No___
   c. Maybe___

83. Which of these names do you prefer to be called?
   a. Afro-American___
   b. Black___
   c. Colored___
   d. Negro___
   e. Other___Identify___
   f. None or don't know___

84. Approximately how many white families live in this neighborhood?______________

85. How many whites live next door or across from you?______________

86. How many whites do you?
   a. know as friends____
   b. have frequent contact with____
   c. have little contact with____
   d. work with____
   e. attend social activities with (other than job related)____

87. How important is being Black to you?
   a. very important____
   b. pretty important____
   c. not very important____
   d. not at all important____

88. Here is a list of Black leaders past and current. Can you tell me which occupation fits the leaders?
   1. Mary Mcleod Bethune     A. Educator
   2. Stokley Carmichael       B. Sports Star
   3. Frederick Douglass       C. Civil Rights Leader
   4. Medgar Evers             D. Entertainer
   5. Harold Ford              E. Political Office Holder
   6. Benjamin Hooks           F. Author
   7. Jesse Jackson            G. Don't know
   8. Vernon Jordon
   9. Martin Luther King, Jr.
   10. Paul Robeson

89. Do you think that conditions for Blacks in this country today with regard to housing, education, job opportunities and social acceptance by whites are excellent, good, not very good, or poor.
<table>
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<th></th>
<th>Today</th>
<th>Ten Years Ago</th>
<th>Ten Years From Now</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Housing</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Excellent</td>
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<td>2. Good</td>
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<td>3. Not very good</td>
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<td>4. Poor</td>
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<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Job Opportunities</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Social Acceptance by Whites</strong></td>
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<td>1. Excellent</td>
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<td>2. Good</td>
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<td>3. Not very good</td>
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<td>4. Poor</td>
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<td>5. Don't know</td>
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Now I would like to read you some statements relating to race and class and would like for you to tell me whether you agree or disagree or strongly agree or strongly disagree with them.

SA A U D SA

R1. Stores in Black Communities should be owned and run by Blacks.

R2. Schools with mostly Black Children should have mostly Black teachers and principals.

R3. Only if Blacks pull together in Civil Rights groups and activities can anything really be done about discrimination.

R4. The NAACP and the National Urban League have done a lot for Black People.

R5. The Black Panther Party and other similar militant organizations have not done a lot for Blacks.

R6. The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each individual Black to make sure he gets the best training possible for what he wants to do.

R7. Blacks should set up a separate Black nation in America.

R8. Blacks should not identify themselves with Africa by wearing African-styled clothing, jewelry and hairstyles.

R9. The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Black to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified White person.

R10. The only way Blacks will gain their Civil Rights is by constant protest and pressure.
R11. The attempt to "fit in" and do what's proper hasn't paid off for Blacks. It doesn't matter how "proper" you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you are Black.

R12. Blacks are a superior race because of the suffering and discrimination they have been able to withstand.

R13. Black Media (magazines, newspapers, radio) do not serve a vital function to the Black community.

R14. Educated Blacks who have good jobs should try to use their talents and leadership ability to help other Blacks.

R15. Many Blacks who don't do well in life do have good training but the opportunities just always go to Whites.

R16. Blacks should take pride in Black history and study African culture, leaders, history and its government.

R17. The best way to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action.

R18. Many Blacks have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder they'd do better.

R19. Blacks may not have the same opportunities as whites but many Blacks haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.

*NOW STATEMENTS RELATING TO SOCIAL CLASS

C1. It is more important to have a career with prestige than a skilled job making lots of money.
C2. If an individual with a college degree and one without are performing the same job, the one with the degree should not be paid a higher salary.

C3. If a person can get a job making a comfortable salary he should take it and not worry about getting an education.

C4. Administrative occupations (Professional, Managerial) should not be considered higher in prestige than service occupations (clerical, sales).

C5. Business leaders should play a much more important role in the economic system than labor leaders.

C6. Children should not be encouraged to play with or marry only with others in their own social class.

C7. Immediate success is more important than long range planning.

C8. If people would just work hard they could get ahead in life.

C9. Community decisions should be made primarily by those individuals who are financially well-off.

C10. One should not keep a large amount of money in savings if he is in debt.

C11. The wealth of our country should be divided up equally so that people will have an equal chance to get ahead.

C12. When business booms in Baton Rouge, the upper class or rich people get the most profits.

C13. One should choose his friends and associates from his own social class.

*What does it mean to be a Man(Woman) today?

*What does it mean to be a Black Man (woman) today?
VITA

The author was born to Charley and Pauline Victoria Handy on December 10, 1950 in New Orleans, Louisiana.

She began her formal schooling at Iberville Elementary School in Plaquemine, Louisiana. After completing the sixth grade, she enrolled at Seymourville Junior High School, where she participated in Science Fairs and graduated with Honors. She entered Iberville High School at the age of fifteen. She graduated Salutatorian of the Graduating Class in 1968.

She then enrolled at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; where she majored in Psychology. In May of 1972 the Bachelor of Arts Degree from Louisiana State University was conferred. In August of 1972, she began graduate studies in Sociology at Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia. In May of 1973 the Master of Arts Degree was conferred.

In August of 1973, the author was employed as an Instructor in Sociology at Winston-Salem State University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. In 1974 she was awarded the "Teacher of the Year" award by the student body. After two years of employment, she received a sabbatical to pursue the doctoral degree in Sociology.

In August of 1975 she enrolled in the doctoral program at Louisiana State University. The author is presently a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 195
Sociology and will resume employment at Winston-Salem State University.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Kathleen Marie Handy

Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis: Determinants of Race Consciousness and Class Consciousness Among Blacks of a Southern City.

Approved.

[Signature]
Major Professor and Chairman

[Signature]
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signature]

Date of Examination:

November 15, 1979