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THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CORRELATES OF INTRA-GROUP
RACIAL IDENTIFICATION IN BLACK POLITICAL LEADERSHIP:
BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN MICHIGAN

By

Pauline C. Terrelonge Stone

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1975

ABSTRACT

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CORRELATES OF INTRA-GROUP RACIAL IDENTIFICATION IN BLACK POLITICAL LEADERSHIP: BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN MICHIGAN

By

Pauline C. Terrelonge Stone

This research focused on the patterns of racial identity among black elected officials in Michigan. Specifically, it investigated the factors that motivated some black elected officials to take a positive stand on racial issues and others not to do so. Several possible political and social correlates of this value syndrome (referred to as black consciousness for purpose of convenience) were examined.

Using cluster-analysis procedures to arrive at a set of factors that tapped the underlying meaning of this form of intra-group identification, a scale was constructed. The items that were included in this black consciousness scale were attitudes toward: 1) black elected officials giving priority to their black constituents; 2) black elected officials lobbying on behalf of Africa; 3) a metropolitan form of government; 4) black political caucuses; and 5) the teaching of black history in schools.

Four major hypotheses were developed to test for factors that caused variation in identification of black elected officials with their race. First, it was posited that increasing commitment to a career as a public official would be associated with a decreasing emphasis on identification with one's race. Second, it was hypothesized that the stronger one's

commitment to partisan concerns, the lower would be one's level of black consciousness. Black consciousness was also predicted to vary with the degree of racial fragmentation in electoral constituencies. Finally, certain social and personal characteristics (e.g., age, sex, region of socialization, etc.) were proposed to be possible correlates of variation in black consciousness.

The sample for the study consisted of 119 blacks holding elective office in Michigan during the summer of 1974. Chosen from a population universe of approximately 170 officials, members of the sample were from all areas of the state, were both Republican and Democrat, and held offices at all levels and in all branches of government.

No evidence was found to support the proposition that increased commitment to public office was associated with variation in black consciousness. However, one of the most significant findings of the study emerged by analyzing this hypothesis. This was the significantly lower black conscious level of judicial officeholders compared to those in executive, legislative, educational, and administrative office.

Testing the hypothesis concerning the effect of racial composition of electoral district on black consciousness also produced some significant results. Specifically, it was shown that blacks who sought office in districts that were "whiter" in racial composition or at-large, were far less likely to be black conscious than those who represented predominantly black districts and wards.

The proposition concerning the interrelationship of black consciousness and degree of partisan commitment was not supported. Rather, the data suggested that blacks with stronger partisan ties were more black conscious than those without, although the evidence was somewhat inconclusive.

The two most significant social and personal correlates of black consciousness were age and sex. Younger blacks and males identified with their race to a significantly greater extent than those who were older and those who were female.

In sum, several broad conclusions may be drawn from this study. First of all, black politicians are not monolithic in the degree to which they support racial issues. The source of this diversity in intra-group identification is to be found in the different political situations which they face, and in their sociological heterogeneity.

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The candidate for assimilation almost always comes to tire of the exorbitant price which he must pay and which he never finishes owing. . . . Must he, all his life, be ashamed of what is most real to him, of the only things not borrowed? Must he insist on denying himself, and moreover, will he always be able to stand it? Must his liberation be accomplished through systematic self-denial?

Albert Memmi, The Colonizer and the Colonized (1965), pp. 124-125.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

One of the lasting effects of the black social revolution of the sixties is the intense controversy that presently rages within the black community over a number of issues relevant to race relations in America. Black opinion continues to be divided over the desirability of "separation" vs. "integration", "non-violence" vs. "violence", and "black identity" vs. "American identity." The conflict of opinion that surfaced around these three issues in the sixties was directly responsible for the schisms that developed in the Civil Rights Movement, the atrophy of some of the organizations in that movement,¹ and a heightened diversity in attitudes within the black community. In this study, we explore the extent of current variation in opinion over one of these issues -- the question of "Black identity" vs. "American identity." The population of interest represents a select sample of blacks, those who hold elective office in Michigan.

From the viewpoint of the writer, inquiry into whether this group identifies as Blacks or as Americans is critical to an understanding of the dynamics of American politics. Belated though it is,² Blacks have recently begun to enter into the arena of American politics and hopes are high among many that they are on the brink of inheriting their place in the political sun. Success in realizing

these expectations depends to no small degree on how they view themselves in relation to the rest of the society. If they seek to influence the policy making process as a racial group, they could conceivably encounter much greater obstacles to fulfillment of their aspirations than if they align themselves with the more conventional interest groups whose *raison d'être* is not exclusively racial; for example labor unions, political parties, religious organizations, etc. One ironic feature of American pluralism is that it has been far more accomodative of group interests founded on economic, cultural, nationality, or religious claims, than on those specifically racial.³ Consequently if blacks become attached to some sort of collective identity that sets them apart from the rest of the society, while continuing their pursuit of political and economic equality, the system may be hard pressed to meet their demands, as the idea of a pluralistic approach to the solution of the racial question has never become an accepted part of the American creed. Alan Sindler, who views all ethnic groups as sharing the same stigma as racial groups, clarifies this point thus:

American attitudes toward the place of ethnicity in American politics are often contradictory. One strand, more pronounced in popular thought than in practice acknowledges the pluralism of the United States and tries to encourage each ethnic group to retain its distinctiveness as its contribution to this diversely-composed nation. Another strand, more practiced than preached, encourages ethnic groups to shed their distinctive characteristics rapidly, the goal being a uniform United States modeled perhaps, on an implicit Anglo-Saxon ideal.⁴

While Sindler's argument is essentially correct,⁵ we would argue

that although some aversion exists to the idea of ethnicity playing a part in American political life, it is a fact that other hyphenated Americans historically have succeeded in creating strong organizations to advance their ethnic interest in politics. In counter-distinction, the American political process has not accomodated group interests that were racially grounded, without according the group subordinate social and political status.⁶

Moyibi Anoda speaks to the unwillingness of Americans in general to accept the idea that racial equality should be granted without complete social and cultural assimilation:

While integration was not necessarily racial miscegenation, it nevertheless carried with it, in popular usage of the notion, a forfeiture of the ethnic identity of the black. Integration meant creation not of a plural society but of a homogeneous society where the standard of homogeneity was European-American. While integration may have implied "dilution" of the European essences, it definitely implied a cultural death for the historical African essence in the American space.⁷

The fact that blacks may identify as a racial group will probably engender qualitatively different consequences compared to the manner in which other groups in American society identify precisely because all of the latter (with the exception of Orientals, Native Americans and Chicanos), regardless of the nature of their particular identifications, share the same racial identity. In forging an identity based on the fact of blackness, Afro-Americans may be viewed as indulging in activities, if not directly subversive, at least as illegitimate by other interest groups in the society, who have never had to organize along the lines of racial origin.

Witness the controversies that presently enrage the nation where blacks qua racial group, have challenged the traditional patterns of allocation of resources in the society, for example, in the issues of affirmative action, minority representation at political conventions, and the imposition of metropolitan political units in urban areas.

The political turmoil spurred by these issues, clearly indicates that the subject of the identity of black Americans poses serious challenges to the traditional alignment of interests in the American polity, despite its pluralistic pretensions to tolerate divergent interest claims. As noted by David and Bellush "the movement toward a unified black community has, in turn, led to a mobilization of its opponents and to the kind of political controversy unforeseen by the pluralists."⁸

The issue of how blacks identify is not only of interest to those concerned with the nature of American political pluralism; it is also of immediate practical concern because studies of black racial attitudes consistently report blacks identifying more and more as members of a distinct racial group than as Americans. Studies also show that political apathy is on the increase among this group.⁹ These recent findings suggest that whatever the potential impact that race consciousness may have on politics, the pattern of high political alienation will probably nullify it. In other words, the influence of black consciousness on politics is likely to be lowered by the growing indifference of the black community to political issues.

But what about black elected politicians, those engaged as active participants in the policy-making process? Are they a microcosm of the larger black community? Obviously, when it comes to political apathy this is hardly likely to be the case for presumably, if it were, they would not hold public office. But what about race consciousness? Are they also becoming more unified in their definitions of their identity, and in the process, are they abandoning commitment to the ideal of being exclusively American? If so, this development will undoubtedly cause severe reverberations in the allocation of the resources of the society, particularly given the continuation of the historical ambivalence of policy makers toward interest group claims based on racial foundations.

As a consequence of the potential political impact of race consciousness among blacks in the governmental realm, this study attempts to explore the exact nature of black intra-group identification among a sample of black officeholders. The first question that we seek to answer is this: Are American blacks who hold elective office race conscious? If so, are there patterned differences in the extent to which they embrace a black identity? In other words, is intra-group diversity in racial identification patterned, or is it random? If it is the latter it is explained by idiosyncratic factors beyond the scope of a study such as this one.

The second issue of interest concerns continuities and change in the nature of the black political elite over time. Given the

latter-day meteoric rise to public office by black politicians,¹⁰ it would be valuable to find out the extent to which they differ from earlier black politicians in their commitment to their race.

To adequately answer this question, we have to know something about black elected officials of old. Historians point out that except for the brief flirtation with elective office during Reconstruction, the few black politicians who succeeded in attaining positions in government did so mainly as adjuncts to political machines in the big cities of the north. Handpicked by the machine because of their middle-class status and conservative political leanings, black politicians of the past functioned principally to deliver the black vote to the machines' bosses.¹¹ Their precarious position in the machines rendered them impotent to influence public policy in a way that would bring significant benefits to their black constituents. In Stone's words,

With isolated exceptions, black politicians had rarely played any definitive role in the determination of public policy, the dispensation of jobs, the administration of government, the selection of political candidates, and most important of all, the control of the entire political process.¹²

Indeed, with the exception of a few, most notably Adam Clayton Powell,¹³ the majority failed even to exhibit an empathic concern for the conditions of deprivation in which the members of their race lived.¹⁴ Not that this would have made them any more powerful in the party machine, for as noted by Matthew Holden, even had they desired to identify with the black masses, their dependence on the

machine would have rendered public expression of such a desire politically suicidal.¹⁵ Traditional black politics, then, was essentially the politics of dependency and deprivation.

Is the contemporary black politician also uncommitted to the interests of his race as was his predecessors? Answering this question is important because it can shed light on what type of gains blacks may expect to receive from politics by virtue of increased black officeholding. Obviously, an adequate answer cannot be provided without data gathered over time. However, an attempt can be made by focusing on the attitudes of blacks currently holding office toward their racial identities.

To adequately evaluate the potential policy impact of this group, it is important to focus on their perceptions of their identity rather than on their objective characteristics as officeholders (for example where they hold office, the number and types of office they hold) because the latter type of information can reveal very little about whether the group will attempt to use the policy process to better the status of their race. In this regard it is often incorrectly assumed that because blacks hold certain types and numbers of office, that the black community is experiencing an improvement over the past in their political fortunes, specifically in the benefits that accrue to them as a result of breaking down historical barriers of racial exclusion from politics. To draw a direct equation between black access to policymaking positions and the actual attainment of power and influence by the black community is both faulty and myopic. As verified by

the experience of formerly colonized nations, indigenization of authority is not necessarily commensurate with political accountability, responsive leadership, or indigenous control over public policy.

This point is clarified by the distinction drawn by Bone and Ranney between categorical and psychological membership in a group.¹⁶ On the basis of this distinction, it may be inferred that a particular group of officeholders who share a categorical membership, may not necessarily perceive their roles as promoters of that group's interest. A psychological commitment to the group must enter into the picture. A main assumption of this research therefore, is that among black representatives the factor that is most likely to motivate them to adopt a "black perspective" on issues would seem to be the degree to which they psychologically identify with other blacks. It is assumed that if officeholders have a low sense of identification with their racial group, they will hardly be prompted to use their presence in the policy making arena to advance the interests of that group.

It should be noted that our argument is not that a psychological commitment to blacks is the sole factor that will determine whether blacks receive favorable policy outputs from the black officeholding presence. Rather, this would seem to depend on a number of other very important factors which can be touched on only briefly here. One is the extent to which black underrepresentation in government is reduced. Despite recent gains, blacks are still heavily underrepresented in public office, as attested

to by the fact that of approximately 520,000 available elective offices, they hold only .01 (about 3,000),¹⁷ while their proportion of the population is approximately 12%.

Another structural factor that could possibly limit the gains that blacks achieve from politics is the present overconcentration of black elected officials at the local level of government. Election to local office has both positive and negative aspects. Matthew Holden points out that while local office is valuable to the extent that it offers some degree of political education, some measure of policy influence, and could conceivably function to break down racial animosities, concentration at this level, without representation at the state and federal level, may serve to deprive blacks of much needed opportunities to influence the policy process.¹⁸ This is particularly true because of growing municipal dependence, particularly for financial resources, upon state and federal government. Rising costs and a shrinking tax base render inheritors of central cities far more in need of increased public expenditures just to maintain service levels, than the suburban refugees did when they occupied the city. Moreover, if blacks remain primarily at the local level, it is very probable that "state legislatures, mostly whites representing other whites, will become even less interested in providing funds or other aids to cities."¹⁹ The same is true for representation at the federal level. As of 1974 blacks comprised only 3% of Congressional membership, and few blacks held federal appointive office. As noted by Walton, blacks need to put their greatest

efforts into getting black candidates elected and appointed to federal offices because both state and local governments are increasingly becoming incapable of supporting themselves.²⁰

In sum, several obstacles could conceivably deprive the newly elected crop of black politicians from making an impact on the nation's policy process in a manner beneficial to the black electorate; two of the most immediately pressing are their underrepresentation in office generally, and their overconcentration at the local level. There are many more. Unfortunately, the constraints of this research effort do not permit detailed consideration of all such factors. Instead the purview of this research is limited to an analysis of one of the factors which this researcher believes to be most deserving of inquiry, namely -- the extent to which black incumbents identify with the interests of their racial group, a value that is referred to as black consciousness in the popular argot. In restricting my focus to this one subject, I do not wish to be construed as suggesting that other factors are deemed to be of less significance for illuminating the quality of the policy outputs that may accrue to blacks as a result of increased political participation.

Statement of the Problem

Two major questions are posed in this study. First, what is the actual extent of identification of black officeholders with their race; that is, to what extent do they embrace a collective identity. The second question, follows from the first; it asks

whether positive intra-group identification among black elected officeholders is a function of the political needs they face as politicians, or whether it is an outcome of the common sources of group differentiation among blacks, for example, age, social status, region of socialization, etc. In other words, is attachment to a black identity a function of conventional lines of social stratification within the black community, or have political factors submerged these? To adequately address these issues, it is necessary to consult the literature on elite behavior.

Several branches of theory attempt to explain the behavior of American politicians. Some of these are influenced by ideas of positive theory, specifically its cardinal assumption that self-interest is the dominant motivating stimulus of political action.²¹ The propositions concerning the role of self-interest in officeholders have been tested in several contexts, with self-interest defined as control of office.²² However, no attempt has ever been made to employ them as guides to an understanding of black leadership behavior specifically. This study attempts to bridge this gap in the literature by using the assumptions and propositions of ambition theory to explain a particular aspect of black leadership.

The subject of concern is those factors that stimulate some black elected officials to identify with their racial group, and others not to do so. If the assumptions of positive theory are useful to an understanding of black leadership, it should be found that black incumbents identify with their racial group either in

situations where it maximizes their political self-interest, or in situations where it may not maximize their self-interest but does not minimize it either. Low identification with one's group interest should obtain in situations where this would serve to minimize one's political self-interest, i.e. the chances of re-election or political advancement.

The foregoing postulates appear tenable in light of the assumptions of positive theory. Nonetheless, it is quite possible that the data may show lack of support for these propositions, a finding that would suggest that factors other than political self-interest are the determining influences of this particular value configuration among black elected officials. Such a finding would not be surprising since not all theories of leadership attribute importance to the role of self-interest as the single propellant of leadership behavior. A variety of other approaches that purport to explain political leadership have been advanced. There are those which are psychologically oriented and emphasize that personality characteristics play a significant role in leadership behavior.²³ In addition there are sociologically-oriented theories²⁴ that focus heavily on prerecruitment experiences, social and personal background characteristics and institutional roles outside of the specifically political ones. It may be found that the political environment does not condition varying levels of support for black consciousness, hence the non-association of the selected political factors and black consciousness. Such a finding would indicate that factors related to a

politician's political self-interest are not critical determinants of black consciousness at this point in history or are not the only ones; therefore, this study will also focus on the effect of certain social and personal characteristics on the phenomena to be explained. If it is found that black consciousness can be best explained in terms of the social and personal background characteristics of the group under study, such a finding would corroborate other studies of black consciousness which for the most part have reported that among the black population at large its salient determinants have been located in the differing social and personal experiences of the black populations studied.

Summary

In sum, four possible outcomes may emerge from this study. It may be found that 1) black consciousness is related only to the political characteristics of the group; 2) that its correlates are only social background characteristics; 3) that it can be best explained in terms of both political and social characteristics; and 4) that it is a function of neither of these two sets of factors.

If the first finding obtains, that is, if political characteristics offer the best explanation of the pattern of variation in black consciousness, the inference can be drawn that these officeholders have transcended the natural sociological lines of distinction that create attitudinal heterogeneity in the black community at large. It may be further deduced that the black officeholder is strictly a political animal, adopting values solely

because of their utility to the promotion of his/her political self-interest.

However, it may be found that the political factors considered reveal nothing about the nature of black consciousness, and instead, the social characteristics of the group offer the greatest explanatory power about black incumbent identification with their race. From this finding, three conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, the environment of electoral politics has not produced a black politician *sui generis*; if it had political differentiation would be more closely associated with differentiation in intra-group identification. Furthermore, it may also be concluded that political self-interest is not a highly important factor underlying the values and behavior of black politicians at this time, as we would have expected to find given the assumptions of the literature. Finally, the finding that black consciousness is grounded in sociological differentiation would suggest that the black political elite is a microcosm of the larger black community, as studies of the latter have consistently shown that factors such as age, SES, region of socialization, etc. are the primary sources of attitudinal differences toward racial issues.

The third possible finding is that black consciousness is the result of an admixture of both sets of factors -- the political and the social. This would suggest that black politicians are motivated both by forces related to their careers as politicians, and also by factors related to their existence as members of society. Because we believe that human behavior is conditioned by a multiplicity of factors, we expect this outcome to obtain rather than the other

three.

Nonetheless, there is the final possibility that neither the social nor the political characteristics of the group are associated with intra-group variation in attitude toward a black identity. If this is indeed the case, and the data also reveals that black consciousness tends to be highly pronounced among the group, this finding would be fraught with serious political consequences. It would indicate that a black identity is diffused throughout all strata and "blocs" of the black political elite, transcending all political factions and social groupings, uncontained by any boundaries, and as a consequence, is truly a primordial link that submerges the conventional lines of differentiation generally found among both politicians and blacks. Lack of differentiation in race consciousness would further suggest that contemporary black politicians are one of the most unified groups in the policy arena, and given such unprecedented racial unity, a group that will undoubtedly challenge the premises and practices of the pluralistic framework of American politics, particularly its traditional reluctance to support claims by blacks to seek racial equality without surrendering their right to a separate racial identity.

Overview of the Study

As noted before, this study is concerned with explaining the political, social and personal correlates of a value - black consciousness. As the latter is the principal dependent variable of the study thorough explication of its meaning is necessary. Thus,

in the first part of the literature review in Chapter II we will attempt to define the concept, explain its historical development and explore a suitable theoretical framework in which to place the concept. The focus then shifts to a review of first, the political, and then, the sociological literature that may be useful as guides to suggestible hypotheses.

In Chapter III, the design of the study and *modus operandi* will be discussed. At this stage, consideration will be given to the significance of the research site (Michigan), the characteristics of the sample, the instruments, data collection procedures, and specific hypotheses to be tested.

The results as they apply to the hypotheses tested, will be presented and interpreted in Chapter IV.

In Chapter V the broader ramifications of the findings for the study of black politics, will be probed. At this point, consideration will be given also to the limitations of the study and implications and recommendations for future research.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a discussion of the factors that rent the Civil Rights Movement see For Blacks Only, Black Strategies for Change in America. Sterling Tucker, Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971; also, J. H. O'Dell, "The Contours of the Black Revolution of the 1970's," Freedomways, Vol. 10, 1970, p. 105.
2. For a discussion of the possible effects that the belated entry of blacks will have on the achievement of gains from politics, see Nathan Glazer, "Blacks and Ethnic Groups: The Differences and the Political Difference It Makes," Social Problems, pp. 444-461; also, Alan P. Sindler, "Negroes, Ethnic Groups and American Politics," Current History, 1968, pp. 207-274.
3. Stephen M. David and Jewel Bellush. "Pluralism, Race and the Urban Political System", in Urban Politics and Public Policy, ed. Stephen M. David and Paul E. Petersen (New York: Praeger publishers, 1973).
4. Alan Sindler. "Negroes, Ethnic Groups and American Politics", Current History, 1968, pp. 207-243.
5. The aversion to ethnic politics stems from some perceived contradiction between it and democracy. The most widespread criticism against it is that it deviates from the ideal of the voter making up his mind freely and independently. For a discussion of the factors that make ethnic politics an anathema to many Americans see Sindler, op. cit.
6. Although it has become academically fashionable to consider blacks as an ethnic group, we prefer to see them as a racial group because the special status that they have in the society has not been caused principally because of cultural uniqueness, but because of their racial pigmentation. Skin color, not culture, has been the primary factor that has differentiated black from others in the society. Other immigrant groups (with the possible exception of Orientals, Native-Americans, and Latinos) have been the object of cultural discrimination, not racial. For an excellent discussion of the political consequence of the differences between blacks and other ethnic groups, see Leslie Burl McLemore "Toward a Theory of Black Politics: The Black and Ethnic Models Revisited." Journal of Black Studies, March 1972, pp. 323-331.

7. Amoda, Moyibi. Black Politics and Black Vision, (Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1966).
8. David and Bellush, op. cit., p. 76.
9. Growth in race consciousness and black political alienation from 1968 to 1974 is documented by Shirley Campbell and Howard Schuman's study entitled Black Racial Attitudes: Trends and Complexities, Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1974.
10. In this decade, the number of blacks holding elected office climbed to proportions unparalleled in any preceeding period of American history. As of Spring 1974, the national black elected elite numbered approximately 3,000, representing 45 states and the District of Columbia. The historic nature of these figures can be appreciated, when it is recognized that they represent a 152 percent increase over the preceeding five years. The group numbered 600, 1,185 and 2,621 for the years 1967, 1969, and 1973 respectively. Focus, Joint Center for Political Studies, II, 5 (March, 1971), p. 3.
11. E. W. Cornwell. "Bosses, Machines, and Ethnic groups," Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 353 (May 1964): pp. 27-34.
12. Chuck Stone. Black Political Power in America, New York: Delta, 1968.
13. N. Hickey and E. Edwin. Adam Clayton Powell and the Politics of Race. New York: Fleet, 1965.
14. Harold Gosnell. Machine Politics, Chicago Model. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. Harold Gosnell, The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
15. Mathew Holden, op. cit. Lee Daniels also corroborates this viewpoint. Lee Daniels, "The Political Career of Adam Clayton Powell: Paradism and Paradox" Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 4, December 1973, pp. 115-139. He distinguishes two phases in black politics. The first period, 1900-1940, was characterized by clientage politics, symbolized by few vertical class linkages between black politicians and the rank and file black. This was because of the close ties of the black community to white politicians, and the latter's acceptance of middle class blacks only. Increased civil rights activity marked the second period, from 1940-1965. During this period of civil rights politics the prevalence of patron-client-relationship declined somewhat, although it was still the case that only a few black politicians, for example Adam Powell, could survive politically without considerable white support. Both periods bore striking similarities. The difference was that:

Civil rights politics was more or less on advanced form of clientage politics even though the patron-client relationship became less direct less personalized more ambiguous. But still, nearly all the benefits accruing from political activity were realized only by the middle class.

16. Hugh Bone and Austin Ranney, Politics and Voters. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1963, pp. 23-39.
17. Focus, op. cit.
18. Matthew, Holden. op. cit., pp. 199-209.
19. H. P. Friesema. "Black Control of Central Cities: The Hollow Prize," AIP Journal, March 1969, p. 77.
20. Hanes Walton. "Portrait of Black Political Styles," Black Politician, Fall, 1970. p. 10.
21. One branch of elite theory that attaches critical importance to the influence of political self-interest on elite behavior is ambition theory. For the best theoretical inquiry into political ambition see Joseph A. Schlesinger, Ambition and Politics, Political Careers in the United States. (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co, 1966).
22. Some of the most important works that test the propositions of ambition theory will be discussed in detail here. Other pieces of research that have examined the nature of ambition are Jeff Fishel, "Ambition and the Political Vocation: Congressional Challengers in American Politics," Journal of Politics, Vol. 33, February 1971, pp. 25-56; Michael L. Mezey, "Ambition Theory and the Office of Congressman," Journal of Politics, Vol. 32, August 1970, pp. 563-73; Richard L. Engstrom, "Political Ambitions and the Prosecutorial Office," Journal of Politics, Vol. 33, February 1971, pp. 190-194; John W. Soule, "Future Political Ambitions and the Behavior of Incumbent State Legislators," Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. 13, August 1969.
23. See Harold Laswell. Power and Personality (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948), p. 22; Bernard Hennessey, "Politics and Apolitics: Some Measurements of Personality Traits," Midwest Journal of Political Science, Vol. III (Nov. 19, 1959), pp. 336-355; Rufus B. Browning and Herbert Jacob, "Power Motivation and the Political Personality," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 28, (Spring, 1964), pp. 75-90.

24. See, for example, Donald Matthews, The Social Backgrounds of Political Decision-makers (Garden City, New York: Doubleday 1954); J. C. Wahlke, H. Eulau, W. Buchanan, and L. Ferguson, The Legislative System (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), pp. 486-491.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

As noted before, the study of racial consciousness of black elected officials has definite implications for the policy outputs that blacks receive from politics, and is therefore a subject worthy of study by political scientists. However, this does not mean that our task will be an easy one as perusal of the literature on black leadership reveals a general dearth of suggestive theory to guide this research.¹ Even empirical data on black political leadership is hard to find. While studies of black leadership are numerous, scant attention has been given to those who hold positions of formal governmental authority. This is possibly because a number of these studies have been undertaken by sociologists. Community power studies for the most part², they generally adopt the reputational technique for leadership selection, and as a result tend to underrepresent elected leaders in their samples.³ Within the field of political science scholarly interest in blacks in elective office has been very much lacking, although there is some evidence to suggest that this situation is changing.⁴ Until very recently, the few studies of black elected officials that were available were "hero studies", meaning that they focused on the political style of one or two politicians, rather than on systematic behavioral patterns of a group.⁵

Within the past few years, some research into the personal and political background of black officeholders has been undertaken by the Joint Center for Political Studies, Washington, D.C. The purpose of these studies has been mainly to describe where blacks hold office and their personal background and demographic characteristics. Like much career data research, these studies contain a wealth of information, but the data has not been systematized in a manner that would yield the beginnings of a theory of black leadership.

If the literature on black political leadership is theoretically inadequate, where do we turn to find theory to guide this undertaking? Because the purpose of the study is to explain the etiology of a value -- black consciousness -- it would seem that a potentially productive theoretical framework to start with would be social psychological theories of value. Once the phenomenon that we are trying to explain has been placed in an appropriate theoretical framework, then, we may proceed to explore its likely political, personal and social correlates. Thus, in this chapter three principal approaches - psychological, political, and sociological - will be employed to explore the possible determinants of black consciousness.

The Psychological Context of Black Consciousness

Introduction

In recent years the study of values and their effects on human behavior and thought is a subject that has increasingly begun to attract the attention of social scientists, probably because it has been recog-

nized that a knowledge of the basic assumptions of a people are indispensable to the interpretation of social behavior. The reason why values are so important to an understanding of behavior is summarized by Bateson thus:

The human individual is endlessly simplifying organizing and generalizing his own view of his own environment. He constantly imposes on this environment his own constructions and meanings; these constructions and meanings (are) characteristic of one culture as over against another.⁶

The importance of emphasizing the role of culture in conditioning values arises from the fact that the subject of concern in this study is a value. Moreover, it is a value that is likely to be culturally determined, that is, shared by a certain group of people in a certain environment and not by others, that is to say, it could be construed as a "world view".⁷ What is unique about this particular world view is that its existence is not inspired primarily by religion, national origin, class position, or even cultural uniqueness, but rather by racial differentiation. Hence, it consists of the beliefs, attitudes, and values of blacks as a group, different and distinct from other groups in the society. Racial or black consciousness, as we call this world view, differs from ethnic, national or class consciousness in the primacy it gives to biological factors as the glue that binds a certain collection of people together. However, the sharing of biological commonalties are not the only ingredients of this world view; a commonly shared historical experience and cultural heritage is also important. Indeed, it is the historical experience of racial

and cultural oppression together that are the forces underlying the emergence of black consciousness. To understand, the cultural and racial dimensions of black consciousness it is instructive to turn to a brief review of the historic development of this particular value syndrome.

The Historical Development of Black Consciousness

To understand the contemporary political significance of the value, black consciousness, certain historical aspects of black life must be grasped. Particularly important is the fact that prior to the massive depopulation of Africa, Africans had a rich civilization.⁸ In the earliest period of their sojourn in the United States, much of this traditional heritage remained intact, until the need for greater agricultural labor became apparent.⁹ To justify the enslavement of blacks to work the plantations, a whole gamut of reasons from theological to biological, were developed into comprehensive theories of a putative black inferiority.¹⁰

Unlike the case with other ethnic groups, the subordination of blacks affected every sphere of their lives -- economic, cultural, political and social. Equally damaging, was its psychological impact. On an individual level, many blacks internalized the negative societal images of themselves, resulting in low self-esteem, and idealization of whites. On a group level, racist ideologies succeeded in accomplishing exactly what they set out to do -- black internalization of ideas about their own inferiority, which served to paralyze individual initiative and group action to change the racial status-quo.¹¹

This is not to say that black protest against their cultural, economic, political and psychological dehumanization did not occur.

There were always some who both privately and outwardly rejected the inferior stamp that was attached to being black, and who tried to redefine the black position in the society in positive terms.

However, apart from Martin Delaney, Marcus Garvey and a few others, most historical movements to change societal images of blacks, aimed at the eventual admittance of blacks into the mainstream of the society. As a part of this reformist thinking, it was generally believed that racial integration would end black subordination, and would be facilitated if blacks identified with the mainstream culture. In other words, advocates of a change in white superordinate black subordinate relationships took the melting pot model as their ideal of race relations.

This climate of opinion underwent a sudden metamorphosis in the sixties. For the first time in their history, a significant proportion of blacks began to question the desirability of integration into the society. The reasons for the growing disenchantment with racial integration varied; however, a common concern was whether racial integration would not result in further damaging effects in black psychological development if it had to be achieved at the price of negation of the black identity. To counter this eventuality, a climate of opinion developed to promote the view that there was value, integrity and legitimacy in being of African descent. This was not the first time that a counterideology had developed to challenge the idea of black inferiority.¹² What was unique about this renaissance of black pride was its widespread impact on the present

generation of blacks, particularly the young. Never on such an extensive scale, had the black climate of opinion shifted toward a pluralistic conception of race relations. Defying the melting pot model as impractical and undesirable, it began to assert the need for blacks to share in the society on a basis of equality while at the same time retaining those cultural and behavioral norms that could be regarded as distinctively black. The new mood of thinking came to be called black consciousness.

In no small part, the stimulus for the spread of black consciousness came from the leaders of the race movement during the sixties; particularly important was the overtly race-oriented turn taken by such ideological spokesmen as Stokeley Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, and Eldridge Cleaver. The latter became household words in black America as they openly courted the black masses with their rhetoric of blackness. While the ideologies of these leaders exhibited diverse stands, their principal unifying theme was -- blacks should develop a sense of group identity. This idea was propagated in a variety of slogans, "Black Power", "Black is Beautiful", or "Back-To-Africa"; yet, despite the differences in meaning intended by the purveyors of these slogans, the single underlying theme of group identity remained.

The idea of group identity consisted of three dimensions. The most critical was the belief that black and white interests were not always harmonious, or even capable of coexistence; and in fact they were often mutually contradictory. The second dimension was a logical extension of the foregoing. It embodied

the notion that blacks should organize around their common interest in order to make an impact on the policy process as a racial group. This point was best articulated in Carmichael's and Hamilton's statement.

Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society.¹³

The final theme in the idea of a black identity was the idea that the fact of blackness, defined in terms of physical pigmentation, should be the rallying point for all persons of African descent, regardless of the lines of internal stratification or geographical divisions that may divide them.

Some may contend that African consciousness and black consciousness are not linked; however, this argument shows no appreciation of the internationalization of the black social revolution that took place in the sixties. Never before had the idea of a collective identity of peoples of African descent made such an impact on the thinking of black Americans, not in the Garveyian sense of physical repatriation, but in the philosophical idea that the commonalities in the lot of Africans and Afro-Americans warranted the building of a sense of identity between the two groups. Clearly the impetus for the birth of this idea had been sown two decades earlier during the African nationalist era. It rose to importance in the sixties because of the increased awareness by black Americans of the significance of international politics of their own immediate survival. J. K. Obabala makes this point

thus: "one thing that contributed to the new importance of Africa in the black consciousness movement in the sixties was the cold war and the fact the U.S. was faced with keen competition from the socialist countries in the struggle to fill the power vacuum left by the retreat of old colonial powers."¹⁴

It should be noted that our argument is not that African consciousness became a part of the black conscious world view because of historically based feelings of amicability on the part of Afro-Americans for Africa or Africans; indeed some would contend that historically the latter shared the same Western negative conceptions of Africa and Africans. Rather it was the recognition that the independent countries of Africa could provide a troubled reform movement some political leverage in the cold war era that was the primary factor behind the movement of blacks toward greater identification with Africa.¹⁵

That African consciousness had definite political ramifications is attested to by the fact that its main proponents were not solely ideologists active in the civil rights movement, but also included members of the black Congressional caucus, and many black politicians in the nation. The content of the statements made at the Black Political Convention in Gary, in 1972, and at Little Rock in 1974, indicate that those in the electoral process continue to recognize the importance of African consciousness to black American politics. Ironically, it is the black political elite, more than any other group of black leaders, that continues to propagate the idea that black consciousness entails both domestic and international dimensions.

To eliminate the dimension of African consciousness from one's conceptualization of black consciousness, is to miss the subtle nuances and uniqueness of black identity, as it is defined by blacks today.

Black Consciousness Defined

In the preceding section, consideration was given to a brief overview of the historical factors that prompted blacks to develop a new sense of awareness in the sixties. The aim was to show that black consciousness emerged primarily because it fulfilled certain needs of blacks. At this point, it may be useful to shift the discussion to a brief review of the theoretical conceptualizations of black consciousness that are offered by the literature in order to gain a fuller understanding of the various dimensions of the concept; these were adumbrated but not stated with analytical clarity in the preceding review of the forces and events that gave rise to its development.

The first thing that we notice when we look at the literature is that very little scholarly consideration has been given to this phenomenon. It seems that since World War II, scholarship on race relations has been influenced by the melting pot paradigm to such an extent that the bulk of the literature on race is pervaded by an inter-racial orientation, with little attention directed to intra-racial group dynamics.¹⁶ Indeed, it is highly surprising that in a society characterized by legal and de facto segregation, and very visible distinctive patterns of black behavior, scholars have rarely explored the types of relationship that blacks have with each other, and the mores and norms that govern intra-racial group

behavior. The following critique of paradigms by Thomas Kuhn is particularly applicable to the influence of the melting pot model on race research:

...one of the things a scientific community acquires with a paradigm is a criterion for choosing problems that, while the paradigm is taken for granted, can be assumed to have solutions. To a great extent these are the only problems that the community will admit as scientific or encourage its members to undertake... (thus) a paradigm can...insulate the community from those socially important problems that are not reducible to puzzle form, because they cannot be stated in terms of the conceptual and instrumental tools the paradigm supplies.¹⁷

With regard to the existence of black consciousness, it is almost as if students of race relations have wanted to wish away its existence, because it contradicted the ideal of the inevitability of social acculturation and structural assimilation, a basic assumption of the melting pot paradigm.¹⁸ In the few cases where the commitment of blacks to their race has been acknowledged, it has been interpreted as a temporary aberration that would eventually disappear with the passage of time. Commenting on the normative biases that pervade the literature on race relations, Pitts states:

The possibility that large numbers of blacks might develop a stronger commitment to other black people than to the national identity implies a challenge to the ideological stance of many Americans, black and white, radical and conservative.¹⁹

In sum, most of the researchers on black life in America have failed to collect and analyze data on the types of relationships among blacks and the social positions and predispositions they hold with regard to each other; their prime concern has been to study black attitudes from

the perspective of the bearing they have on aspects of the wider society. For this reason, theoretical inquiry into the nature of black consciousness, and empirical investigation of its determinants is sparse. The following works are the few pieces of significant social science research that have explored the nature of this phenomenon.

The Social Science Literature

A cursory overview of the literature on black consciousness reveals an unusual amount of consensus among scholars concerning the meaning of the concept. While there is some variation in the importance that is attributed to particular dimensions, probably as a result of different disciplinary orientations, overall the definitions tend to emphasize the same basic properties. An overview of the literature devoted to the subject will serve to elaborate the underlying commonalities.

One of the first works of race relations that investigated the phenomenon of black consciousness was the sociological inquiry of William O. Brown in a study entitled The Nature of Race Consciousness (1931).²⁰ In this research, Brown identified two principal dimensions of the black conscious world view: 1) the tendency to view race as a social object; 2) the tendency to feel a sense of commitment to one's race. In his words, "the race conscious posit their race as an entity to which they have obligations. They have a conscience about their race. They must serve it, fight for it, be loyal to it."²¹ Later in his academic career, after further exploring the dynamics of segregated societies, Brown added a

structural perspective to the foregoing definition, because he adopted the view that race consciousness was a phenomena that could not emerge in all social contexts, but rather was essentially the creation of racially stratified environments.²² Brown stated that the racial conflict that is endemic to segregated societies inculcates racial consciousness in those who are victimized by the selectivity and exclusion of stratification patterns. Thus, racial consciousness is something beyond mere recognition that one's racial group is different from others. Rather, a racially conscious group is

a social unit struggling for status in a society. It is 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.²³

Race consciousness then is not simply the way in which one group views itself; in addition, it is the way that a subjugated group views itself in relation to a superordinate racial group. So race conscious behavior is always oriented to two social objects rather than just one - blacks and whites.

Pitts recent study of the theoretical dimensions of black consciousness also emphasized the structural perspective brought out in Brown's definition.²⁴ He begins by noting that black consciousness, the natural outgrowth of conditions of racial inequality, represents an attempt by blacks to overcome the disadvantages of being accorded to a status of racial inferiority. Elaborating on this point, Pitts states that black consciousness

... varies along a continuum; at one end, race conscious persons emphasize whites as the categorical

oppressor or enemy of blacks while at the other extreme the relationship between the unequal categories is acknowledged only by implication.... The latter...individuals...are either unclear about what or whom the struggle is against, or, perhaps, confident that the competition between races is not a zero-sum game.²⁵

To both Pitts and Brown, then, race consciousness is a value that attributes prime culpability for racial inequality to whites; moreover, as a result of perceived antagonistic interests between both racial groups, it exhorts that blacks develop strong group solidarity and pride.

Hraba²⁶ and Rhodes²⁷ define black consciousness in similar terms. They argue that black consciousness is a multidimensional value that is a product of the black experience. The black conscious person 1) acknowledges the existence of racial deprivation and barriers; 2) acknowledges that the deprivation and barriers are externally controlled; 3) advocates that blacks should be dissatisfied with the racial situation; 4) recommends that blacks engage in collective action on behalf of black interests; and 5) professes that the interests of blacks are not shared by whites.

Unlike the foregoing theorists who view black consciousness from a structural perspective, Gwendolyn Wade places greater emphasis on the socio-psychological than the political aspects of the concept.²⁸ Starting from the assumption that blacks have internalized negative societal images of themselves, she conceives of black consciousness as a value system that rejects the idea of individual and group inferiority, and replaces these sentiments

with positive evaluation of a black identity. Thus black consciousness is exemplified in the tendency of a black individual to

acknowledge his blackness mentally and physically and the place of his origin without the long held feelings of inferiority; moreover, it is manifested in a manner reflecting a valued, realized self in contrast to varying degrees of a hated self.²⁹

In sum, according to this definition, black consciousness represents an attempt by blacks to develop a positive self-concept, pride in their heritage, in other words, a total elimination of the way in which they have traditionally defined their identity as blacks.

Perhaps the most cogent and operationalizable definition of black consciousness is contained in Edgar Epps' work, The Integrationists.³⁰ As indicated by the title, Epps' principle concern is not to define black consciousness, but to analyze the different types of integrationism to which blacks have subscribed historically. Yet, as he sets up his analytical schema it becomes clear that the focus of his inquiry extends to detailed explication of the various dimensions of black consciousness.

The analysis begins with the creation of a distinction between three ideal types of integrationists: 1) the accommodationists; 2) the assimilationists; and 3) the cultural pluralist. From Epps' analysis it is evident that low black consciousness is associated with the first two ideal types, and the latter category is the archetype of the black conscious individual. Thus if black consciousness is perceived along a continuum, the accommodationist and assimilationist would be placed at the low end of the scale, and the culturally pluralist would be located at the opposite polar

extreme. What is the nature of this distinction between low and high black consciousness?

The distinguishing feature between these two ideal types seems to be that the former rests on the premises of the "melting pot" paradigm, and the latter is premised on the assumptions of cultural pluralism.³¹ In convergence with the "melting pot" model, the principal beliefs associated with low black consciousness are: 1) a belief in the superiority of European over non-European culture; 2) a belief that blacks should find out and live up to the expectations of whites concerning blacks; 3) a belief that blacks should abandon any behavior that is distinctively black and sets them off from other members of the society; 4) a belief that knowledge of blacks elsewhere or the building of links with Africa is unimportant; 5) a belief that race should not be the basis for any type of solidarity among blacks; 6) and finally, a belief in the primacy of individual achievement, and a reluctance to concede the responsibility of blacks who achieve for the welfare of those who have not.

The beliefs associated with high black consciousness are diametrically opposed to those previously outlined, premised as they are in the cultural pluralist model of race relations. The element of cultural pluralism in this viewpoint is seen in the willingness of the black conscious individual

to live among whites and to interact with them in schools and on the job but he prefers to maintain his African heritage and develop a strong sense of identification with the black community and peoples of African descent throughout the world.³²

Further elaborating on the nature of the black conscious person Epps notes a strong preference for black cultural patterns in those facets of life not related to work activities, specifically in the family, religion and recreation. As an approach to social organization, the black conscious stress the building of effective black organizations and institutions through group pride and group cohesiveness. Finally, there is the belief that just as other ethnic groups have retained their distinctive identities, cultures and loyalties, so should blacks have the same option - i.e. to be able to share in the wealth and power of the society while retaining their status as a distinct ethnic group.

So far the definitions of black consciousness that have been reviewed have all been theoretical formulations, some of which were employed in subsequent empirical research. One study that attempted to explore the way in which blacks themselves define black consciousness was Joyce Ladner's study conducted in Mississippi in the late sixties.³³ From interviews with black adolescents, three principle dimensions of black consciousness were identified. These were: 1) the idea of community loyalty to blacks; 2) the idea that "blackness" should be redefined in positive terms; and 3) the political notion that blacks should have an "awareness of oneself as a removed nation of black people who are capable of running and developing their own governments."

From the foregoing review of the scholarly conceptions of black consciousness, it is evident that regardless of their particular emphases, black consciousness may be conceived of as a value

that makes normative judgments about the social, political, psychological and cultural aspects of black life, in order to make blacks develop a sense of peoplehood, a bond of racial cooperation, that would transcend horizontal cleavages of a socio-economic or cultural nature, or vertical fissures such as those that usually ensue from regional or national distinctiveness. The social, economic, political and psychological dimensions of the concept tend to overlap, but for purpose of analytical clarity they may be distinguished thus:

- 1) Social - Addressing itself to the social relations of the races, the black conscious world view advocates that blacks should recognize that their distinctive interests vis-a-vis the wider society render it necessary for them to retain a distinctive place in the society.
- 2) Psychological - The psychological implications of black consciousness are contained in the notion that blacks have historically not developed positive self- or group-images, and this must be remedied through the creation of a redefined, positive black identity.
- 3) Cultural - On a cultural level, black consciousness promotes the idea that the cultural background of blacks should be viewed in positive terms, and be recreated, maintained, and encouraged.
- 4) Political - The political dimension of black consciousness embodies the idea that the divergent interests of the race render necessary the allocation of resources to blacks on a group basis because of their social, psychological and cultural distinctiveness.

In sum, black consciousness comprises a world view. It makes normative statements about the manner in which blacks should view

the world, and the kind of activities in which they should engage; in other words, it prescribes how they should think and act as blacks in all spheres of their existence. Because it is a value it should elicit different degrees of adherence, resulting in it varying along a continuum from high to low. As a value, it should also be a guide to behavior. Thus to understand how it may influence the behavior of the particular population of interest to us, namely black office-holders, it is necessary to place it in a theoretical framework that explains the nature of values, the manner in which they originate, and their interrelationship with and impact on human behavior.

Black Consciousness: A Theoretical Framework

From the preceding review of past efforts to define black consciousness it has been suggested that the concept is a value, and that it should be placed within the framework of value theory. A survey of the literature on theories of values reveals a broad diversity of attempted specifications of the term "value", many of which are of little utility for the purposes of this study. However, one theoretical schema that may provide a fruitful approach for an explication of black consciousness, is the work of Rollo Handy, which represents a synthesis of theories of needs and values.³⁴

Handy begins his formulation with an attempt to rid the concept - value - of the ambiguity that surrounds it both in the popular vernacular and scientific inquiry. A value is defined as an object that retains its status as such regardless of whether it is personally sought after or not. Something may be considered a value if it objectively satisfies a need. Handy elaborates on this point

thus:

... it seems to me that most of the things we might call valuable are also things that satisfy needs (as "need" is used here). This is not, of course, to say that people mean 'X satisfied a need' when they say 'X is valuable' but rather that the fields of reference are similar.³⁵

Perhaps, this objectivication of what a value is can best be illustrated by examples. Food is a value for both the hungry and the fed. Similarly, a contemplated but unperformed act could be called a value if it would satisfy a need when performed. This does not mean that values are conceived as absolutes. While they are objective, in the sense that they exist whether or not one subscribes to them, they are not absolute precisely because they are the natural outgrowth of needs, and "there can be variation in needs among individuals, in different historical periods, and in different cultural settings."³⁶

Unlike many social scientists who adhere to the belief that needs are biological in origin, Handy assumes that culture plays a critical role in fashioning needs and, by derivation, values. Rebutting the propositions of those who contend that needs are entirely organismic, he states that "need is an unstable or disturbed equilibrium in behavior.... Behavior is taken not as of the organism alone, but as the organic-environmental situation."³⁷

Based on the foregoing theory of what constitutes a value, the writer proposes that black consciousness should be conceived as a value, firstly because it seems to seek to fulfill four important needs which historically have been difficult for blacks to

satisfy. These are: 1) the psychological need to have positive images of themselves; 2) the social need to develop commitment to each other; 3) the cultural need to emulate their traditions, heritage and distinctive values and behavioral patterns; and 4) the political need to build political mechanisms to articulate their group interests.

Black consciousness is a value in Handy's sense of the term not only because it attempts to fulfill certain social, psychological, cultural and political needs of blacks. Another quality of the concept that makes it a value, is that one may expect to find varying levels of support for it. Handy assumes that variation in subscription to a value is one of its most distinguishing features. The reason for variation in support for any value is that "not only can needs conflict, both for individuals and for groups, but many alternative ways of satisfying a given need may be possible and conflicts can also arise among alternatives."³⁸ On the basis of this statement, one would expect that blacks will not value black consciousness to the same degree. Some individuals who feel the need for adoption of a black conscious value schema may refrain from doing so because adherence to the value may conflict with the fulfillment of some other need the satiation of which is more pressing for those individuals. Or, some individuals may not feel the need for black consciousness at all, and as a result, certain groups will exhibit low black consciousness.

To clarify the reasons why all blacks may not share the same needs that would give rise to uniform endorsement of black consciousness,

we should recall Handy's previous statement that individuals differ in the types of needs that require fulfillment because of differences in their cultural backgrounds. As a result of different socio-cultural experiences, certain groups of blacks may feel less of a need to develop black consciousness than others. Possibly, Southern blacks, because of their traditional exclusion from direct participation in the mainstream of the society, may exhibit a different type of identity than their northern counterparts, a product of the distinct cultural milieu of the two regions. Several other indices that could act as sources of distinct cultural experiences among blacks are age, type of community reared in (i.e. urban/rural,) socio-economic status, type of occupation held, etc. These may function in a similar manner as region of the country where one was socialized to generate the development of different types of needs and ultimately variation in values. Affirming the potential effect of culture on the formation of black consciousness, Pitts states

Consciousness is always a social product....
 It is not the product of individuals, nor does
 it persist independent of the social behavior
 of men. Consciousness emerges, it changes, it
 declines.³⁹

Black consciousness then is a value with varying levels of intensity, a product of the fact that the needs which give rise to it are themselves an outgrowth of cultural circumstances; as the cultural experiences of blacks differ, so will the extent to which they internalize this particular type of value.

If it is assumed that the source of all needs is in cultural experiences, then it may be inferred that the political environment will create certain types of needs among those who are directly engaged in office seeking, and these will generate specific types of value orientations that are not shared by those outside of the climate of politics. Thus, if Handy's theory is applied to the world of politics, black politicians should have peculiar needs that foster the development of distinctive political values. In order to better understand the possible convergences between Handy's theory of values and theories of office-seeking behavior it is valuable to turn to a detailed discussion of the political context of black consciousness.

The Political Context of Black Consciousness

Commitment To An Office Career

In the preceding section the main concept of interest to this study -- black consciousness -- was placed within the theoretical framework of Rollo Handy's value theory. Handy's main thesis is that values derive from the needs which individuals have, and needs are culturally fashioned. At this point, it is important that we consider the relevance of the general theoretical framework offered by Handy to explaining the possible source of values among the particular groups of interest to us in this study - black officeholders.

A seminal work that attempts to locate the factors underpinning office-seekers values is that of Joseph Schlesinger, Ambition and Politics. Its principal thesis is that the values, behaviors and

policies selected by political actors can be explained in part at least, in terms of what they seek from office. That is, a "politician's behavior is a response to his office goals. Or, to put it another way, the politician as office-seeker engages in political acts appropriate to gaining office."⁴⁰ The argument that the need for office influences the values and behaviors of politicians is reiterated by Downs. He states that politicians

never seek office as a means to carrying out particular policies; their only goal is to reap the rewards of holding office per se. They treat policies purely as means to the attainment of their private ends.⁴¹

In many ways the propositions of Downs and Schlesinger converge with Handy's. They seek to explain the origin of office-seekers behavior in terms of the need for office, a need that is fashioned by the political environment. Thus they draw a linkage between needs and behavior, while Handy draws a connection between needs and values. Moreover, like Handy, they suscribe to the idea that needs are culturally derived. For them, the climate of electoral politics is different and distinct from other aspects of social reality, and as a result, political actors have needs unshared by those to whom office-seeking is not important.

However unlike Handy, Schlesinger and Downs are very explicit about the interrelationship of needs and values. They introduce the notion of rationality into the equation between the two,⁴² thereby proposing that politicians' office-seeking behavior is a response to their calculation of their political self-interest. Political actors are therefore viewed essentially as rational beings.

If these scholars are correct in the line they draw between office needs and office-seeking behavior, then it may be deduced that political incumbents who aspire to retain office, will try to value those things, select policies and behave in a fashion that would help them to gain re-election. So, the values they adopt should be related to how committed they are to office retention. While this proposition is not explicitly stated by Schlesinger and Downs, it seems to me that it represents an extension of the arguments they put forth about the interface of political ambition and office-seeking behavior.

If we assume that politicians while in office will attempt to establish consonance between their values and their political self-interest, it may be inferred that black consciousness may be related to office-seeking needs. However, it is difficult to predict what this relationship would be since neither Handy's, nor Downs' and Schlesinger's theoretical schema make a precise statement about what the nature of this relationship might be.

Nonetheless, if it is assumed that the need for office is greater among some officeholders than others, as Schlesinger implies in the distinction he draws between progressive, static, and discrete ambitions, then it would seem that different levels of need for office would give rise to different levels of value endorsement.⁴³ Stated differently, it may be assumed that the commitment to office varies with intensity among political actors, and as a result the effect that commitment to office may have on values will vary. This assumption is also corroborated by Handy's statement that needs

and values are directly related in varying levels of intensity, depending on the intensity of the need.

If the need for office is indeed stronger among some officeholders than others, it would seem likely that those who are most committed to office will be less reluctant to give primacy to values which are not directly functional or related to fulfillment of their office goals. So, an issue like black consciousness would probably gain greater support among those less committed to public office than the more committed, because the latter group is not likely to entertain positive attachments to any value that does not directly aim to promote their political self-interest. Positive evaluation of black consciousness would require that the promotion of group interests be given equal weight if not primacy over promotion of one's self-interest; fulfillment of this demand, may run counter to the political goals of those who are highly committed to office. So, failure to show strong adherence to black consciousness is likely to be more pronounced among those officeholders who are more attached to public office than those whose interest in public office is less.

The foregoing proposition that commitment to public office will lower black consciousness seems highly plausible on an intuitive level; however, one aspect of Schlesinger's theory tends to undermine this proposition. This is the idea that politicians differ in their openness to new ideas, because of their varying office goals. Schlesinger claims that the most ambitious - those aspirants for more important office -- tend to be more amenable to change, than those unconcerned with seeking office any more (i.e. discrete ambition) or those who

are satisfied with re-election to the same level of office (i.e. static ambition). The latter group is:

far more likely to be driven by immediate pressures, whether it be the pressure of opinion, party, or special interest groups. Only the man with progressive ambitions is driven to explore current policies in the light of future consequences for his future career is at stake.⁴⁴

A similar argument is advanced by Anthony Downs in his work on bureaucracies. In seeking to explain the reason why some bureaucrats favor innovation more than others, Downs concludes that this is a function of the fact that not all bureaucrats share the same needs. There are those who are motivated to seek higher office out of a need to aggrandize their power, prestige, etc. These people, designated as "climbers", are the ones most likely to be supportive of bureaucratic change. On the other hand, there are the "conservers", a term used to designate those bureaucrats to whom bureaucratic innovation is an anathema because of their fear that interference with the status quo will result in a loss of the privileges and prerogatives accorded by presently-held office. In sum, concern for maximizing security drives conservers to reject the idea of bureaucratic change; concern for maximizing the benefits of future office leads climbers to support it.⁴⁵

Support for the posited theoretical relationship between ambition and change has been found. Gordon Black's study of city councilmen attempted to test the theoretical proposition that different levels of political ambition are associated with distinct value orientations.⁴⁶ Using a sample of city councilpersons, he demonstrated that politicians were not monolithic in the extent to which they valued political

professionalism. This was found to be attributable to the different ambitions they had. Those who were concerned with attaining more important office tended to display a more professional outlook on politics. Conversely, those who had no particular yearning for another office showed a low level of political professionalism.

Another piece of research that probed the validity of the propositions of ambition theory concerning orientation toward change was James Pierson's study of the conflict that developed between Federalists and Anti-federalists in the 1780's.⁴⁷ The data showed that ambition was an important explanatory factor of the divergent attitudes of these two groups toward the Union. Motivated by ambition for national office, federalists supported the new Constitution; they were opposed by those who did not desire to make a political career beyond the state level, that is, the unambitious.

Schlesinger and Downs' theoretical postulate that ambition for more important office is associated with an openness toward change was also tested by Prewitt and Nowlin.⁴⁸ The data, obtained from city councilpersons in San Francisco, showed that the greatest support for a change in traditional distribution of power between federal, state and local government, came from officeholders with progressive ambitions. Those who wished to retain office at the local level did not favor the enlargement of the powers of state and federal government. The interpretation given this finding by the authors was that an ambitious politician is more likely to support changes that would aggrandize the prestige, privileges and prerogatives of an office which is linked to his political aspirations, since this could possibly result in an increase in his own power

and prestige should he gain access to that office.

From the foregoing review of the empirical literature that tested the propositions of ambition theory, it may be concluded that support for new ideas is more likely to come from those who are most ambitious. Since black consciousness is a relatively recent mode of thinking among blacks, it may be deduced that positive attachment to it will increase as ambition increases. However, acceptance of this hypotheses, contradicts the previously stated proposition that commitment to office will be inversely related to black consciousness, because it is obvious that the most ambitious are also likely to be those who are most committed to office.

In order to escape the dilemma of having two conflicting hypotheses, both of which appear equally tenable, it is appropriate to reconcile them by bringing to notice one of the conclusions that were reported in the empirical studies that examined Schlesinger and Downs' propositions about the relationship of ambition and acceptance of change. These studies showed that the less ambitious value office security and, as a result, the maintenance of the status quo; on the other hand, the more ambitious value an increase in the powers of office and are more amenable to change; however, in each study, the changes that were approved by the more ambitious were those which would further their political careers.

From this it may be deduced that commitment to a public career may not necessarily be associated with increased black consciousness. Rather, such association may be expected only in those situations where black consciousness could conceivably function to advance the

self-interest of black officeholders. Thus, our originally stated hypothesis that increasing commitment to a public career will be associated with a decreasing level of black consciousness requires qualification because in certain circumstances those who are most committed to office may actually support new values with group-oriented consequences, because the particular value may be useful to promoting their individual political interest. So, the proposition concerning the relationship of black consciousness and commitment to office may be restated thus:

Black consciousness will be inversely related to degree of commitment to public office, except in those cases where situational factors render its positive evaluation functional to the maximization of the political self-interest of those most committed to public office.

One instance when a political actor may deem it profitable to change or adopt new values is when the nature of the electoral constituency dictates that subscription to the new value would assist in the attainment of constituent support, an indispensable prerequisite to fulfillment of office needs. In order to understand why constituent characteristics may prompt an officeholder to adopt values that in other circumstances he may not be inclined to do, it is instructive to turn the discussion to an analysis of the effect of certain constituency factors on leadership behavior.

Racial Fragmentation in Electoral Constituency

Schlesinger calls attention to the fact that the ambitious are more likely to be mindful of public opinion than the unambitious because concern for getting elected and re-elected motivates politicians

to take heed of the wishes and expectations of their constituents. The operation of political ambition, then, facilitates democratic government and political stability, even though it may appear to be only a self-serving activity.⁴⁹ In this regard, Schlesinger notes that:

A political system unable to kindle ambitions for office is as much in danger of breaking down as one unable to restrain ambitions. Representative government depends on a supply of men so driven; the desire for election and, more important, for re-election becomes the electorate's restraint upon its public officials.⁵⁰

Prewitt tested this hypotheses among 435 city councilmen. The data corroborated the posited relationship between ambition and concern for public opinion. "Men wanting to stay in office treat campaigning, the electorate, and voter preferences with more respect than do men intending to leave office."⁵¹ Because ambitious politicians will try to anticipate the interests of their constituents to a far greater degree than the unambitious, their perception of constituents interests will influence values adopted, activities engaged in, and policy decisions made.

A few studies have explored the effect of constituency characteristics on the values and behavior of black politicians. One of the most influential was James Q. Wilson's comparative study of black politics in four Northern cities -- Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and New York. Several characteristics of these cities were found to influence the style and structure of black politics, for example,

strength of machine and labor activity, type of elections (district or at large), the partisanship of elections, and lastly, the ratio of blacks to whites in electoral constituencies. The potential impact of constituency characteristics is clarified in the following excerpt by Wilson:

The perceived character of the constituency to which an electoral appeal must be made can condition several aspects of the campaign. . .further, the need of the constituency conditions the extent to which issues are believed to be relevant. . .finally, the nature of the constituency modifies the quality of the candidates offered.⁵²

Of all constituency characteristics, one that the data showed to be very crucial to explaining the behavior of black politicians was the racial composition of the electoral district. For example, it was reported that in racially diversified Los Angeles, a campaign by a black to win a city council seat, used two distinct types of campaign strategies, one to attract the white vote, the other the black vote. The black community vote was mobilized through the creation of "Negro Democratic clubs which demanded more Negroes in public office . . . But in appealing to the electorate of the district as a whole, which has a large number of whites, a sober "good government" platform was devised stressing taxes and city services.⁵³

It is obvious that the particular behavioral phenomena that this particular black politician was confronted with was role strain.⁵⁴ Unlike his white counterpart, the black officeholder is commonly faced with two potentially competing identifications forced on him as a result of being both black and a politician. Kenneth Clark illuminates the role strain that black politicians may encounter

when they must rely on both black and white votes for their election:

Political reality demands that they appeal for votes primarily in terms of general, rather than specific racial issues. . . . Negro candidates in these circumstances must somehow manage the difficult task of running a campaign and projecting an image as if America had in fact reached the stage of racial maturity where race and color are irrelevant and where a candidate would be judged and selected by the electorate in terms of his intelligence, competence, experience and integrity.⁵⁵

Valuing black consciousness will probably enhance a black incumbent's chances for re-election in a district that is predominantly black, for his black consciousness will most likely be construed as a good indicator of his accountability. However, a racially mixed electorate may not view black consciousness in such positive terms; in such a district, whites may interpret high black consciousness as a sign that black politicians will probably not represent interests other than those of their black constituents. This is particularly likely to be the case when both racial groups have disparate socioeconomic statuses. Leaders from racially mixed districts will therefore be confronted with the necessity of articulating the expectations of both racial groups under the threat of evoking racial polarization. This is particularly true for black politicians who are highly committed to office. It simply would not be prudent or realistic for a politician with strong office commitment to exhibit high black consciousness if whites compose a distinct proportion of his district, for this may alienate necessary white votes. But to adopt the opposite strategy and show little concern for blacks or for a black identity could serve to reduce support with black constituents.

Compared to those politicians who represent districts which are almost homogeneously black, or almost white, the black incumbent who faces a mixed district is placed in the precarious circumstance of having to invoke distinct types of campaign appeals. Thus it is difficult to predict exactly what his level of black consciousness will be, although it is safe to speculate that it will probably be less than that of politicians from mainly black constituencies, and greater than that found among officeholders from predominantly white constituencies. In other words, the data should show that racially conscious incumbents represent predominantly black districts, and that the less racially conscious hold office in mixed or predominantly white districts.

In making the proposition that black consciousness and racial composition of district will be related we do not wish to convey the impression that black candidates with highest black consciousness will automatically translate this into racial appeals and win the black vote. For one, black consciousness is a value, and values of politicians (like everyone else) may or may not be reflected in behavior all of the time. However, as the notion of political self-interest is one of the basic assumptions of this study, it seems plausible to assume that black consciousness will be reflected in appeals to the electorate in situations where it may maximize chances for getting votes. If this assumption is valid, the data of this study should show a direct, positive relationship between the proportion of blacks in the electoral constituency and black consciousness.

It should also be noted that while politicians may translate black consciousness into behavior, it may not have the vote-catching effect that was intended. Studies of black voting behavior have shown that black voters may not necessarily elect a particular candidate simply because he exhibits a high level of black consciousness. Wilson notes that, "the divisions of the Negro community along lines of party, class and status are much too profound and pervasive to allow for the operation of any such uncomplicated response as a race vote."⁵⁶ In actual practice, it has often been the case that black voters rejected candidates who adopted strong racial appeals in their campaign platforms. Stone explains that this is because black voters have traditionally been "political centrists" like their white counterparts. Elaborating further on this situation, he states:

Even when radical political candidates have appealed to the Black instincts of the Black electorate by seeking support for Black nation-oriented politics, such candidates have been repudiated. . . widespread evidence could be found of Black Americans voting for a white candidate against a black candidate, or of some white political machine-controlled Black mediocrity being supported in preference to a committed, adroit Black advocate of Black autonomy.⁵⁷

In sum, black consciousness may not always have a behavioral impact, and when it does, it may not function as the vote-catching mechanism that it was intended to be. Nonetheless, it seems plausible that the black officeholder in high density black districts will be pressured to become black conscious, at least, to a greater extent than those in districts with fewer blacks.

It also seems reasonable that those who are committed to office will become more black conscious than they otherwise might, in districts where there is a high proportion of blacks. If this is the case, when the racial composition of the district is taken into account, we should find an interactive relationship between commitment to public office and racial composition of the district on the one hand, and black consciousness on the other. In other words, we would expect to find that black consciousness increases as the proportion of blacks in a constituency increases, among those who are committed to office. Thus, if ambition is taken as an indicator of degree of office commitment, those with progressive and static ambitions should show a pattern of lower black consciousness as their constituencies become more white, since they are likely to be influenced by the make-up of their constituencies. Among politicians with discrete ambitions however, we should expect to find a very different situation. Their unconcern for re-election should be reflected in their level of black consciousness. Rather than seeing a pattern of black consciousness increasing as the proportion of blacks in the district increases, we should see a very haphazard pattern.

Type of Electoral Districts

Racial composition of an electoral constituency is only one of several constituency characteristics that are likely to impinge on the value orientations of black officeholders. Possibly another critical factor is the type of electoral district in which office is sought, that is, whether the electoral district is an at-large or ward system.

Students of urban politics have long been aware of the fact that compared to ward systems, at-large systems are generally less responsible to the particularistic interests of racial and ethnic minorities.⁵⁸ At-large systems necessitate the seeking of votes over a wide geographical area therefore making it imperative that non-minority votes be solicited by minority candidates, a difficult task in racially polarized environments. Thus even though black voters frequently constitute a significant minority, if not a majority in certain areas, particularly in urban centers, it is most probable that "Negro voters", as noted by Bailey, "will have the greatest change of influencing a candidate's election if elections are by ward."⁵⁹ Empirical evidence corroborates this proposition. Patterson has documented how several cities devised at-large formulas for the deliberate purpose of restricting black political participation.⁶⁰ Also, in a study of city councils in twelve Northern cities of size 100,000 or more, Kramer observed that the number of black city council-persons decreased in certain cities when at-large formulas were devised.⁶¹ Similarly, after conducting a study of 171 city councils, Jones concluded that "while Black Americans are severely underrepresented on city councils regardless of electoral system, Blacks are more equitably represented on city councils with district systems than on city councils with at-large systems."⁶²

These findings suggest that the probability of electoral success for black candidates is increased when office is sought in ward systems rather than at-large system. The situation of blacks who seek office in at-large systems seems to be analogous to those who run in racially

diversified districts. Both types of circumstances require the solicitation of both minority and non-minority votes. Thus, it is expected that in order to diminish the threat of racial polarization, candidates in at-large systems will be forced to tone down overtly racial appeals, and may very likely exhibit a low degree of black consciousness. So, type of electoral district may be expected to be associated with different levels of black consciousness.

Up until this point, we have discussed only one criterion to distinguish between politicians with varying levels of commitment to public office, namely political ambition. One could rank extent of office commitment in terms of several other criteria; for example, period of time spent in office, number of offices sought or held, importance of office held, and political campaign experience. It may be assumed that the most committed to office are officeholders who have spent a long time in office, sought or held several offices, had political campaign experience, and hold offices that are more important. If this assumption is valid, it should be found that the latter type of incumbent will show lower black consciousness than those who sojourn in public office has been of briefer duration, those with no political campaign experience, those who have held and sought few offices, and finally, those who hold offices which are of lesser importance. Consequently, in addition to exploring the inter-relationship between political ambition and black consciousness, the latter group of factors will also be examined in order to see whether they cause variation in suscription to black consciousness.

Partisan Commitment

In Chapter I it was noted that the close association of black officeholders of the past with urban political machines seriously undermined their commitment to their race, as well as the influence they had in the policy making realm. Basically, the reason was that those in control of political machines were not seriously interested in allocating the resources of society in a manner conducive to the promotion of the interests of blacks.

While we do not wish to create a direct structural analogy between the old style political machine and political parties today, it may be inferred that blacks with strong partisan interests may encounter conflicts between the issues supported by the party with which they are affiliated, and their racial commitments. If this is the case, black partisans should be found to be less conscious than their non-partisan counterparts.

This proposition has been empirically substantiated by the literature. Charles Dunn, in a study of black legislative behavior in the Illinois House of Representatives reported that black consciousness tended to be lower among those who were closely allied with a political party.⁶³ Specifically, the data showed that in roll call votes where racial interests conflicted with partisan interests, support for the former over the latter came primarily from those legislators who were more independent of political parties. Thus Dunn concluded that partisan ties tend to result in the subordination of ethnic commitments to political party dictates.

This study will attempt to discover whether the preceding finding is substantiated in the sample under study. First of all, we will

differentiate between party affiliates and Independents, and explore whether the latter are more black conscious than the former. Furthermore, given the Republican party's indifference to black concerns in recent years, and their inability to attract a significant proportion of black members, it seems plausible that Democratic affiliates will be more black conscious than GOP's. The argument may also be made that the manner of evaluating one's relationship with political parties is also a good indicator of extent of commitment to partisan interests. Holding political party office may also be construed as a reliable indicator of degree of partisan commitment. A final indicator of partisan commitment, and probably one that is less reliable than the previous three concerns whether the office one holds is partisan or non-partisan. It may be assumed that partisan officeholders will have greater partisan interest than non-partisan officeholders, and hence the latter group will exhibit greater black consciousness than the former.

In the preceeding discussion, black consciousness was analyzed as a value that would fulfill specific types of office seeking and partisan needs. Whether officeholders run in at-large or district systems, in racially diverse or homogenous districts, hold high or low office positions, partisan or non-partisan office, are affiliated with different political parties, have distinct types of political ambitions, have held office many times or just a few, all are some of the factors that theoretically may impinge on the extent of subscription to black consciousness.

So far this study has attempted to provide theoretical justification for viewing black leadership behavior in terms of value theory, and we have deduced certain propositions about office-needs and partisan commitment. In spite of the heavy emphasis that has been paid so far to the political determinants of leadership behavior, it would be erroneous to conclude that explanations of the behavior of political elites can be offered only by political variables. Indeed even though Schlesinger ascribes great weight to the impact of career needs, he notes that by themselves these types of factors can offer only limited explanations of the dynamics of leadership style. Acknowledging that other "non-political" type of factors must be considered by the student of leadership behavior he states:

We must note first that the ambitious politician is an abstraction and that a theory based on such a partial view of what moves the politician cannot explain all of his behavior, even the specifically political. Politicians are no more driven by the single motive of office than businessmen are guided by the desire for profit or doctors by the urge to heal. Each has a life beyond his occupation which impinges on the way he performs.⁶⁴

While we believe that a multiplicity of factors operate to influence the policy stances adopted by elected officials, a cursory overview of the literature on political elites reveals that few theorists ever pay attention to more than a few factors at any one time. For example there are constituency theories that stress the role played by pressures levied by constituent publics such as other officeholders, interest groups, party members and the voters.⁶⁵ In addition, there are theories that exhibit a distinct sociological orientation in the stress

they place on personal and social background factors, for example, occupational differences, prerecruitment social experiences, socioeconomic status, etc.⁶⁶ Also there is a group of elite theorists which attributes the determinant of leadership behavior primarily to basic psychological characteristics such as personality configurations.⁶⁷ Finally, there are theories with overt "political biases", that promote the idea that the political culture exerts different types of pressures on leaders, hence leadership dynamics must be considered as a function of the operation of such factors as office position held, office position desired (ambition) etc.⁶⁸ The latter type of theory was previously discussed in the preceeding section.

Ideally any exploration of the causal determinants of black consciousness should give consideration to all of the factors contained in the aforementioned theories. However, the difficulty of constructing a multicausal design renders it necessary for us to limit the purview of this analysis to a manageable number of factors. So far, discussion has centered on the political variables that may be associated with black consciousness. The other set of factors that merit consideration are those that concern the social characteristics of the group. It should be noted that not all branches of political leadership theory ascribe significance to this second group of factors, probably because as pointed out by Browning and Jacob, it is thought that political actors will more likely respond to challenges and opportunities of the immediate present than influences of their distant past.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, because black consciousness has never been

empirically investigated in terms of its political determinants, it may very well be demonstrated that it is a social rather than a political value, and is thus a function of the differing social characteristics of the group, rather than the previously posited political factors. To investigate whether this is indeed the case, it is necessary to turn the discussion to the sociological context of black consciousness.

The Sociological Context of Black Consciousness

As noted earlier, one of the most distinguishing features about black consciousness as a dominant social value among blacks is the recency with which it has appeared. The historical forces of enslavement and segregation to which blacks were exposed succeeded in accomplishing their grand design - the internalization of feelings of inferiority, idealization of whites, and group and self-hatred. Kenneth Clark, a psychologist, comments on the way in which the societal structure of racism as well as individual acts of discrimination debilitated healthy psychological development among blacks:

Human beings who are forced to live under ghetto conditions and whose daily experience tells them that almost nowhere in society are they respected and granted the ordinary dignity and courtesy accorded to others will, as a matter of course, begin to doubt their own worth. Since every human being depends upon his cumulative experience with others for clues as to how he should view and value himself, children who are consistently rejected understandably begin to question and doubt whether they, their family, and their group really deserve no more respect from the larger society than they receive. These doubts become the seeds of a pernicious self- and group-hatred...⁷⁰

Clark's statement has been corroborated by numerous psychological investigations of blacks.⁷¹ In light of their findings, the fact that many blacks have lately appeared to view their racial identity in more positive terms than in past times, leads one to suspect that this change in traditional perceptions of the self and one's group will not be uniform throughout the black community. Given its newness, one may expect that blacks who are more traditional (that is, those who are more resistant to change) will be less likely to be black conscious; conversely the more modern, that is, those more favorable to change and new ideas, will be more critical of the historical definitions of "blackness," and as a result black consciousness will be more pronounced among this group. It is commonly acknowledged that the three most critical indices of traditionalism among blacks are age, region of child-rearing years, and area of residence. Dwaine Marvick points out that these variables act as salient indices of cultural differentiation among blacks because they indicate socialization in two distinct types of social environments, one modern, the other traditional.⁷² Blacks in the south tend to be rural and as a result of being cut off from the rapid pace of societal change they also tend to have a more traditional value orientation compared to their northern counterparts. In the following excerpt Walker and Aberbach elaborate on the effect that the different types of socialization experience offered by the urban north and rural south have on black attitudes:

Life in the Northern city brings to bear on a black person forces which lead him to reject the traditional

subservient attitudes of Southern Negroes. Away from the parochial, oppressive atmosphere of the south, he is born into or slowly appropriates the more cosmopolitan, secularization culture of the north. . . With time he grasps sufficient information about the urban paradise. Traditional attitudes of deference and political passivity fade as a militant social and political stance gains approval in the community.⁷³

Given the likelihood that the younger, the urban, and the northern born will be more amenable to new ideas than those who are older, rural, and of southern background, it may be inferred that the former type of factors will be more closely associated with black consciousness than the latter. While the preceding hypothesis seems plausible on theoretical grounds, it would be valuable to consult relevant aspects of the literature on black racial attitudes in order to ascertain whether a similar set of factors have commonly been found to be associated with attitudinal differentiation among blacks. If these factors recur in the literature as correlates of black attitudes, then we may feel more secure in hypothesizing that they will be related to black consciousness. The relevant bodies of literature that will be consulted is that dealing with attitudes toward whites and toward militancy. The rationale for focusing on these two bodies of literature will be clarified in the following discussion.

Studies of Black Militancy

A body of literature that may suggest fruitful hypothesis about the type and direction of influence of social background and demographic variables on black consciousness is that which has examined the causal determinants of black militancy. In choosing to consult the "protest" literature, we do not intend to convey the impression that black militancy and black consciousness are values commensurate

either in content or mode of expression. The reason for focusing on this type of literature stems from the fact that empirical investigations of black militancy have frequently demonstrated a close convergence between support for black militancy and pronounced black consciousness, although it has not been shown that black consciousness leads to militancy.⁷⁴ For example, Campbell et al, both in their 1968 and 1974 studies of racial attitudes, report that support for militancy is not very high among blacks, while the same is not true of attitudes of black consciousness. While militant attitudes were supported by only a small segment of blacks, 96% of the sample agreed that "Negroes should take more pride in Negro history," and four out of ten respondents thought that "Negro school children should study an African language."⁷⁵ In sum, while black militants are generally black conscious, the black conscious are only rarely militant.⁷⁶ In light of the fact that black militancy has been positively associated with black consciousness, the literature on militant attitudes may suggest fruitful propositions about the social correlates of black consciousness.

In seeking to discover the social factors that have been found to be associated with militant behavior, perhaps the best place to begin is to debunk certain myths that are commonly held about black militancy. One of the most prevalent and erroneous explanations of militant attitudes and behavior is offered by the so called "riff-riff" theory, which posits that social deviancy, criminality, forms of emotional disturbance, and lower socio-economic status are all factors related to militancy. Studies have never found support for this view.

Universally, they show that militants are not only personally and socially adjusted, but also they rate highly on some important measures of socio-economic achievement. For example, Tomlinson concluded from a study of Los Angeles rioters that they were "the cream of urban Negro citizens in general."⁷⁷ Also, Marx reported that an important aspect of militancy was the high appreciation of intellectual pursuits, and an uncommon interest in society and the world.⁷⁸ Finally, several studies have reported that the average level of educational attainment of black militants exceeded that of non-militants; moreover, militants were less likely to be unemployed or economically at the very bottom of black society than non-militants.⁷⁹

Other factors that were most strongly associated with black militancy were age, type of community resided in and region of socialization. From data based on a national sample, Marx reported that the older showed a reduced propensity to be militant compared to the younger. Furthermore, the more militant were for the most part originally from the north; the less militant from the south. Oddly enough, blacks from the Deep South were found to be more militant than those from the Border States. City living was also reported to be positively associated with high militancy, rural living with low militancy.⁸⁰ Willis and Goldberg's study of college students failed to replicate Marx's findings. Neither region of socialization nor type of community were positively associated with militancy.⁸¹ The difference in findings between both studies is probably a consequence of the fact that Willis and Goldberg studied a more select sample than Marx - black college students. Marx's findings should therefore be considered more

representative of the actual attitudes of blacks toward militancy.

All the studies reviewed so far were conducted in the sixties. From research conducted in 1974, Schuman and Campbell's data replicated the findings of the previous decade; however, of all the factors that previously were found to be related to militancy, the 1974 data showed age to be the strongest background factor.

In conclusion, the brief overview of studies on militancy has suggested five factors as possible determinants of black consciousness. These are age, region of socialization, type of community, socio-economic status, and degree of social awareness. It may be recognized that these are precisely the same factors that were concluded to be likely correlates of black consciousness in the previous section. The findings of the empirical literature therefore strengthen the likelihood that our original hypotheses concerning the influence of these five factors will be found to be valid. However, before explicating in detail their predicted association with black consciousness, it may be instructive to consult one final body of literature - that which deals with black attitudes toward whites - in order to explore further into the nature of the possible social and demographic correlates of black consciousness.

Attitudes Toward Whites

On approaching the literature on attitudes of blacks toward whites one feature that immediately stands out is the low incidence of anti-white attitudes among blacks.⁸² The fact that anti-white sentiments are not very widely distributed among blacks may cause one to question our rationale for consulting the body of literature

that has investigated this particular type of attitude. While we admit that being pro-black (i.e. black conscious) is not necessarily commensurate with being anti-white,⁸³ it would seem that there may be some relationship between the two types of attitudes.

The first interesting feature of this type of literature is that the factors that are reported to be related to anti-white sentiments have not remained the same over time.⁸⁴ Research conducted in the period from 1945-1965 shows an unusual amount of agreement in the factors that were found to be related to anti-white attitudes. The Cornell University study conducted 1948-1949,⁸⁵ reported that these types of attitudes were most common among southern migrants living in the north, the less educated, the elderly, and the married. Fifteen years later Marx reported that anti-white attitudes were more evident among southern-born migrants in the north, women, and those not oriented toward intellectual values.⁸⁶ These findings were concordant with those reported by the Cornell group a decade and a half earlier. However, in contradiction of one of the results of the latter study, research in the sixties showed that the overwhelming source of anti-white attitudes came from younger rather than older blacks.⁸⁷ Several attempts have been made to explain the reason for these contradictory findings. Perhaps the most credible is offered by Johnson in a critique of the Cornell study.⁸⁸ He distinguished between the new black creed stressing integration, militance, pride in self and lack of prejudice toward whites, and the old black creed stressing self-hatred, aversion to whites, avoidance and apathy. The anti-white attitudes of blacks in the

1940's was related to the dominance of the old-black creed in the black community. At that time being anti-white was part and parcel of the old black creed and was hence the "conservative" attitude since it meant that one accepted the subordinate place of blacks in the society. Younger blacks in the 1940's were less anti-white precisely because they were more critical of the segregated status-quo and willing to compete with whites rather than withdraw from them.

In the sixties, with the changing social context of race relations, anti-white attitudes became a less conservative attitude. In the new social milieu, the new radical posture was rejection of the integrationist dream; to be conservative meant the reverse. This reversal in findings suggests that younger blacks have always been more critical of the mode of race relations in the society throughout time, however as forms of race relations have changed, so did the nature of their attitudes toward whites. At an earlier point in time, they were pro-white because this type of sentiment challenged the status quo; in the sixties they were anti-white because this challenged the trend toward integration in the society.

Summary

Attitudes toward black militancy, whites, and black consciousness are not presumed to be the same either in content or mode of behavioral expression. Nonetheless, after reviewing the major areas of research dealing with these three types of racial sentiment, it has been found that the value differences among blacks are apparently the outgrowth of deep internal cultural differentiation. That is to say, while the experience of being black has fashioned a distinct type of black

culture vis-a-vis the wider society, regional, generational and socio-economic factors, as well as other personal distinctions, have created horizontal cleavages within the black community; this intra-group cultural heterogeneity explains why blacks are not more monolithic in either their attitudes or behavior and, presumably will not be homogeneous in their support of black consciousness. Five factors stand out as significant correlates of black racial attitudes. These are: 1) age; 2) region of country where one was reared; 3) type of community in which one resides; 4) socio-economic status; and 5) degree of social awareness. The type of effect that each of these factors may be expected to have on black consciousness is as follows:

- 1) Black officeholders who were reared in the north will exhibit greater black consciousness than those reared in the south;
- 2) Black officeholders who live in an urban community will show greater black consciousness than those who reside in a rural environment;
- 3) Higher SES will be more positively associated with black consciousness than lower SES;
- 4) As age increases, strength of support for black consciousness will decrease;
- 5) Blacks who develop political awareness earlier will show greater black consciousness than those who developed it later in life.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a discussion of the neglect of blacks in American history as well as social science literature, see Chuck Stone, Black Political Power in America, Delta Publishing Company, 1970, p. 5.
2. Some of the studies that follow this orientation are: Elaine Burgess, Negro Leadership in a Southern City, Chapel Hill: 1962; Howard Pfautz, "The Power Structure of the Negro Sub-Community; A Case Study and a Comparative View," Phylon, Summer, 1962; Daniel D. Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class, Englewood Cliffs, 1963; Harold Baron, "Black Powerlessness in Chicago," Black Liberation Politics, (ed). Edward Greer, Boston 1971.
3. For a critique of the reputational approach, see Robert Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," American Political Science Review, June 1958, pp. 463-469; Nelson Polsby, "The Sociology of Community Power: A Reassessment," Social Forces, March, 1959, pp. 232-236; and Raymond Wolfinger, "The Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, October 1960, pp. 636-644.
4. For a discussion of the paucity of interest in black politics in the political science profession see, Donald R. Matthews, "Political Science Research for Race Relations" in Irwin Katz and Patricia Gurin, eds., Race and the Social Sciences (New York: Basic Books, 1969); also, Milton D. Morris, The Politics of Black America (New York: Harper & Row) 1975.
5. Examples of these are James Q. Wilson, "Two Negro Politicians: An Interpretation" Midwest Journal of Political Science (November 1960), pp. 346-349; Kenneth G. Weinberg, Black Victory: Carl Stokes and the Winning of Cleveland (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1968); John F. Becker and Eugene E. Heaton Jr., "Election of Senator Edward W. Brooke," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 31 (Fall 1967), pp. 346-358; Mary Dowling Daley, "Mayor Stokes West Side Story" Commonweal, Vol. 91 (November 28, 1969), pp. 270-271.
6. Gregory Bateson, "Cultural Determinants of Personality," in Personality and the Behavior Disorders, ed. J. Mc V. Hunt, New York: Ronald Press, 1944, Vol. II, p. 273.

7. It should be noted that the idea that all values are culturally determined is a controversial issue among social scientists, as exemplified by the controversy that met "national character explanations." Nonetheless, few social scientists would reject the view that culture has absolutely no effect on human values. Most would agree that culture is certainly a critical factor explaining human behavior.
8. Basil Davidson, The Lost Cities of Africa, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1959); Carter G. Woodson, The African Background Outlined; or Handbook for the Study of the Negro, (New York: Afro-American Studies, New American Library, Inc., 1969).
9. John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, (New York: Random House), 1947, pp. 42-60; L. Foner and E. Genovese, Slavery in the New World (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1969).
10. Thomas Gossett, Race: The History of An Idea in America (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963).
11. Abram Kardiner and L. Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression, (Cleveland, Ohio: The World Book Publishing Co., 1962); Bingham Dai, "Some Problems of Personality Development Among Negro Children," Personality; Nature, Society, and Culture, ed. Clyde Kluckhohn (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), 1956; B.L. Coslin, J. Cardwell and R. Parament, "Which Negroes Prefer What Skin Color?", Paper presented at the meeting of the Eastern Psychological Association, Philadelphia, April 1969.
12. One of the best commentaries on the social and political significance of the so-called black social revolution of the sixties is Robert Allen's, Black Awakening in Capitalist America (New York: Doubleday, 1970).
13. Stokley Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America, New York: Random House, 1967, pp. 44-45.
14. J. K. Obabala, "Black Consciousness and American Policy in Africa," Society, Jan.-Feb. 1975, pp. 61-74. For further discussion of this point see also Rupert Emerson and Martin Kilson, "The American Dilemma in a Changing World: The Rise of Africa and the Negro America," Daedalus, Vol. 94 (Fall 1965), pp. 1055-1084.
15. Alfred O. Hero, "American Negroes and U.S. Foreign Policy; 1937-1967," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 13 (June 1969), pp. 220-251; Also, Harold R. Isaacs, The New World of Negro Americans (New York: Doubleday, 1963).

16. For criticism of the literature on race research, see Dean Cinel, "Ethnicity: A Neglected Dimension of American History," International Migration Review, Vol. 3, Summer 1969, pp. 58-64. William Ellis and Peter Orleans, "Race Research: Up Against the Wall, in More Ways Than One", pp. 9-20 "Race Change and Urban Society", Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1971; L. Paul Metzger, "American Sociology and Black Assimilation: Conflicting Perspectives," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 76, January, pp. 627-47. B. Mikulski, "Who Speaks for Ethnic America?" New York Times, September 29, 1970, p. 4.
17. Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Second Edition, International Encyclopedia of Unified Science, Vol. 2, #2.
18. It should be pointed out that the idea of the "melting-pot" has never been reflected in social reality because the view that America is a country which has successfully assimilated its minority groups is erroneous. Indeed, at this point in American history ethnic identification is still pervasive. See Michael Parenti, "Ethnic Politics and the Persistence of Ethnic Identification," American Political Science Review, Vol. 61 (September) pp. 717-726. For an account of the "melting-pot" myth, see N. Glazer and D. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1963; and also M. Steinfield, "Myth of the Melting Pot," Black Politician, Vol. 2, October 1970, pp. 4-8.
19. James P. Pitts, "The Study of Race Consciousness; Comments on New Directions," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 80, November 1974, p. 683.
20. W. O. Brown, "The Nature of Race Consciousness," Social Forces, Vol. 10 (October): pp. 90-93.
21. Ibid., p. 92.
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23. Ibid., pp. 569-570.
24. James Pitts, op. cit., pp. 665-687.
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27. Lodis Rhodes, "Black Symbolism: A Paradigm on the Nature and Development of Black Consciousness," Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1972.
28. Gwendolyn Gibbs Wade, "Psychological Needs, Black Consciousness, and Socialization Practices Among Black Adolescents in Nova Scotia, Canada and Michigan, USA." Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1972.
29. Ibid., p. 10.
30. Edgar Epps, "The Integrationists" in Black and White Perspectives on American Race Relations, ed. P. Rose, S. Rothman, and W. Wilson, New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
31. For an explanation of the difference between the cultural pluralist and melting pot models, see Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
32. Epps, op. cit., pp. 65-66.
33. Joyce Ladner, "The New Negro Ideology. . .What 'black power' means to Negroes in Mississippi," Transaction, November 1967, Vol. 4, pp. 7-22.
34. Rollo Handy, Value Theory and the Behavioral Sciences, Springfield: Charles Thomas, 1969; and The Measurement of Values, Behavioral Science and Philosophical Approaches, Missouri: Warren H. Green, Inc., 1970.
35. Ibid., p. 187.
36. Ibid., p. 186.
37. Ibid., p. 183.
38. Handy, op. cit., p. 187.
39. J. Pitts, op. cit., p. 672.
40. Joseph Schlesinger, Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).
41. Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy, New York: Harper 1957, p. 28.
42. The concept "rationality" is discussed in detail in W. Riker and P. Odershook, An Introduction to Positive Political Theory (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1973).

43. Progressive ambitions designates aspiration for more important office. Static ambition refers to aspiration for currently held office. Finally, discrete ambition indicates the desire to cease holding office, Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 10.
44. Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 209.
45. Anthony Downs, Inside Bureaucracy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), pp. 87-89.
46. Gordon Black, "A Theory of Professionalization in Politics," American Political Science Review, LXIV, September 1970, pp. 865-78.
47. James Pierson, "Career Perspectives and Institutional Change in the United States: The Case of the Federalists and Anti-federalists," Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1973.
48. Kenneth Prewitt and William Nowlin, "Political Ambitions and the Behavior of Incumbent Politicians," Western Political Quarterly, Vol. 22, June 1969, pp. 298-308.
49. Several works have commented on the way in which frequent elections acts as a sanction on office-holder's behavior. See for example, Clinton Rossiter, Parties and Politics in America (New York: Signet Books, 1960), Chapter 2; Robert A. Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.
50. Schlesinger. op. cit., p. 2.
51. Kenneth Prewitt, The Recruitment of Political Leaders: A Study of Citizen-Politicians, New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1970, p. 200.
52. James Q. Wilson, "Negro Politics in the North," in Negro Politics in America, ed. Harry Bailey, Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1967, p. 328.
53. Ibid., p. 328.
54. W. J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25, pp. 483-496.
55. Kenneth B. Clark, "The Negro Elected Official in the Changing American Scene," in Black Political Life in the United States, ed., Lenneal Henderson, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1972, pp. 158-159.
56. Wilson, op. cit., p. 329.

57. Chuck Stone, "Black Politicians," in Black and White Perspectives on American Race Relations, New York: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 190-191.
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61. J. Kramer, "The Election of Blacks to City Councils," Journal of Black Studies, June 1971, pp. 443-476.
62. C. Jones, "Structural and demographic correlates of black membership on city councils," Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, 1974, p. 21.
63. Charles W. Dunn, "Black Caucuses and Political Machines in Legislative Bodies," American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 17, Feb. 1973, pp. 148-158.
64. Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 6.
65. The literature dealing with this subject is large. The most important recent studies are Frank Sorauf, Party and Representation (New York: Atherton Press, 1962); Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress," American Political Science Review, Vol. 57, 1963, pp. 45-56; Lewis A. Froman, Congressmen and Their Constituencies (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963).
66. Arnold S. Tannenbaum, "Leadership: Sociological Aspects" International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 12, 1968, p. 102.
67. Cecil A. Gibb, "Leadership: Psychological Aspects," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 12, 1968, p. 93.

68. James D. Barber, The Lawmaker (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1965); Kenneth Prewitt, Heinz Eulau, and Betty H. Zisk, "Political Socialization and Political Roles," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 30, (Winter 1966-67), pp. 569-82. Much of this literature is reviewed in Kenneth Prewitt, "Political Socialization and Leadership Selection," Annals, 361 (September 1965), pp. 96-111.
69. Rufus Browning and Herbert Jacob, "Power Motivation and Political Personality," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 28, 1964, pp. 75-90.
70. K. B. Clark, Dark Ghetto, New York: Harper & Row, 1965, pp. 63-64.
71. See the literature review in H. Proshansky and P. Newton, Social Class, Race and Psychological Development, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968; Also M. Radke-Yarrow, J. Campbell and L. Yarrow, "Acquisition of New Norms: A Study of Racial Desegregation," Journal of Social Issues, 1958, Vol. 14, pp. 8-28; J. K. Morland "Racial acceptance and preference of nursery school children in a southern city," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 1962, Vol. 8, pp. 271-280; J. Bayton, L. Austin, & K. Burke, "Negro perception of Negro and white Personality Traits," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1965, Vol. 1, pp. 250-253. Also E. Lessing, & S. Zagorin, "Black Power Ideology and College students attitudes toward their own and other racial groups," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1972, Vol. 21, pp. 61-73.
72. Dwaine Marvick, "The Political Socialization of the American Negro," Annals, (Sept. 1965), pp. 113-127.
73. J. Aberbach & J. Walker. "The Meanings of Black Power: A Comparison of White and Black Interpretations of a Political Slogan," American Political Science Review, Vol. 64, 1970, pp. 367-388.
74. A review of the three most seminal studies of black militancy will attest to this. Caplan and Paige report from two separate studies of blacks in Detroit and in Newark that the characteristic that was most closely associated with black militancy was black consciousness. Militants viewed their race in more positive terms than non-militants, as evidenced by the fact that only one-quarter of the latter regarded blacks as more dependable than whites, compared to one-half of the former. Militants also preferred to be called "black" rather than "negro" or "colored," and gave greater support to the introduction of black history and African languages in high school curriculum. M. Caplan and J. M. Paige. "A Study of Ghetto Rioters," Scientific American, August 1968, p. 219. Several other studies showed a similar positive association between black militancy and black consciousness. For example, see, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, U.S. Riot Commission Report,

New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1968. Also R. Searles and J. A. Williams, "Negro College Student Participation in Sit-ins," Social Forces, 1962, p-215-220. G. Marx, Protest and Prejudice, New York: Harper & Row, 1967.

75. Campbell et al. (1968) (1974), op. cit.
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78. Marx, op. cit.
79. For a review of this literature see Caplan and Paige, "The New Gehlto Man: A Review of Recent Empirical Studies," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 26; 1970, pp. 59-73.
80. Marx, op. cit.
81. C. T. Willis & F. J. Goldberg, "Some correlates of militancy and conservatism among black college students in the North and South," Psychiatry
82. Marx found that less than 1% exhibited anti-white attitudes, as measured by support for black nationalism. Marx, op. cit. p. 179. Also, in a poll conducted a year earlier Brink and Harris reported that only 4% of blacks favored the Black Muslim movement, and as few as 11% concurred that "Negroes should give up working with whites and just depend on their own people." W. Brink and L. Harris, Black and White, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966. Ironically, support for black separatism was found to be strongest among whites, rather than blacks. Twenty-three per cent of the former and only 3% of the latter agreed that blacks should live in a separate state. On another dimension of separatism which questioned extent of support for the idea that blacks should be removed from the USA, and be allowed to set up a separate state elsewhere, support was elicited from 33% of whites, and only 5% of blacks.
83. Making a similar point Pitts states: "Race prejudice can positively be associated with race consciousness, but it would be a mistake to treat them as interchangeable. Studies of racial attitudes have clearly demonstrated that negative feelings toward another group is not commensurate with a sense of commitment to one's own," James Pitts, op. cit., p. 670.

84. For the agreement in findings see the following, M. N. Grossack, "Group belongingness and authoritarianism in Southern Negroes: A research note." Phylon, 1957, 46, 125-131; J. A. Steckler, "Authoritarian ideology in Negro college students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1957, Vol. 54, pp. 396-399; D. L. Noel, "Group identification among Negroes: An empirical analysis," Journal of Social Issues, 1964, Vol. 20, pp. 71-84.
85. The Cornell Study is summarized in a series of publications: Noel, ibid.; R. Johnson, "Negro reactions to minority group status," in M. L. Barron (ed.) American Minorities; R. M. Williams, Stranger Next Door, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1964.
86. Marx, op. cit.
87. Jeffrey Paige, "Changing Patterns of Anti-White Attitudes Among Blacks," Black Political Attitudes, Implications for Political Support, ed. Charles Bullock & Harrell Rodgers, Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1972. Also Harlan Hahn, "Black Separatists," Journal of Black Studies, September 1970, pp. 35-53.
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CHAPTER THREE

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This research is designed to determine the interrelationship between certain political, social and personal factors and black consciousness, among black elected officeholders in Michigan. The main thesis is that the latter value phenomena may be explained in terms of factors related to office-holding needs and partisan commitments, and/or in terms of social and demographic characteristics. To evaluate the validity of this thesis, certain hypotheses about the relationship of these factors and black consciousness will be tested, analyzed and interpreted.

In this chapter we will begin by briefly reviewing the historical background of the population studied. The reason for doing this stems from the writer's conviction that social groups generally have a history that must be taken into account in order to understand their contemporary contours. Having done this, the focus shifts to describing the design of the study, the sample, the instrumentation which was devised to gather the data, and the actual data collection procedures. In addition, the major concepts of the study will be operationally defined and the specific hypotheses to be tested will be reviewed.

The Black Political Elite in Michigan:
A Brief History

That attitudinal heterogeneity, rooted in political diversity, may characterize contemporary black public officials in Michigan today should not be surprising. In spite of the almost one-party nature of the black vote in the state today, the fact is that the style of black politics, the challenges it presents, as well as the subjective political preferences of Michigan blacks, both of the elite and the rank and file, have not remained constant, in shape or content over time. If we look back only a few short decades, a fuller appreciation of the historical factors that may have contributed to present-day value-fragmentation among Michigan blacks may be attained.

The first historical fact that should be grasped is that many of the characteristics of the black political elite, as we know them today, are of relatively recent origin. In fact, it would be true to say that the history of blacks holding office in Michigan didn't actually begin until 1948. Before this date, a few blacks did hold office; however, it is disputable whether they should be regarded as "black" officeholders, because, as attested by McCree, these were really "local anomalies where a Negro citizen became so thoroughly integrated into the community as to become fully accepted."¹ These officeholders were also different from the majority of latter-day black politicians in their Republican allegiances, a product of the one-party character of Michigan's politics up until the 1930's.

As noted before, 1948 marked the "official" termination of the

existence of the foregoing type of black officeholder. However, the stage for this change was set by a series of events that occurred two decades earlier. One of the most critical events was the sudden defection in 1928 of some of the most distinguished members of the Detroit black elite from the Republican to the Democratic party because of disenchantment with Hoover's economic policies.² This move created a temporary disjuncture between the political party preferences of the Detroit black elite and the black electorate, whose numbers were rapidly increasing because of the impact of the northward migration from the South. With the onset of the Depression and growing popular awareness of the Hoover administration's indifference to black concerns, what before had been a mere trickle of black rank and file defections from the Republicans, turned into a dramatic flood into the Democratic fold, both within the state and nationwide. It is interesting to note that the rate of defection of the black rank and file from the Republican party was slower than that of their leaders. R. B. Sherman notes that the reluctance of the black masses to cut their allegiance to the GOP at first was partially caused by the influence of tradition, and more importantly, by the fact that "many Negroes who were unhappy with Hoover were reluctant to support Roosevelt (which) is easily understandable. There was nothing in his record to indicate that he had any special concern for or understanding of America's racial problems"³ This factor may explain why in the 1932 elections, Michigan blacks gave a majority of their votes to the Republican party, in spite of the exhortation of the black elite to vote Democratic. However, by the next election,

these cries for defection were heard primarily because of the advent of the New Deal. The 1932 election marked the last election when the GOP could take the black vote in Michigan for granted.⁴

While it was of inestimable importance, the leadership of the black elite was not the only factor that prompted the wholesale black withdrawal from the party that was instrumental in their emancipation. Undoubtedly, a contributing factor was the rearrangement of power in the international arena, and the emergence of black nationalist movements in Africa. These events, along with other occurrences on the home front, particularly the outlawing of restrictive covenants in housing and the banning of school segregation, were largely responsible for the creation of a new mood of thinking and questioning among blacks in the post-Depression era. Within the state of Michigan itself, the migration of blacks to the automotive centers -- Flint, Pontiac, Detroit -- was perhaps the most significant local event that precipitated the rupture of ties with the Republicans. Upon arrival, the new immigrants were exposed to an intense process of political de-socialization and re-socialization by labor organizations.⁵

The effort of labor, in particular the UAW, to steal away the black vote was assisted by the fact that with the Republicans' strength rooted in the managerial class of the automotive industry, as well as in businessmen, rural farmers, small town dwellers, and Detroit suburbanites, the only logical place for urban, working class blacks was with the party allied to labor -- the Democrats.⁶

One other factor of import to the change in the pattern of

Michigan black politics was the ascendance to office in 1948 of Governor Mennen Williams, a Democratic governor with close ties to labor. Prior to Williams' election, the sprinkling of blacks in elective positions was concentrated mainly in the legislature and a few appointive statewide posts. Recognizing the value of the black vote as a balance of power that could determine Democratic victories at the polls, Williams appointed blacks to a number of state offices, many of whom subsequently sought and attained electoral office at various levels of the office hierarchy. The significance of Williams' appointments to awakening the political awareness of the black electorate is documented by McCree thus:

In the late summer of 1950 Michigan was electrified by Governor Williams' appointment of Charles Wesley Jones, an outstanding lawyer, to the position of Recorder's Judge. The Negro community rallied to support him; but despite a primary election triumph, he was defeated in the general election. Instead of discouraging Negroes in their political ambitions, this defeat indicated the possibility of winning.⁷

The possibility that blacks could gain elective office was translated into reality in subsequent years. In the early fifties, Michigan gave birth to its first black congressman -- Democratic Charles Diggs -- son of one of those community leaders who had led the movement of defection from the Republican Party in the late twenties. Ten years later, in 1964, a second Congressional office in the state was attained by a black. In the late sixties and early seventies office attainment by blacks accelerated. Political party organizations did not remain immune to black access.⁸ The current mayor of Detroit, at that time a state senator, became the nation's first black Democratic National

Committeeman after the 1968 National Convention. Even the formerly "lily-white" Republican Party was not able to escape the rising tide of black political awareness. Although it failed to provide the same degree of opportunity for black leadership as the Democrats, it did elect a black Vice-chairman in the late sixties, and nominated several candidates for state-wide and judicial offices. A few of the party nominees for the latter type of office were subsequently successful at the polls; however, only one of its state-wide nominees has ever gained elective office. (A number of the foregoing individuals are subjects in this study's sample.)

In sum, since 1948 black participation in Michigan politics has intensified to the point where the state boasts the highest number of black elected officials in the nation today. Blacks in Michigan currently hold office at nearly all levels of government and in all branches. The offices they hold are located primarily in urban areas of the state, both instate and outstate. While most of these office-holders rely to some extent on the black vote for victory at the polls, a significant number represent districts that are predominantly white. Furthermore, a few have managed to break into the inner circles of the Republican Party, although the majority are Democrats.

In light of these intra-group differences in the types and levels of offices held, the social differentiation in electoral districts, types of political party affiliations, etc., as well as the natural social diversity that presumably characterizes the group, one would expect that the black political elite in Michigan today is not a monolithic or homogeneous group in terms of their values and attitudes toward social and political issues, or in their perceptions

of themselves. The black politician in Michigan is unlikely to be a single type. Rather, it is more likely that this class of politicians is beset by vertical and horizontal social and political cleavages, a product of the objective differences of their political circumstances, and their varying social and personal backgrounds. It is the exploration of the nature of this value diversity and its etiology that comprises the main concern of this research endeavor.

Instrumentation

The instrument used in this study was an interview questionnaire developed by the researcher.⁹ The instrument was pretested on five black officials who held appointive office, and hence were not part of the universe from which the sample was chosen.¹⁰

Data Collection

Data was collected in personal interviews from June to September 1974. Interviews were from half-an-hour to two hours in duration, with most interviews lasting one hour. All interviews were conducted by the same interviewer who was black. It is important to emphasize this point because surveys of racial attitudes of blacks and whites have consistently shown that the race of the interviewer affects the responses of both blacks and whites.¹¹ Specifically, they show that black interviewers tend to elicit more valid responses from black respondents than white interviewers. Thus, the fact that the interviewer in this study was black may enhance the internal validity of the data, although it could possibly have biased the responses in the opposite direction. In only one instance did the interviewer suspect

that the respondent's veracity was questionable, and this respondent was excluded from the final sample.

The items in the questionnaire were both open-ended and forced multiple-choice. In order to avoid the possible intrusion of subjective biases in interpreting the open-ended responses, coding of the questionnaire was undertaken both by this researcher and another coder. In order to check for consistency in coding, the responses were checked once more after the data had been transformed onto cards and placed on a file in the computer.

The Population and Sample

The universe from which the sample for this study was chosen consisted of all blacks holding elected office in Michigan as of April 1974. The total universe of all black elected officials in the nation is documented by state in the National Roster of Black Elected Officials published annually by the Joint Center for Political Studies, Washington, D.C. The Michigan list for 1974 contained the names of 164 individuals. Originally, the aim was to study the total universe of 164; however, when it became clear that for a variety of reasons not all 164 officeholders could be interviewed for the study, the decision was made to change the design to a format that would permit analysis of the research questions posed in Chapter II.

Choice of an alternative sampling design was influenced principally by theoretical and practical factors rather than by statistical exigencies prescribed by defined limits of tolerable sampling error. Had the concern been solely with the latter factor, a simple random

sample would have been chosen. Instead, a quota sample was chosen primarily because as the main concern of the study was to test for factors that could explain a particular value syndrome, it was deemed necessary to have sufficient cases on each of these factors in order to test for them. A simple random sample would probably have resulted in the under-representation of an adequate number of cases for some of these factors. For example, a simple random sample would probably have resulted in the inclusion of few outstaters and the over-representation of instaters,¹² thereby making it difficult for us to test whether instate/outstate differences are important for explaining variation in the dependent variable of the study. In sum, the chief consideration underlying the decision to employ a quota design was to incorporate a broad range of subjects in the sample so as to allow for the statistical tests of each of the factors that were posited to be theoretically important.

Four factors were deemed most important for selecting a balanced sample. The first was geographical location of office. As mentioned before, because the instate area contains the highest proportion of black elected officials in the state, a deliberate attempt was made to select an adequate number of outstate respondents, to compensate for the natural over-representation of instate office holders. Political party affiliation was another criterion used to select subjects. Given the predominance of Democratic black officeholders, and the scarcity of Republicans, it was deemed essential to select as many Republican officeholders as possible.¹³ A third criterion was sex. The roster of Michigan officeholders showed

far fewer females than males in elective offices; so conscious effort was made to select women for the sample. The final criterion was level of office held. Efforts were made to select officeholders from federal, state, county and municipal levels, and from all branches of office -- executive, legislative, educational, judicial and administrative.

The specific offices held by blacks in the final sample are represented in Table 1.

The argument may be advanced that statistical tests involving significance levels are not appropriate for this study because the sample was selected on a quota basis, and was not only truly random. To counter this argument, the point may be made that statistical tests based on probabilistic assumptions may be used because, chance did play some part in sample selection although the canons of randomness were only approximated. This point is corroborated by Kerlinger's statement that it is possible for quota sampling to "achieve representativeness, (although) it lacks the virtues of random sampling."¹⁴ Secondly, it may also be argued that this group of officeholders represents a sample of black elected officials in the nation at large, and in Michigan over time.

TABLE 1

Elective Offices Held by Members of the Sample

<u>Office</u>	<u>Number</u>
Congressman	1
State Senator	3
State Representative	16
College Board of Trustees Member	6
Judge	15
Sheriff	2
County Commissioner	10
County Register of Deeds	1
County Clerk	1
County Auditor	1
City Councilperson	28
Mayor	6
City Clerk	2
Township Clerk	5
Township Trustee	1
Township Treasurer	3
Township Supervisor	2
School Board	16
Total	119

Definition and Operationalization of Variables

Dependent Variable

1) Black Consciousness. The sole dependent variable of this study, black consciousness, is a multi-dimensional concept that refers to the extent to which the individual views commitment to an identity as a black as important. For purposes of this study this value configuration is operationalized as a multivariate concept consisting of items that measure attitude toward a diversity of socio-political issues, all with racial ramifications. In Chapter IV, the way in which a scale was constructed from these items is reported in detail. At this stage the aim is to briefly comment on the reasons why it is believed that the five items in the scale are reliable indicators of the concept -- black consciousness.

It was previously stated in Chapter II that black consciousness is a multi-dimensional concept that makes normative statements about the social, psychological, political, and cultural aspects of black life. The scale construction procedures (outlined in detail in Chapter IV) showed that five items may be used to empirically measure black consciousness. Fortunately, each of the five items made precisely the normative judgements about the political, social, psychological and cultural factors that the theoretical literature assigned importance to in defining black consciousness. The five items included in the scale were: 1) attitude to black political caucuses; 2) attitude to metropolitan power¹⁵; 3) attitude to black elected officials giving priority to black constituents; 4) attitude to the

teaching to black history in schools; and 5) attitude to black Americans lobbying for Africa.

The idea that the political process should be used as an instrument to advance the social interests of blacks, which is assumed to be different from that of others in the society, is represented by items 1, 2, and 3. The exact nature of the questions concerning these items is contained in section 48, 61, and 47 respectively of the questionnaire. While these items are explicitly political in nature it is obvious that they also refer to the social and psychological dimensions of black consciousness. Implicitly, they address the issue of the type of social relations blacks should have with whites -- the social dimensions of the concept; also they probe the extent to which a positive psychological commitment to blacks has been adopted -- the psychological component of the concept.

The other two items in the scale are measured by section 57, and 75 respectively of the questionnaire. The first seeks to discover the extent to which the cultural heritage of blacks is judged to be important; the second inquires into whether racial commonalities are viewed as sufficient grounds for the formation of a collective identity.

Independent Variables

This research tests three major hypotheses concerning black consciousness. One, that it is a function of extent of commitment to a career as a public officeholder; two, that it is a function of degree of partisan commitment; and, three, that it is a function of social

and personal characteristics. These three concepts will be measured by a number of variables, each of which will be discussed individually.

Commitment to a Career as a Public Official

The variables that will measure the hypotheses related to this concept are:

- 1) length of time in public office;
- 2) length of time in present office;
- 3) number of offices held;
- 4) number of offices sought;
- 5) political campaign experience;
- 6) level of office held;
- 7) political ambition;
- 8) racial composition of district;
- 9) type of electoral district.

1) Period of time in elective office: Intuitively, it seems reasonable to argue that people who spend an extended period of their lives in any occupation will be more committed to that vocation than those whose sojourn in the occupation has been shorter. Similarly, it is unlikely that someone who is uncommitted to a public career will remain in public office long. Thus the period of time that an individual has held public office may be construed as an indicator of the extent of their commitment to public office.

For the purpose of this study, time spent in public life will be measured in terms of number of years in office, both elective and

and appointive. The lowest possible score on this variable is "1" representing a period of one year or less in office.

2) Length of time in present held office: Again length of time spent in present office is another way of looking at the extent of one's commitment to a political career. The concept as used in this research refers to the length of time that a respondent had held the office that he/she was in at the time of the interview. By this definition, for respondents who were first appointed to the currently held office and subsequently sought election to it, the period of time serving as an appointee would not be included in the length of time in presently held office. The lowest score on this item is "1", representing one year or less in office.

3) Number of offices held: This is yet another way of viewing how committed one is to politics. As number of offices held increases, it is a fair surmise that commitment to a public career also grows stronger. As operationalized, the variable refers to all public offices held, both appointive and elective. As all interviewees held at least one elective office the lowest possible score on this index is "1".

4) Number of times office was sought: As in the preceding discussion, it seems logical that attempting to seek office is a fair indicator of one's commitment to office-holding. The variable refers to the number of times that an individual ran for an elective position, regardless of whether it was attained. By definition, all individuals in the sample would have had to have sought office at least once (if not, they could not be in the sample). So the

lowest possible score on this measurement is "1".

5) Political campaign experience: Officeholders who participated in political campaigns before seeking office themselves may be assumed to be more committed to public life than those who didn't. Admittedly, the latter assumption may not be valid in all cases, because it is conceivable that participation in political campaigns may lower one's interest in politics; however, this is unlikely to be the case among members of this sample, because as used in this study, this variable refers only to political campaign experience engaged in before personal office was sought. As all persons with political campaign experience later held office, it is unlikely that their commitment to politics diminished after having participated in campaigns.

6) Importance of office held: It is common knowledge that offices differ in their importance, that is, in terms of the authority and the power that inheres in them, and the benefits that they confer. Thus officeholders in more important offices may be assumed to be more committed to public office because of the gains, personal and otherwise, that are offered by the office compared to those who hold less important positions. Importance, of course, can be measured in many ways. For the purpose of this study, three types of measurement will be employed based on three different criteria -- formal level of office, function of office, and attractiveness of office.

a) Formal level of office: This refers to offices on the federal, state, county and local (municipal, township, school board) level. The scale that was created on the basis of this classification

is contained in Table 2.

b) Function of office: This refers to offices in the executive, legislative, judicial, educational and administrative branches of government. The classification of offices according to this criterion is shown in Table 3. Although it may appear ambiguous, executive office is distinguished from administrative office because certain offices that may be thought of as executive are purely administrative in the power they confer (e.g., city clerk, county register of deeds) and they really are not the source of policy decisions. So, while I classify a mayoral position as executive, I classify a city clerk as administrative; clearly the powers, prerogatives, and responsibilities of both jobs are very different. In other words, their functions differ.

c) Attractiveness of office: This is the most difficult criterion of office importance to measure, because it is essentially subjective. Nonetheless, three objective criteria may be used for rating offices in terms of their attractiveness:

- 1) degree and direction of movement from one office to another;
- 2) benefits conferred by office (e.g., salary, status, authority);
- and 3) costs and risks of office (for example, short vs. long terms, large electoral body vs. small electoral body, etc.).

While it is not possible to unambiguously rank all offices in terms of these three criteria, it is possible to use them to sketch some sort of hierarchy. For example, it would seem plausible that a governorship would be more attractive than a lieutenant governorship, that a state senatorial position would be more attractive than a state

TABLE 2

Formal Level of Office

Federal	=	U.S. Senator, Congressman.
State	=	Secretary of State, State Senator, State Representative, Attorney General, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, University Board of Trustees, Supreme Court Judge.
County	=	County Commissioner, County Clerk, County Register of Deeds, County Auditor, Probate Court Judge, Circuit Court Judge, Community College Board of Trustees, Sheriff.
Municipal and Local	=	Township Supervisor, Township Clerk, Township Treasurer, Mayor, Township Trustee, City Councilman, City Clerk, Traffic Referee, District Court Judge, Municipal Court Judge, Court of Common Pleas, Recorder's Court Judge, School Board.

TABLE 3

Function of Office

Executive	=	Mayor, Township Supervisor.
Legislative	=	State Senator, State Representative, County Commissioner, Congressman, U.S. Senator, City Councilman.
Judicial	=	Sheriff, Judges (all types).

Administrative = County Register of Deeds, County Clerk,
County Auditor, Township Clerk, Township
Trustee, City Clerk, Township Treasurer.

Educational = University Board of Trustees, School Board,
Community College Board of Trustees.

TABLE 4

Attractiveness of Office

Most Attractive Office	1 - Senator, Governor. 2 - State Supreme Court Judge. 3 - Lieutenant Governor, Congressman. 4 - State Senator, University Board of Trustees, Court of Appeals Judge. 5 - Mayor, Circuit Court Judge, Re- corders Court Judge. 6 - Sheriff, City Clerk, Register of Deeds, County Clerk, City Auditor, District Judge, Probate Court Judge, Court of Common Pleas Judge. 7 - County Commisioner, City Councilman, Township Treasurer, Township Clerk, Township Trustee, Township Super- visor, Municipal Court Judge, Comm- unity College Board of Trustees, School Board.
Least Attractive Office	8 - Board of Review, Charter Commissioner, Bailliff.

house seat, and that a city council position would be evaluated as more attractive than membership on a school board. Unfortunately, it is not possible to rank all offices as easily as these. For example, is a Supreme Court Judgeship more attractive than a Congressional office? It is difficult to answer this question since there is rarely little movement between the two, and both confer roughly the same benefits; however, Congressional office requires running for election every two years and the Supreme Court every ten years. This example demonstrates the inherent difficulty in accurately ranking offices in terms of attractiveness. Nonetheless, while mindful of the difficulties attendant to creating this type of schema, some approximation may be made. Table 4 represents the hierarchical ordering of offices in terms of attractiveness that will be used in this study.

7) Political ambition: As noted before, the essence of the concept, political ambition, is aspiration for office. The assumption is that those who aspire for the most important offices may be deemed to be more committed to public office, than those who place their office goals at lower heights. If political ambition is used as one indicator of extent of commitment to office, a progressive ambition may be construed as a higher level of ambition, and hence a higher degree of office commitment than static or discrete ambitions. A static ambition, in turn, represents a higher level of office commitment than a discrete ambition. In this way political ambition may be operationalized as an ordinal construct, although it is commonly defined in categorical terms.

8) Racial composition of electoral district: The racial composition of an electoral district is hypothesized to be related to black consciousness, because constituents are expected to differ in their perceptions of black consciousness among their elected representatives. Thus a black officeholder is expected to adjust his black consciousness to the racial composition of his constituency. As operationalized for this study, racial composition of district refers to the proportion of the district's population that is black. Note that the unit of reference is the district's population, not its voting population. Ideally, the latter information is really what was desired, however it was less available than the former.¹⁶ The ratio of blacks to white in one's district was obtained from the interviewees. In a few cases where a respondent was unaware of the racial composition of the total population, but was informed of the racial composition of the voting population, the latter information was used as a substitute for the former. In the case of three respondents who did not know either, this researcher obtained information about the population's racial composition from official records and included this information in the interviewee's questionnaire.

9) Type of electoral district: Because of the fact that electoral districts generally differ in their racial composition, it is expected that different types of districts will be related to different levels of black consciousness. Electoral districts may be of two types: district and at-large.

Partisan Commitment

The following variables will measure extent of commitment to partisan interests:

- 1) Political party affiliate or non-affiliate;
- 2) Political party officeholder or non-holder;
- 3) Partisan or non-partisan officeholder;
- 4) Evaluation of one's personal relationship with political parties.

- 1) Political party affiliate or non-affiliate: This refers to whether one states that one is a member of a political party.
- 2) Political party officeholder or non-holder: This refers to whether or not one has held or continues to hold any political party office, including precinct delegate. It should be noted that as operationalized the variable does not necessarily refer to office held in the political party with which the respondent was affiliated at the time of the interview. Likewise it is possible for an officeholder to have held political party office in more than one party. As only two alternatives are possible for this variable (either one has held political party office or not) it is operationalized as a dichotomous, categorical variable.
- 3) Partisan or non-partisan officeholder: This indicator of partisan commitment is operationalized in terms of whether the officeholder held partisan or non-partisan office at the time of the interview.
- 4) Evaluation of personal relationship with political parties: The way officeholders rate their relationships with political parties is a logical indicator of how important partisan interests are to them. It seems unlikely that one who evaluates their party relationship in

negative terms will be highly committed to partisan concerns. Operationalized for this study, this variable is measured by a five-point Likert-type scale ranking party relationship as excellent, good, O.K., fair, poor.

Social and Personal Background Characteristics

Several variables will be used as indicators of social and personal characteristics. These are:

- 1) Region of state where office is held;
- 2) Socio-economic status;
- 3) Age;
- 4) Sex;
- 5) Region of socialization;
- 6) Political awareness.

1) Region of state where office is held: The most noticeable line of regional differentiation in Michigan is between instate and outstate areas of the state. Broadly speaking, the instate area encompasses the largest industrial and urban centers of the state, and the outstate area is primarily a rural, farming region.¹⁷ In terms of the urban/rural dichotomy, instate officeholders are likely to be more urban than rural in orientation, and outstate officeholders the reverse. Most members of the sample are elected by constituencies in one of these two regions. The lone exception are those who hold statewide office. If these are treated as a separate category, the concept "region of state where office is held" may be treated as a trichotomous categorical variable: instate, outstate, and statewide.

However, despite the fact that the constituencies of "statewide officeholders" are located neither solely instate nor outstate, these officeholders still live in one of these regions. So in addition to being treated as a separate category they will also be included in the instate or outstate categories, thereby testing the hypotheses concerning region where office is held in two different ways.

2) Socio-economic status: This concept is commonly measured by a diversity of individual items such as education, occupation and income, or by a composite of all three. For several reasons we rule out the use of a composite measure because all three items were not adequately correlated with each other. The three measures of SES that will be used are occupation, education, and salary from office, although occupation will most commonly be used. The rationale for using all three items individually is adequately expressed by Robert Alford thus:

Occupation can probably be used as a convenient way of measuring social class behavior. For a comparative study of voting behavior, occupation is probably the best single indicator. But the effect of other status characteristics should be examined as well -- not to show the deficiencies of occupation as an index of class position, but to clarify the complex ways in which people in roughly similar positions may differ politically.¹⁸

This point is reiterated in The American Voter. The authors of this work state that among the objective indicators of class "occupation tends to predict political attitudes and voting most efficiently."¹⁹

In an attempt to assess the validity of the statement that occupation is just as good as indicator of other measure of socio-economic status, a correlation matrix of several dimensions of

socio-economic status was drawn up. The inter-item correlation coefficients of the three measures of SES vary from .2 to .4 to .6. Since occupation and education are so highly correlated ($r = .6$) it seems justifiable to use the former as an indication of the latter. However, as office salary and occupation are not too highly corre-

TABLE 5

Inter-item Correlations of SES Items

	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Salary		.4820	.2932
Education	.4820		.6538
Occupation	.2932	.6538	

lated ($r = .29$), this suggests that salary is a qualitatively different aspect of SES than occupation.²⁰ It may even be argued that salary from office is really not a measure of socio-economic status at all, but is really a measure of the monetary value of the office to the officeholder. However, it is included in the study as an indicator of socio-economic status because it does in many instances contribute to the overall SES of an officeholder.

Occupational status is measured in terms of the twelve category classification used by the Bureau of the Census. This index was then re-classified into six categories according to the Alba Edwards occupational scale.²¹ A score of "1" indicates high SES, "6" indicates low SES.

Salary is measured in terms of the actual salary from office

reported in the interview. Therefore it is a continuous variable, ranging from zero to 40,000 (\$40,000 is the highest salary received by any officeholder).

3) Age: Age refers to the exact age of the respondent at the time that interview took place. For purposes of this study, it is operationalized both as a categorical construct and in its natural continuous form. As a categorical construct, it consists of three categories: young, middle-aged, elderly. The category "young" encompasses respondents 35 years or under; "middle-aged" refers to respondents between 35 and 50 years of age; finally, "elderly" refers to all those respondents who are over 50.

4) Sex: Sex is operationalized as a dichotomous categorical variable -- males and females.

5) Region of socialization: This refers to the area of the country where the respondent spent the first twenty years of life. The variable will be operationalized into three regions -- "Michigan," "the North," and "the South." At some points in the data analysis the two regions, "Michigan" and "the North," will be collapsed into one category, thereby creating only two regions, "north" and "south."²²

6) Age of development of political awareness: This variable tells something about the family and community background of the officeholder. The question that measured it stated, "At about what age did you first become interested in political issues, and why do you think your interest developed at that time?" The answer was open-ended, and the responses were recoded into five age categories: 1-10 yrs; 11-20 yrs; 21-30 yrs; 31-40 yrs; 41-50 yrs.

Statement of Hypotheses

From the theoretical discussion of Chapter II, the following research hypotheses have been derived, and will be tested in the following chapter.

Office Commitment

- Major Hypothesis 1:** Black consciousness and degree of office commitment will be inversely related.
- Sub-hypothesis 1:** Officeholders who have spent longer time in present office will be less black conscious than those who have been in office a shorter period of time.
- Sub-hypothesis 2:** Officeholders who have been in office longer (both appointive and elective) will be less black conscious than those whose sojourn in office has been shorter.
- Sub-hypothesis 3:** Officeholders who had held many offices would be less black conscious than those who hadn't.
- Sub-hypothesis 4:** Officeholders who had sought more offices would be less black conscious than those who hadn't.
- Sub-hypothesis 5:** Officeholders who hold different types of office will show different degrees of black consciousness.
- Sub-hypothesis 6:** Officeholders who hold offices higher up in the office echelon in the formal level of office hierarchy will show lower black consciousness than those who hold lower level offices.
- Sub hypothesis 7:** Officeholders in more attractive offices will be less black conscious than those in less attractive offices.
- Sub-hypothesis 8:** Officeholders who are more ambitious will be less black conscious than those who are less ambitious.

- Sub-hypothesis 9: Officeholders who hold offices in districts with a high proportion of blacks will be more black conscious than those in low proportion black districts.
- Sub-hypothesis 10: Type of electoral district and black consciousness will be significantly related.
- Sub-hypothesis 11: Political ambition and racial composition of district will interactively be related to black consciousness.
- Sub-hypothesis 12: Officeholders with political campaign experience will be less black conscious than those without.

Partisan Commitment

- Major Hypothesis II: Black consciousness and degree of partisan commitment will be inversely related.
- Sub-hypothesis 13: Officeholders who evaluate their party relationships favorably will be less black conscious than those who evaluate their party relationships less favorably.
- Sub-hypothesis 14: Officeholders who are closely affiliated with political parties will be less black conscious than those who are not.
- Sub-hypothesis 15: Officeholders who are Independent will be more black conscious than those who are Democrats or Republicans.
- Sub-hypothesis 16: Republicans will be least black conscious, Independents more black conscious, and Democrats will show a level of black consciousness between the two preceding groups.
- Sub-hypothesis 17: Officeholders who hold political party office will be less black conscious than those who did not hold this type of office.

Social and Personal Characteristics

- Major Hypothesis III: Black consciousness will be a function of social and personal characteristics.
- Sub-hypothesis 18: Officeholders with higher occupational status will exhibit greater black consciousness than those of lower occupational status.

- Sub-hypothesis 19: Officeholders with higher office salary will exhibit greater black consciousness than those with lower office salary.
- Sub-hypothesis 20: Officeholders with higher educational status will be more black conscious than those of lower educational status.
- Sub-hypothesis 21: Officeholders who were reared in the North will exhibit greater black consciousness than those reared in the South.
- Sub-hypothesis 22: Officeholders who hold office instate will be more black conscious than those who hold office outstate.
- Sub-hypothesis 23: Officeholders who are male will be more black conscious than females.
- Sub-hypothesis 24: Younger officeholders will be more black conscious than those who are older.
- Sub-hypothesis 25: Officeholders who became interested in politics earlier in life will be more black conscious than those whose political interests developed later.

FOOTNOTES

1. Wade H. McCree, Jr. "Law and Politics" in the Negro in Michigan, Michigan State Chamber of Commerce, June 1968, p. 17.
2. Among the notables that defected were Attorneys Harold E. Bledsoe, and Joseph A. Craiger, Reverend Charles C. Diggs Sr., and Joseph Coles. For an account of the political activities of these men see A Handbook on the Detroit Negro, Ulysees W. Boykin, Minority Study Associates, Detroit, Michigan, 1943.
3. Richard B. Sherman, The Republican Party and Black America From McKinley to Hoover, 1896-1933 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973).
4. Carolyn Steiber, The Politics of Change of Michigan, Michigan State University Press, 1970.
5. Stephen B. and Vera H. Sarasohn, Political Party Patterns in Michigan (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1957).
6. Traditionally, these two political parties have been characterized by deep ideological differences. Norman Thomas points out that they have differed most sharply about economic issues such as taxes, government financing; White and Owens note that their differences "are more pronounced than in most states. Economic interests divide fairly clearly along political lines, and this is reflected strongly in the financial base of both the Republican and Democratic parties." Nonetheless, Sarasohn and Sarasohn note that each party attempts to appeal to their opposing interests in areas where their strength is low. So, conceivably, around the instate area where Republicans strength is low, and there are many blacks, we should find some black Republicans. For a discussion of the differences between Republican and Democratic parties in Michigan see the following: Stephen and Vera Sarasohn, op. cit., Parties and Politics in Michigan: A Symposium. Michigan Citizenship Clearing House, Ann Arbor 1961; Robert Lee Sawyer, The Democratic State Central Committee in Michigan, 1949-1959; The Rise of the New Political Leadership. Ann Arbor Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, 1960.
7. Wade H. McCree Jr., op. cit., p. 18.

8. Robert Lee Sawyer, Jr. Democratic State Central Committee in Michigan 1949-1959, Institute of Public Administration, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1960.
9. See Appendix 41 for the interview schedule.
10. Of these officeholders two were city councilpersons, two were school board members, and one was a district judge.
11. For a discussion of this problem see the following: Shirley Hatchett and Howard Schuman, "The Effects of Black and White Interviewers on White Responses," 1974, Unpublished paper. University of Michigan. Daisy Quarm, "Do Black Interviewer Effects Exist?" Unpublished paper. Ann Arbor: Detroit Area Study, The University of Michigan. Howard Schuman and Jean M. Converse, "The Effect of Black and White Interviewers on Black Responses," Public Opinion Quarterly 35: 44-68.
12. The distinction between instate vs. outstate Michigan is commonly used in the literature on Michigan politics. See, for example, Norman Thomas, "Michigan's Party System: Blessing or Curse," op. cit.; Stephen and Vera Sarasohn, op. cit., p. 112; Robert Lee Sawyer, Jr., op. cit., p. 2. When used by these authors, the instate area refers to either the Wayne County area solely or the Wayne, Oakland and Macomb county area; in other words, it is used to refer to south-eastern Michigan. For the purpose of this study, therefore, the "instate" area includes metropolitan Detroit, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Flint, and Pontiac.
13. Information concerning who were Republicans was obtained from two of the officeholders who ran as Republicans. This is the only way that this information could be obtained a priori as many of the black Republicans in the state hold judicial office, and therefore, are non-partisan.
14. Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, Second Edition, Holt Rinehart & Winston Inc., 1973, p. 416.
15. The issue of metropolitan power was interpreted as a racial issue by 94% of the sample. The remaining 6% had never heard of the idea. So, the majority of the respondents who were cognizant of the ramifications of the issue, were also aware of its racial consequences.
16. When respondents were asked about the racial composition of the voters in their electoral districts only 15% reported that they knew this. These were mainly state legislators, congressional members, and city councilmen who were elected at-large.

17. The instate area encompassed the area in the vicinity of the following cities: Detroit, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Flint, and Pontiac. See footnote 12.
18. Robert R. Alford, Party and Society (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963).
19. Agnus Campbell et al., The American Voter, John Wiley and Sons, 1960. See also A. H. Birch, Small Town Problems (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 104-8 for a brief discussion of the problems of classifying occupations into "classes".
20. That salary from office is not significantly correlated with occupational status is not surprising as many officeholders who receive little or no remuneration from office, for example, university trustee members, rank highly on this measure of SES.
21. Alba E. Edwards, Occupational Classification, United States Census.
22. States that are considered southern are:

Alabama	Kentucky	South Carolina
Arkansas	Louisiana	Tennessee
Washington, D.C.	Maryland	Texas
Delaware	Mississippi	Virginia
Florida	Oklahoma	West Virginia
Georgia	North Carolina	

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Introduction

There were three parts to this analysis. First I constructed a scale to empirically measure the dependent variable of the study -- black consciousness. Then, I tested the hypothesis generated from the theoretical discussion of Chapter II. I tested this hypothesis as follows: first, I looked for significant, univariate relationships between black consciousness and each of the factors presumed to affect black consciousness -- for example, level of office held, political ambition, age, etc. When factors were categorical, I used analysis of variance and T-tests. When factors were continuous, I calculated the correlation; in a few cases where I thought it would facilitate understanding, I constructed a categorical variable from the continuous measure, and used analysis of variance or T-test procedures.

Throughout the univariate analysis, controls were introduced because univariate tests are not always accurate. When a relationship is significant, it may actually be spurious. For example, time spent in office may be negatively and significantly related to black consciousness. However, the relationship may not be as significant as it seems to be. It is quite possible that older people have less black consciousness, and also have been in office longer. So, time in office may actually be picking up the effect of age. Similarly when an expected relationship

is not significant, this does not always mean that there is no relationship. For instance, suppose political ambition and black consciousness are positively related, with age controlled. By looking only at the relationship between ambition and black consciousness, without controlling for age, this significant relationship would be overlooked.

I therefore check for spurious relationships in two ways. First, for each variable I ask the question -- does controlling for any of the other variables in the study alter the univariate relationship with black consciousness very much? To do this, I compute partial correlations between the particular independent variable one at a time. I also perform an additional test for each of the political variables. Here, I ask the question, do the effects of political variables with black consciousness still hold once the demographic characteristics of officeholders are all controlled? To answer this question, I regress black consciousness against all the personal and social characteristic variables along with the political variable that is being considered. All results from these two control checks are reported in the appendices. The text only discusses results which cause a significant change in the univariate relationships.

In the final stage of the analysis I introduce a multivariate statistical method -- multiple regression -- in order to build a prediction model which will permit me to determine which factors conjointly are the best predictors of black consciousness.

Creation of Scale to Measure Black Consciousness

Cluster-Analysis

The measure of black consciousness is critical to this study. While it has been measured before, no one has tried to measure it from a political perspective. This research attempts to fill this gap in the methodological explorations of the concept. In measuring a concept two criteria dictate the items that should be included as dimensions: internal homogeneity and diffuseness. In this study, I placed value on both these criteria because I wanted a concept that was a relatively "pure" measure of black consciousness as well as one which was broad enough to include the social, psychological, cultural and political dimensions that were suggested by the theoretical literature to be its salient aspects. To achieve both internal homogeneity and diffuseness, therefore, I decided to include in the concept's domain only those items that 1) clustered significantly with each other to yield a reasonably high reliability coefficient, and 2) that tapped the four critical dimensions of the concept.

The items that were clustered were:

- 1) Attitude toward bussing.
- 2) Attitude toward segregated education.
- 3) Attitude toward community control of schools.
- 4) Attitude toward teaching "black history" in schools.
- 5) Attitude toward the return of black trained graduates to the black community.
- 6) Attitude toward black Americans lobbying on behalf of Africa.
- 7) Attitude toward the creation of a black political party.
- 8) Attitude toward black political caucuses.

- 9) Attitude toward metropolitan power.
- 10) Attitude toward "Black English".
- 11) Attitude toward black elected leaders giving priority to their black constituents.

The cluster analysis showed that of the foregoing eleven items, five clustered significantly. These were:

- 1) Attitude toward black political caucuses.
- 2) Attitude toward metropolitan power.
- 3) Attitude toward black elected officials giving priority to black constituents.
- 4) Attitude toward black history in schools.
- 5) Attitude toward black Americans lobbying on behalf of Africa.

The inter-correlations of these items are contained in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Inter-Item Correlation Coefficients of Items
In the Black Consciousness Scale

	Black Caucuses	Priority to Blacks	Lobbying for Africa	Metropolitan Power	Attitude to Black History
Black Caucuses		.41	.26	.22	.23
Priority to Blacks	.41		.33	.36	.28
Lobbying for Africa	.26	.33		.15	.90
Metropolitan Power	.22	.36	.15		.12
Attitude to Black History	.23	.28	.90	.12	

The items that failed to cluster were:

- 1) Attitude toward bussing.
- 2) Attitude toward community control.
- 3) Attitude toward "black English".
- 4) Attitude toward black business.
- 5) Attitude toward a black political party.
- 6) Attitude toward the return of black graduates to the black community.
- 7) Attitude toward segregated education.

If a correlation matrix is consulted, some light may be shed on why the preceding seven items failed to cluster with the other five. As may be gleaned from Table 2, the items that clustered were generally not strongly associated with those that didn't. The reason seems to be that there was not much variation in the items that failed to cluster. This may be best demonstrated by an examination of the frequencies. (See Appendix 1 for the frequency distributions.)

With regard to the bussing issue, the predominant attitude was favorable. Fifty-five percent favored it strongly, and 18% partially. A majority also disapproved to some extent of segregated education. Forty-six percent were strongly against it, and 10% partially. However, 30% said they were partially in favor of it, but this response was usually accompanied by the caveat, "If it was both segregated and equal." Only 13% strongly supported it.

While black consciousness may not be incompatible with educational integration, it does seem to be incompatible with extreme forms of separation. Only six members of the sample (5.1%) supported the idea of an all-black political party.¹ The majority (94.9%) completely rejected

TABLE 2

Correlation of Items that Clustered with Items that Did Not

Items That Clustered	Items That Did Not Cluster						
	Community Control	Black Party	Bussing	Segregated Education	Black Business	Black English	Return of Blacks To Community
Priority to Blacks	.0718* .091**	.1984 .016	.0709 .233	.1134 .110	-.0639 .250	-.0872 .173	-.1890 .027
Black Caucuses	.1311 .117	.0194 .417	.1237 .101	-.0062 .473	.0466 .311	.0963 .149	-.1723 .039
Metropolitan Power	.1496 .096	.0811 .191	.1438 .069	-.0616 .253	-.0499 .299	-.1324 .076	-.0355 .360
Teaching Black History	.1286 .113	.1175 .103	.0889 .180	.1101 .117	-.2210 .009	.1175 .103	-.0461 .320
Lobbying for Africa	.1175 .101	.1093 .119	.0554 .284	.1395 .065	-.2025 .015	.1093 .119	-.0798 .209

*Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient

**Significance

it. The idea of community input into education was supported by nearly 60%, and complete community control of education by only 22%. Interestingly, 18% favored neither community input nor control. Disapproval of black English was also strong (73%). Finally, as many as 58% favored the idea that black graduates of higher educational institutions should not return to the black community.

The findings from the cluster analysis support one of my basic arguments stated in Chapters I and II, namely, that black consciousness does not refer solely to attitudes toward whites or the ideal type of race relations. Admittedly, these ideas are implicitly connoted by it; however, in addition, it refers more to attitudes toward one's group. The black conscious may favor bussing, and integrated education because close association with whites in certain spheres of activity may not necessarily be perceived as a challenge to the idea of strong group solidarity. To be black conscious seems to imply the creation of strong group unity, through for example, black political caucuses, black-controlled political units, education that teaches about the black heritage, effective lobby associations, and international linkages among blacks. In other words, black consciousness refers to the creation of black political caucuses, but not a black political party; culturally relevant curricula, not segregated schools; local control of governmental units, but not total control of education by the community. Succinctly expressed, black consciousness has more to do with encouragement of a distinctive group identity than with total group isolation or group assimilation.

Scale Construction

I used a summing procedure to construct the black consciousness scale. Because each of the five items that clustered had the strongest black consciousness response coded as "1", the summing technique resulted in the lowest possible score on the scale being 5, the strongest black conscious score possible; the highest value on the scale was 15, the weakest black conscious response.²

Two methods were used to judge the reliability of the scale. First I examined how each of the items in the scale correlated with the overall scale. Table 3 indicates that all of the items were strongly related to the constructed scale.

TABLE 3

Correlation of the Items in the Black Consciousness
Scale With the Overall Scale

Items	Black Consciousness Scale
Black Caucuses	.5851
Priority to Blacks	.6646
Attitude to Black History	.7962
Metropolitan Power	.5072
Lobbying for Africa	.8326

Next I examined the internal consistency of the scale by calculating a reliability coefficient. The inter-item correlation between the five items was high enough to produce a reliability coefficient (coefficient alpha) equal to .72,³ which attests to the internal homogeneity of the items. This reliability coefficient is surprisingly high given the

diffuseness of the concept that was measured, the heterogeneity of the items included in the concept, and the fact that they had a varied format. I deliberately chose to vary the format of items in the construction of the questionnaire in order to reduce the uniform response-set bias that contributes spuriously to high inter-item correlations in many indexes.⁴

Hypothesis Testing

This research is designed to determine the factors that induce some black officeholders to identify with their race and induce others to avoid such identification. Two sets of factors are posited to be important indicators of variation in this form of intra-group identification: 1) political factors related to officeholding needs and partisan attachment; and 2) sociological factors that emerge from the personal and social characteristics of members of the group. The justification for selecting these two groups of factors was discussed in Chapter II, and their mode of operationalization was presented in Chapter III. In this section I analyze and interpret the relationship between these two sets of factors and black intra-group identification in order to answer the following three research hypotheses.

HYPOTHESIS I: The greater the commitment to a career as a public officeholder, the lower will be the level of black consciousness.

HYPOTHESIS II: The greater the commitment to partisan interests, the lower will be the level of black consciousness.

HYPOTHESIS III: Black consciousness will be a function of social and personal characteristics.

The procedure for testing the research hypotheses will be as follows: first, I will look at the bivariate relationship of each

independent variable with black consciousness; then, I will control for all other independent variables in the study one at a time by using partial correlational tests; finally, I will control at one time for all the measures of social and personal characteristics, since personal differences are commonly the most significant lines of attitudinal differentiation. To do this, I will employ multiple regression procedures.

Major Hypothesis I: Commitment to a career as a public officeholder will be inversely related to black consciousness.

The first major hypothesis of this study is that there will be an inverse relationship between commitment to a career as a public officeholder and black consciousness. This study measures commitment to an office career in terms of strength or type of political ambition, number of offices sought, number of offices held, period of time spent in elective office, importance of office held, and political campaign experience. This section explores the univariate relationship of each of these factors with the dependent variable (black consciousness).

Period of Time Spent in Office

Period of time spent in office is assumed to be an indicator of extent of commitment to a career in public office. Specifically it is expected that the longer the period of time spent in office, the lower will be the level of black consciousness. As the length of time spent in office varies from three months to twenty-two years among respondents in the sample, it is possible to test whether variation in length of sojourn in office is really associated with variation in black consciousness. The null-hypothesis tested was:

Null-hypothesis: Variation in the length of time spent in office will not be associated with variation in extent of black consciousness.

The data indicated that the null-hypothesis must be rejected. Length of time spent in office was weakly but significantly related at the .05 level with variation in black consciousness. Incumbents who had been in office longer tended to show lower black consciousness than those who spent shorter time in office.

Ironically, when tests were made to discover whether length of time in present office was also positively associated with black consciousness, no significant relationship was found (see Table 4). This lack of association was not altered by controlling for each of the other independent variables in the study one at a time (Appendix 2) and for the demographic variables (Appendix 3). So, while total time in office is positively associated with black consciousness, time in present office is not.

TABLE 4

Black Consciousness and Commitment to an Office Career

	No. of Years In Elective Office	No. of Years In Present Office	No. of Offices Sought	No. of Times Office Sought
Pearson r	.1608	.0162	.0244	.0754
Significance	.040	.430	.396	.317

Perhaps those who had spent longer time in elective office had sought and held more offices than those who had spent shorter time in office. If this were so, number of offices sought, and number of offices held should also be positively related to black consciousness.

Contrary to expectations, neither number of offices held,⁵ nor number of offices sought⁶ were associated with variation in black

consciousness. This suggests that perhaps the observed association between black consciousness and length of time in elective office is spurious.

Controls were introduced to ascertain whether one of the other independent variables were creating a spurious relationship. The control relationships are reported in Appendix 8. Only one factor caused the relationship to disappear -- age (Partial $r = .0850$, sig. = .182). Age is positively and significantly related to length of time in office, and to black consciousness. Thus when age is controlled, the relationship between length of time in office and black consciousness disappears because the latter two variables share a common association with age. Officeholders who have been in office longer tend to be older, and older age is associated with lower black consciousness. Seemingly, the observed relationship between period of time in office and black consciousness is actually an age relationship.

When I controlled for all personal and social characteristics at one time using multiple regression, the original relationship of period of time in office and black consciousness became more significant. Appendix 9 reports these findings.

Political Campaign Experience

While it may not always be the case, this study assumes that incumbents who participated in political campaigns prior to being elected to office will be more committed to a career in public office than those who lacked previous campaign experience. Campaign experience should therefore be associated with lower black consciousness than non-experience. The null-hypothesis tested was:

Null-hypothesis: There will be no difference in black consciousness levels between respondents with previous political campaign experience and those without.

As Table 5 shows, the findings not only reject the null-hypothesis, but show that previous campaign experience actually encourages black consciousness. The experienced in campaigns had higher levels of black consciousness ($\bar{X} = 9.2$) than those without experience ($\bar{X} = 10.6$).

TABLE 5

Political Campaign Experience and Black Consciousness

Campaign Experience	N	Mean	T	Df	Prob.
Yes	31	9.1935	-2.22	57.3	.031
No	88	10.5682			

Perhaps this surprising finding may be explained as follows. Those officeholders with previous political campaign experience are those who may have become interested in politics at an early age, and age at which one becomes interested in politics increases black consciousness. But even with age of development of political awareness controlled, the positive association of campaign experience and black consciousness remained significant at the .05 level (Partial $r = .1847$, sig. = .047). Appendix 10 shows the control findings. When I controlled for all the social characteristics conjointly the relationship did become less significant but remained significant at the .10 level. Appendix 11 reports these findings.

Importance of Office Held

Commitment to a public career was also measured by importance of office held on the assumption that officeholders who hold more important offices will be more committed to a career as a public officeholder than officeholders who hold less significant offices. Importance of office was operationalized in three different ways: 1) function of office; 2) formal level of office; and 3) attractiveness of office.

Function of Office: As officeholders differed in the functions they performed, these differences could be related to different types of value-orientation. I tested this hypothesis -- black consciousness varies with function of office. Function of office is a categorical construct, and so one-way analysis of variance procedures were used to test this relationship. Stated in its null form the posited relationship was that:

Null-hypothesis: There will be no difference in level of black consciousness among respondents in executive, legislative, judicial, educational, or administrative offices.

The test showed that function of office and black consciousness were significantly related at the .05 level of significance (see Table 6). As Table 6 shows, the main cleavage between the five office types was between legislative, executive and educational officeholders on the one hand, and administrative and judicial officeholders on the other. The level of black consciousness of the latter two groups was much lower than that of the former three groups.

Because of the similarity in mean score of judicial and administrative officeholders on the one hand, and executive, legislative and educational officeholders on the other, I created two groups. Judicial

TABLE 6

Function of Office Held and Black Consciousness

Office Function	N	Mean	F Ratio	F Prob.
Executive	23	9.83	3.65	.008
Legislative	42	9.45		
Judicial	17	12.00		
Education	22	9.54		
Administrative	<u>15</u>	<u>11.87</u>		
Total	119	10.21		

and administrative officeholders were lumped together into one group, and executive, legislative, and educational officeholders into another. These two groups did differ significantly on black consciousness as would be expected. When controls were introduced for each of the other independent variables, only one caused the relationship to become insignificant -- type of electoral district (Partial $r = .1007$, sig. = .140) (Appendix 12). Type of electoral district was also positively related to black consciousness; its suppressing effect probably emerged because it accounted for much of the variance between function of office and black consciousness. This would suggest that one of our two groups of officeholders are elected at-large to a greater extent than the other. Cross tabulations of the two groups of officeholders by type of electoral district indicates that this is indeed the case. Those in the judicial and administrative branches are elected at-large far more than the other group (Table 7).

TABLE 7

Function of Office and Type of Electoral District			
Function of Office	Type of District		
	At-Large	Ward	Total
Executive, Legislative, and Educational Office	59.5% (44)	40.5% (30)	62.2% (74)
Judicial and Administrative	95.6% (43)	4.4% (2)	37.8% (45)

Formal Level of Office: Importance of office was also operationalized in terms of the formal governmental level of office -- federal, state, county, local and municipal. As each of these categories may be considered higher than the one below, ordinal statistics could be used to measure its relationship to black consciousness. The relationship was found to be moderately strong and significant, but not in the predicted direction (Pearson $r = .2210$). As office level increased, black consciousness increased also, a finding that contradicts the research hypothesis that posited a decrease in black consciousness as office level increased. To attain a better understanding of the changes in black consciousness from one level of office to another, it is instructive to examine a one-way analysis of variance tests of the same relationship.⁷ Table 8 shows that the level of black consciousness of officeholders at the county ($\bar{X} = 10.4$), and local and municipal levels ($\bar{X} = 10.5$) is almost the same. Significantly, the gap in mean scores between state officeholders ($\bar{X} = 8.7$) and both of the preceding groups is almost two points. The lowest score is registered by one federal officeholder indicating that this cell represents the highest level of

TABLE 8

Formal Level of Office and Black Consciousness

Office Level	N	Mean	Df	F Ratio	F Prob.
Federal	1	5.00	118	2.73	.047
State	18	8.72			
County	27	10.41			
Local and Municipal	<u>73</u>	<u>10.58</u>			
Total	119	10.21			

black consciousness. However, because of the size of the "N" in this latter category, no generalization about the group may be made.

Controls were made to insure that the foregoing relationship was not a result of the confounding effect of any of the other independent variables. Appendix 13 reports these controlled relationships. None were found. When I controlled for personal characteristics all together the original relationship was obliterated by the introduction of the following variables: region of state where office was held; time that interest in politics developed; age; and education. Because of the effect of the foregoing variables the originally significant relationship declined to a F significance of .168. Appendix 14 shows these findings.

Attractiveness of Office: Importance of office was also operationalized in terms of attractiveness of offices. The scale measuring attractiveness had eight categories as originally created; however, because members of the sample held office only in the lower six, the two

uppermost categories were deleted from the scale. Ordinal in nature, the scale lent itself to correlational tests, however, to further examine internal differences between the groups, one-way analysis of variance procedures were also employed. As with the preceding scale that measured importance of office, the research hypothesis posited that as level of office increased, black consciousness would diminish. For the correlational tests the null-hypothesis stated:

Null-hypothesis 1: An increase in office level will not be associated with any changes in level of black consciousness.

For the analysis of variance test the null-hypothesis stated:

Null-hypothesis 2: There will be no difference in the mean scores on the black consciousness scale between officeholders in each level of office.

The correlation analysis did not support the null-hypothesis; there was a weak, but significant relationship between black consciousness and attractiveness of office (Pearson $r = .1385$). The analysis of variance table shows that the extent of change in black consciousness is not uniform (Table 9). Those at the two most attractive levels tend to be more alike in having high black consciousness than those in lower office levels.

When I controlled for the other independent variables, several suppressed the relationship below the .10 level (Appendix 15). These were: time that interest in politics developed; type of electoral district; sex; partisan vs. nonpartisan office; and occupational status. With the exception of occupational status and partisan vs. nonpartisan office, all these variables were directly related to black consciousness in the bivariate tests. With the exception of time that interest in politics developed all the variables were related to the attractiveness of office

TABLE 9

Attractiveness of Office and Black Consciousness

Attractiveness of Office		N	Mean	F Ratio	F Prob.
Most Attractive	1	1	5.00	2.78	.093
	2	18	8.72		
	3	13	11.08		
	4	15	11.73		
	5	70	10.10		
Least Attractive	6	<u>2</u>	<u>13.00</u>		
Total		119	10.21		

scale. The control findings emerged for different reasons because of the differences in bivariate relationships (see Table 10).

Type of electoral district, political party office, political campaign experience, sex, formal level of office, evaluation of party relationship, region of state where office is held, all erased the significance of the relationship between attractiveness of office and black consciousness because they were intervening variables. Since they were related to both variables, they had created an artificial relationship between them in the bivariate test.

The suppressing effect of partisan vs. non-partisan office, occupational status, and time that interest in politics developed emerged for different reasons as they were not related to both variables. Time that interest in politics developed was related only to black consciousness. We can conclude that its suppressing effect was caused by the fact that

TABLE 10

Correlation of Items that Erased Relationship
Between Attractiveness of Office Scale
and Black Consciousness

Control Variable	Attractiveness of Office		Black Consciousness	
	r	sig.	r	sig.
Sex	.2357	.005	.2028	.014
Political Campaign Experience	.1730	.030	.1924	.019
Political Party Office	.2641	.008	.2290	.007
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.1262	.086	.1734	.030
Type of Electoral District	-.1539	.071	-.1904	.020
Region Where Office Held	.2360	.005	.1816	.025
Nonpartisan vs. Partisan Office	.3188	.001	.1005	.139
Formal Level of Office	.7142	.001	.2210	.008
Occupational Status	.2308	.008	.0998	.141
Time Interest in Politics Developed	.1075	.124	.2637	.002

it initially functioned as a contributing factor to the bivariate relationship of the two variables; therefore, controlling for the relationship erased its significance.

As neither occupational status nor partisan vs. nonpartisan office were related to black consciousness, their suppressing effect was a result of their relatively high correlation with the attractiveness of office scale. They may actually be considered to be alternate measures of the scale.

Controlling for all demographic characteristics simultaneously caused the relationship to become highly insignificant, thereby providing further reason for us to conclude that there is really no relationship between attractiveness of office and black consciousness. Appendix 16 reports these findings.

Political Ambition

Political ambition is expected to be inversely related to black consciousness. As noted in Chapter III, political ambition can be operationalized either as a categorical or an ordinal measure; as a result, two types of statistical tests may be used to examine its strength of association with the dependent variable. Analysis of variance may be used in the situation where it is treated as a categorical variable, and correlational analysis when it is treated in an ordinal form. Where operationalized in the latter form, the null-hypothesis tested was:

Null-hypothesis: Changes in levels of political ambition will not be associated with changes in strength of black consciousness.

In its categorical form, the null-hypothesis was revised to state:

Null-hypothesis: There will not be a significant difference in the mean score on the black consciousness index among officeholders with progressive, static, and discrete ambitions.

Both null-hypotheses were supported. Regardless of the statistical test employed, increases in political ambition were not significantly related to black consciousness (Pearson $r = .0073$). The analysis of variance table (Table 11) sheds some light on this lack of association. The mean score of those with discrete ambition ($\bar{X} = 9.87$) was only slightly lower than those with progressive ambition ($\bar{X} = 9.9$), indicating that

TABLE 11

The Relationship of Political Ambition
and Black Consciousness

Groups	N	Mean	Df	F Ratio	F Prob.
Progressive	46	9.93	118	1.00	.371
Static	42	10.76			
Discrete	<u>31</u>	<u>9.87</u>			
Total	119	10.21			

the overall level of black consciousness of both groups was roughly the same. The mean score for those with static ambitions was about one point higher ($\bar{X} = 10.8$), suggesting that those with static ambition may identify with their race to a lesser degree than those with progressive or discrete ambitions. However, given the fact that these differences are not statistically significant, no definitive statement can be made.

Controls were made to ascertain whether any outside variables were suppressing this relationship. These are reported in Appendix 17. None were found, leading us to conclude that there is really no significant relationship between black consciousness and ambition. The controls for all variables measuring social and personal characteristics, also failed to alter the nonsignificance of the relationship. Appendix 18 reports these results.

Racial Composition of District

In Chapter II, I hypothesized that as the proportion of blacks in the electoral constituency declined, the level of black consciousness would decrease. Since racial composition of district is a continuous

measure, I used correlation analysis to test this hypothesis. In order to ascertain the points at which black consciousness became more sharpened on the continuum, racial composition was also operationalized as a trichotomous, categorical variable consisting of three categories -- low, medium, and high proportion black districts.

Using these two measures, two null-hypotheses were tested.

Null-hypothesis 1: Changes in the proportion of blacks in districts will not be associated with variation in black consciousness.

Null-hypothesis 2: There will be no significant difference in the mean scores of black consciousness between blacks representing districts with low, medium, or high proportion of blacks.

The data did not support either of the null-hypotheses. Instead, I found that as the proportion of blacks in electoral constituencies increased, the level of black consciousness increased. This relationship was moderately strong, and significant at the .05 level (Pearson $r = .2153$). When I controlled for all of the other independent variables, and for the demographic characteristics, racial composition of district still affected black consciousness (Appendix 19 and 20 respectively).

One-way analysis of variance procedures were used to explore whether the most significant changes in mean score were between the high and medium categories, or the medium and low categories. More than half of the sample represented districts where the proportion of blacks was between 34% and 66% (see Table 12). While there was an overall relationship between racial composition of district and black consciousness, there was hardly any difference between officeholders' black conscious levels in low and medium proportion black districts. On the other hand,

TABLE 12

The Relationship of Racial Composition
of District and Black Consciousness

% of District Black	N	Mean	Df	F Ratio	F Prob.
Low 0-33%	33	10.79	118	2.56	.08
Medium 33-66%	57	10.44			
High over 67%	<u>29</u>	<u>9.10</u>			
Total	119	10.21			

there was a sharp difference between the former two groups and those in high proportion black districts. It is probably because of the latter difference that the differences in mean scores are statistically significant at the .10 level.

The fact that the mean score for the high percent black district ($\bar{X} = 9.10$) was considerably lower than the two preceding groups indicates that black consciousness grew dramatically from medium to high black districts. On a substantive level, this suggests that the white presence in constituencies where the representative is black acts to lower black consciousness to almost the same level regardless of whether this presence is low or medium.

In order to assess whether these differences in support for black consciousness were the result of a majority effect, I recomputed the relationship to compare the differences between districts that were 51% black or more with those that were 49% black or less. As shown in Table 13, the mean score for the majority white districts is higher ($\bar{X} = 10.90$) than those in the over 51% black districts ($\bar{X} = 9.75$). This finding,

TABLE 13

Black Consciousness and Majority Vs.
Minority Black Districts

Racial Composition of District	N	Mean	T	Df	Prob.
Majority Black (More than 51%)	48	10.90	1.98	117	.05
Minority Black (Less than 49%)	71	9.75			

significant at the .05 level, indicates that incumbents in majority black districts exhibit far greater black consciousness than those in majority white districts. In other words, there is a majority effect.

Type of Electoral District

If racial composition of district was positively associated with black consciousness, type of electoral district should also be related to black consciousness because electoral districts generally differ in terms of racial diversity. At-large districts commonly have a lower concentration of blacks than wards. Black officeholders in the former type of district should therefore exhibit lower black consciousness than those in the latter type.

This assumption was borne out by the data. Table 14 shows that the average proportion of blacks in at-large districts was 41.3% and 64.1% in wards; this difference was highly significant at the .001 level. In view of this finding, I tested the hypothesis that type of electoral district will be associated with differentiation in levels of black consciousness. Stated in the form of a null-hypothesis:

TABLE 14

Relationship of Type of Electoral District
and Racial Composition of District

District Type	N	Mean	T Value	Prob.
At-Large	74	41.30	-5.50	.001
Ward	45	64.12		

Null-hypothesis: There will be no difference between at-large and ward systems in level of black consciousness.

No support was found for the null-hypothesis. Type of electoral district was found to be significantly related to black consciousness at the .05 significance level. Table 15 shows that, as was predicted, the mean score of incumbents who sought office in wards ($\bar{X} = 9.4$) was lower than those who sought office in at-large systems ($\bar{X} = 10.6$), a difference that was significant at the .05 level. When I controlled for the other independent variables, the only control variable that erased the relationship was racial composition of district (Partial $r = -.1066$, sig. = .127) (see Appendix 21). That racial composition of districts exerted this type of effect is not surprising when we recall that districts differ in their racial composition. When I controlled for all the personal characteristics, the relationship became even more significant (see Appendix 22).

TABLE 15

The Relationship of Type of Electoral
District and Black Consciousness

District Type	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	T	Prob.
At-Large	74	10.67	2.86	2.10	.038
Ward	45	9.44	3.46		

The Interaction of Racial Composition of
District, Ambition and Black Consciousness

Ambition and Racial Composition of District: One of the theoretical propositions of this study is that political ambition and black consciousness will be inversely related. However, as I pointed out in Chapter II, black consciousness is likely to become more important to the ambitious black politician in circumstances where it could be useful to the fulfillment of his/her political ambitions, for example, when there is a large proportion of blacks in an incumbent's constituency.

To explore whether ambition interacts with racial composition of district, I tested the following null-hypothesis:

Null-hypothesis: Ambition and racial composition of districts will not interact in a way that will be associated with variation in levels of black consciousness.

The data did not support the null-hypothesis. The analysis of variance statistical test showed a significant interaction.⁸ ($F = 4.11$, $p = .004$.) As noted in Table 16, among those with progressive and static ambitions, black consciousness increased as the proportion of blacks in the district increased. Discrete politicians, however, did not conform to this trend. There was no general decline in black consciousness as blacks became proportionately less. In fact, for this group the

TABLE 16

Two-Way Interaction of Ambition and Racial Composition
of District and Black Consciousness

Ambition Type	Racial Composition of District		
	Low % B1	Med. % B1	High % B1
Progressive	$\bar{X} = 11.3$ $n = 15$	$\bar{X} = 9.5$ $n = 20$	$\bar{X} = 9.1$ $n = 11$
Static	$\bar{X} = 11.9$ $n = 9$	$\bar{X} = 10.6$ $n = 24$	$\bar{X} = 10.1$ $n = 9$
Discrete	$\bar{X} = 8.8$ $n = 9$	$\bar{X} = 12.2$ $n = 13$	$\bar{X} = 7.6$ $n = 9$

Mean Square = 33.9; F = 4.1; Df = 4 and 101; P less than .004

relationship was curvilinear. The medium percentage black category had a higher mean score than either the low or the high category. These findings indicate that officeholders with different types of political ambition react differently to the adoption of black consciousness. Among those with progressive and static ambition, an increase in the proportion of blacks in the district is related to an increase in black consciousness. On the other hand, politicians with discrete ambition do not seem to be very influenced by the proportion of blacks in their district. The latter confirms my basic thesis that the more ambitious (represented by progressive and static ambitions) tend to be more mindful of constituent pressure than the non-ambitious. Those with ambition seem to modify their black consciousness based on the racial composition of the district; the non-ambitious do not.

Conclusion: The foregoing section tests the major hypothesis that commitment to office reduces black consciousness. Several interesting

findings emerged. Briefly stated, level of office held was positively related to black consciousness, regardless of whether it was operationalized in terms of function, formal level, or attractiveness. However, in the last two instances, the direction of relationship is contrary to the hypothesis; black consciousness increases, rather than decreases, with higher level of office. However, these relationships disappeared when controls were made for the various personal characteristic variables, thereby indicating that the original bivariate relationship was an artifact of the effect of several confounding variables.

I also found that type of district and racial composition of constituency were strongly associated with differentiation in support for black consciousness. The sharpest difference was between districts with low and medium proportions of blacks on the one hand and those with a high proportion of blacks. Also, when districts that were majority black were compared with those which were majority white, the level of black consciousness was much higher in the former.

Finally, the research hypothesis that ambition and black consciousness would be inversely related was not borne out by the data. No relationship was found. However as predicted, ambition and racial composition of district were interactively related to black consciousness. Those with progressive and static ambitions showed almost the same pattern of change in black consciousness when they represented low, medium and high percentage black districts. But those with discrete political ambitions deviated from the foregoing two groups, leading to the conclusion that the ambitious are more influenced by constituency characteristics than the non-ambitious.

Major Hypothesis II: Partisan commitment and black consciousness will be inversely related.

The preceding section tests several sub-hypotheses that were deduced from the major hypotheses that increased commitment to an office career will lessen commitment to black consciousness. A similar argument may be advanced concerning commitment to partisan interests. Like office commitment, commitment to partisan interests may stultify the growth of black consciousness, primarily because blacks who are strongly partisan will be faced with cross pressures from their party commitments and their racial commitments. In view of this, one would expect the black consciousness of party affiliates, political party officeholders, those who evaluate their relationship with political parties in positive terms, and those in partisan offices to be lower than the black consciousness of Independents, those who have never held political party office, those who evaluate their party relationships negatively, and non-partisan officeholders. The effect of each of these four factors will be tested individually.

Strength of Political Party Affiliation

If officeholders who are members of a political party are more committed to partisan interests than non-affiliates, then, political affiliates should exhibit higher black consciousness than non-affiliates. This sample has two types of party affiliates, Democrats and Republicans, in addition to a group of Independents. The null-hypothesis tested was:

Null-hypothesis: There will be no difference in black consciousness between political party affiliates and Independents.

By grouping Republicans and Democrats together into one category, party affiliates, a T-test was made of the difference between this group and

Independents (Table 17). There was no significant difference in mean scores for party affiliates and for Independents.

TABLE 17

Strength of Party Affiliation and Black Consciousness

Strength of Affiliation	N	Mean	T Value	Df	Prob.
Party Affiliates	104	10.11	-.95	117	.343
Independents	15	10.93			

I calculated partial correlations between black consciousness and party affiliation controlling for each of the other independent variables. Appendix 23 reports the results of these tests. All partial correlations were insignificant. Controls were also made for all social and personal characteristics. Again none of these factors "brought out" a relationship between strength of party affiliation and black consciousness (Appendix 24).

It is also interesting to look at the extent of difference among the three groups -- Republicans, Democrats, and Independents -- in their commitment to black consciousness. As noted in Chapter II, one would expect that among party affiliates, there would be differences in black consciousness because Republicans are likely to be less black conscious than Democrats. Independents, on the other hand, should show the highest level of black consciousness because their lack of partisan commitment should encourage intragroup identification. Stated in null form, the hypothesis tested was:

Null-hypothesis: There will be no significant difference between Republicans, Democrats and Independents in level of black consciousness.

Again (Table 18) the data supported the null-hypothesis. The difference in mean scores of the three types of political party affiliates were not statistically significant. In fact, the differences were not even in the posited direction. While Republicans exhibited the lowest level of black consciousness as predicted ($\bar{X} = 11.6$), the mean score for Democrats ($\bar{X} = 9.9$) was lower than that of Independents ($\bar{X} = 10.9$) indicating that the latter did not have the highest level of black consciousness as was hypothesized. However, as these differences were not statistically significant, the research hypothesis was rejected.

TABLE 18

Type of Party Affiliation and Black Consciousness

Party Affiliation	N	Mean	T	Df	Prob.
Democrats	92	9.91	118	1.979	.143
Republicans	12	11.58			
Independents	<u>15</u>	<u>10.93</u>			
Total	119	10.21			

Political Party Office

If holding political party office indicates strong partisan commitments, then incumbents who have held (or hold) political party office should show less black consciousness than those who have not. The null form of this hypothesis can be stated:

Null-hypothesis: There will be no difference in black consciousness between political party officeholders and non-officeholders.

Using a T-test to examine this hypothesis, I found that the null-hypothesis was disconfirmed (Table 19). Political party office was positively related to black consciousness at the .05 level of significance. However, political party officeholders had a higher level of black consciousness than non-party officeholders (9.5 vs. 11.0). This finding contradicts the research hypothesis.

TABLE 19

Political Party Office and Black Consciousness

Party Office	N	Mean	T	Df	Prob.
Yes	68	9.5	-2.54	117	.012
No	51	11.0			

Introducing controls one at a time for other independent variables did not affect this association. Appendix 25 reports these findings. Controls were also made for possible contamination of the relationship by variables measuring personal and social characteristics. The original relationship ceased to be significant at the .05 level but remained significant at the .10 level (Appendix 26).

Partisan Vs. Non-Partisan Office

Partisan officeholders are expected to show a lower level of black consciousness than non-partisans, because it is assumed that they are more likely to have partisan interests which will conflict with racial

interests, and cause the latter to be given decreased importance. The research hypothesis in its null form stated;

Null-hypothesis: There will be no difference in mean scores between black officeholders in partisan and non-partisan offices.

To test this hypothesis the T-test statistic was employed. The data supported the null-hypothesis. Not only was there no significant difference in the mean score of the two types of officeholders, but partisans actually showed a higher level of black consciousness than non-partisans (Table 20).

TABLE 20

Office Type (Partisan or Non-Partisan)
and Black Consciousness

Office Type	N	Mean	T Value	Df	Prob.
Partisan	50	9.84	-1.09	117	.277
Non-partisan	69	10.48			

Controls were made to discover whether any other independent variables were suppressing this relationship. As reported in Appendix 27, no other variables "brought out" a relationship at the .05 level of significance. Controls were also made to assess whether the lack of relationship was an artifact of the confounding effect of the social differentiation among the group. No suppressor variables were found. Appendix 28 reports these findings.

Conclusion: The evidence concerning the relationship of partisan commitment to black consciousness is inconclusive. Of the four variables measuring the concept, two were positively associated with black consciousness, and two were not in the bivariate test. The positive correlates were "political party office" and "evaluation of relationship with political party". However, contrary to our hypothesis, those with partisan commitment, when measured in terms of the latter two variables, showed greater black consciousness than those whose partisan commitment was less. As none of the control variables eliminated the relationship of political party office and black consciousness, we can accept with confidence the results of the original bivariate relationship. The same cannot be said for evaluation of political party relationship. All of the other dimensions of partisan commitment, two dimensions of office commitment, and one of the demographic characteristics eliminated the originally significant relationship. In light of this, it would seem that there is really no relationship between how one evaluates one's party relationships and black consciousness.

The other two measures of partisan commitment -- partisan vs. non-partisan office and party affiliate vs. Independent -- were not significantly related to black consciousness, although there was a general trend for those with partisan interests (defined in terms of these two variables) to show stronger black consciousness than those without partisan interests. In sum, the data suggests somewhat inconclusively that commitment to partisan interests does not reduce black consciousness, indeed it may enhance black consciousness.

Major Hypothesis III: Social and personal characteristics will be related to black consciousness.

So far the discussion has centered on the interrelationship of certain politically relevant factors and black consciousness. Social and personal characteristics have been discussed only as control variables. In this section, I will analyze their association with black consciousness. Six factors will be considered: 1) age; 2) region of socialization; 3) socio-economic status; 4) region of state where office is held; 5) political awareness; and 6) sex. Each of these factors will be analyzed individually.

Political Awareness

As stated in Chapter III, political awareness may be measured in terms of time that interest in politics developed. It is hypothesized that incumbents who became interested in politics early in their lives will show greater black consciousness than those whose interest developed at a later period. The null-hypothesis that was tested was:

Null-hypothesis: Variation in age at which interest in politics developed will not be associated with variation in black consciousness.

The data showed that the null-hypothesis was untenable because there were significant differences among persons who became interested in politics at different ages (Pearson $r = .2637$). The analysis of variance table clarifies the nature of this relationship (Table 21). It shows that those who became interested in political issues under twenty years of age exhibited higher black consciousness than those whose interest in politics developed after this age. However, this relationship is not directly linear.

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TABLE 21

**Age That Political Interest Developed
and Black Consciousness**

Age Groups	N	Mean	Df	F Ratio	F Prob.
Under 9	14	9.57	117	3.40	.012
10-11	35	8.89			
20-29	30	10.43			
30-39	29	11.55			
Over 40	10	10.70			

associated with black consciousness, and which are actually creating a spurious relationship between age that interest in politics developed and black consciousness. Several variables, including socio-economic status, age, and region of country where socialized, etc., were controlled for in order to observe whether they were acting as confounding variables. The variable -- evaluation of one's relationship with political parties -- erased the relationship (see Appendix 31). The latter variable was related to black consciousness in the bivariate test, but not related to time of development of political awareness (Pearson $r = .0391$). Therefore its control effect probably emerges because it is acting as a contributory preceding variable. It contributes to variation in black consciousness along with time of development of political awareness, another preceding variable.

Region of State Where Office is Held

Whether an officeholder holds office instate, outstate, or statewide was posited to be associated with different levels of black

consciousness. Instate officeholders were expected to have a higher level of black consciousness than outstate officeholders, because of the socializing effect of the highly urban, industrial environment of this part of the state. Because statewide officeholders constitute a somewhat ambiguous category, it was difficult to predict whether their level of black consciousness would be higher or lower than that of officeholders from the two other regions. However, given the fact that all the statewide officeholders were university board of trustee members, it was inferred that they would have very high socio-economic status, and as a result, would probably be more positively predisposed toward high black consciousness. Thus, their level of black consciousness should be as high or higher than instate officeholders. Restated in the form of a null-hypothesis:

Null-hypothesis: There will be no difference in level of black consciousness between instate, statewide, and outstate officeholders.

The null-hypothesis was rejected because there were significant differences between the three groups in level of black consciousness (Table 22). Outstate officeholders were the least black conscious ($\bar{X} = 11.12$) as was predicted. The statewide group were the most black conscious ($\bar{X} = 7.6$); again this was predicted. The mean score of the instate officeholders indicated that they were placed mid-way between both of the foregoing groups ($\bar{X} = 9.6$).

The most noteworthy feature of this finding was that statewide officeholders were much more black conscious than officeholders from either instate or outstate. Some may argue against treating the five statewide officeholders as a separate category, because these officeholders, even though they are elected statewide, hold office

TABLE 22

Region of State Where Office Held and Black Consciousness

Groups	N	Mean	Df	F Ratio	F Prob.
Instate	68	9.63	118	5.42	.008
Outstate	46	11.12			
Statewide	<u>6</u>	<u>7.60</u>			
Total	119	10.21			

in a particular area of the state, and therefore should be included in either the instate or outstate categories. When I did this, a weak significant relationship with black consciousness still held (Pearson $r = .1688$).

When I controlled for each of the other independent variables, only one reduced the relationship to insignificance (beyond the .10 level) -- time that interest in politics developed (see Appendix 32). This indicates two points. First, those in outstate office became interested in political issues later in life than those in instate office. The correlation of the two items supports this (Pearson $r = .3916$, sig. = .015). This is not surprising since outstaters are expected to be more rural, and ruralites generally become politically aware later than urbanites.⁹ Second, since time that interest in politics developed is significantly related to black consciousness, and to region of socialization, its suppressing effect on the bivariate relationship of region of socialization and black consciousness was due to the fact that all three variables were multicollinear.

Age

For both political and sociological reasons, age was expected to be significantly associated with black consciousness. The hypothesis that increasing age would be associated with decreasing black consciousness was tested in two ways; first, with age operationalized strictly as a continuous variable, and second, with age as a trichotomous, categorical variable. Again, the rationale for operationalizing the variable in nominal as well as continuous terms was to explore the exact nature of the results yielded by statistical tests appropriate to continuous measures; in this case, correlation analysis. A one-way analysis of variance test was used to test the effect of age as a trichotomous, categorical variable on black consciousness. The null-hypotheses appropriate to each type of technique were:

- Null-hypothesis 1: Changes in age will not be associated with changes in levels of black consciousness.
- Null-hypothesis 2: There will be no difference in the mean scores of black officeholders who are between 20 and 35, 35 and 50, and over 50.

The data refuted the null-hypotheses.

The correlation test showed that age was significantly although very weakly related to black consciousness at the .05 level (Pearson $r = .1844$). The analysis of variance test of the difference in means between the three age categories refuted the previous finding, and, instead, supported the null-hypothesis. As indicated in Table 23, age and black consciousness were not significantly related. The difference in findings is a function of how I measured the variables. When age is trichotomized, the finer variations are blurred. In spite of the difference in significance of the findings, the analysis of variance table

TABLE 23

Age and Black Consciousness

Age	N	Mean	F Ratio	F Prob.
Young	14	10.21	1.86	.160
Middle-Aged	60	9.70		
Older	<u>45</u>	<u>10.89</u>		
Total	119	10.21		

sheds light on differences in level of black consciousness among different age groups, information that cannot be attained from the correlation test. It shows that the "middle-aged" group have the lowest level of black consciousness ($\bar{X} = 9.7$). Surprisingly, the difference in the mean score between those who are younger ($\bar{X} = 10.2$) and those who are older ($\bar{X} = 10.8$) is negligible, only .6. When I controlled for the other independent variables in the study, none reduced the relationship to insignificance (Appendix 33).

Socio-Economic Status

One of the most consistent findings of attitudinal studies of blacks is that as blacks achieve higher SES they tend to be less supportive of the status quo. So one would expect that as level of black consciousness increases, so will socio-economic status. Restated in testable form, the null-hypothesis that tested the association of SES with black consciousness stated:

Null-hypothesis: Changes in level of SES will not be associated with changes in level of black consciousness.

As indicated in Chapter III, socio-economic status may be operationalized in several different ways because of the various criteria that may be used to measure it. In this study three types of variables were used to measure this construct: 1) occupation (apart from office-holding); 2) income from office; and 3) education.

As can be observed from Table 24, none of the measures of SES were significantly associated with black consciousness so the null-hypothesis was accepted. This finding may seem surprising in view of the fact that all three measures of SES were closely correlated with the attractiveness of office scale, which itself was related to black consciousness. Using occupational status as an indicator of SES, I controlled for the effect of attractiveness of office, as well as all other independent factors of the analysis; only one of them changed the relationship to the point where it became significant at the .05 level of significance (see Appendix 34). This was racial composition of district. As racial composition of district is highly related to SES, and also to black consciousness, this indicates that it is actually functioning as an intervening variable between the two other variables. When I controlled for the relation of education and salary respectively with black consciousness, the bivariate findings did not become significant (Appendices 35 and 36).

TABLE 24

Socio-Economic Status and Black Consciousness

SES	N	r	Prob.
Office Salary	119	.0482	.301
Occupation	119	.0998	.140
Education	119	-.0431	.321

Region of Socialization

The literature on black attitudes suggests that socialization in the north produces different attitudes than socialization in the south among blacks. I explored the regional effects on black consciousness using two "region of socialization" variables. One was a dichotomous variable, "north" vs. "south"; in addition, I used a trichotomous variable: "Michigan", "north", and "south". These two different variables produced two distinct null-hypotheses:

Null-hypothesis 1: There will be no difference in the mean scores of black consciousness between respondents in the north and the south.

Table 25 demonstrates lack of support for the first null-hypothesis. The southern-reared had a lower level of black consciousness than their northern counterparts, a difference which was statistically significant at the .10 level.

When controls were made for the possible contaminating effect of other variables in the study, two measures of importance of office erased the relationship below the .10 level (Appendix 37). These were the formal level of office scale and the attractiveness of office scale. The bivariate correlation of each of these last two variables and region

TABLE 25

**Region of Socialization and Black Consciousness
(North Vs. South)**

Region	N	Mean	T Value	Df	Prob.
North	95	10.000	-1.46	117	.068
South	24	11.041			

of socialization was significant. In the case of the formal hierarchy scale the Pearson correlation coefficient was equal to .2011, sig. = .017; in the relation to the attractiveness of office scale it was .2204, sig. = .011. These latter findings indicate that officeholders reared in the north had more important offices than those of southern background. Thus the suppressor effect of the importance of office variables indicate that all three variables -- black consciousness, region of socialization, and importance of office -- are highly intercorrelated with each other.

To further explore whether the socializing experience offered by Michigan, deviated from that offered in the other two regions (the north and the south), analysis of variance procedures were employed to test whether there were significant differences in mean score between blacks reared in Michigan, the north (outside Michigan) and the south. The null-hypothesis tested was:

Null-hypothesis: There is no significant difference in black consciousness between blacks reared in Michigan, the north, and the south.

Table 26 supports the null-hypothesis. While there was a general trend for black consciousness to diminish the closer one got to the south, these differences were not statistically significant.

TABLE 26

Region of Socialization and Black Consciousness				
Region	N	Mean	F Ratio	F Prob.
Michigan	72	9.9	1.097	.337
North	23	10.2		
South	<u>24</u>	<u>11.0</u>		
Total	119	10.2		

Sex

Black females have been found in several studies to be less open to change in the status quo than black males. It was therefore hypothesized that females will exhibit less black consciousness than males. Restated in the form of a null-hypothesis:

Null-hypothesis: It is hypothesized that there will be no significant difference in black consciousness between males and females.

As this independent variable is nominal, the T-test statistic was used to measure its effect on the dependent variable. Table 27 indicates that there was no support for the null-hypothesis.

TABLE 27

Sex and Black Consciousness					
Sex	N	Mean	T Value	Df	Prob.
Males	97	9.9	-2.24	117	.027
Females	22	11.5			

Females had a significantly higher mean score ($\bar{X} = 11.5$) than males ($\bar{X} = 9.9$), indicating that black consciousness was more pronounced for men.

Possibly this apparent difference between males and females is not actually the result of intrinsic differences in black consciousness between both groups, but rather a product of the effect of some other variable that was in some way creating the perceived relationship. Thus we controlled for several other variables on which males and females would likely differ as well as all other independent factors that were discussed in the analysis. These findings are reported in Appendix 38. None seriously altered the originally found relationship between sex and black consciousness.

Conclusion: The findings concerning the association of demographic characteristics and black consciousness reveal only two variables that are directly related to black consciousness -- age and sex. Age that interest in politics develops is a contributing factor; along with evaluation of party relationship (a political variable), it explains variation in black consciousness. Region where office is held was related to black consciousness, but controlling for time when interest in politics developed erased the relationship, suggesting that there is a degree of multicollinearity among all three variables. Region of socialization (north vs. south) was associated with variation in black consciousness, but controlling for importance of office erased the relationship. The latter variable was related to black consciousness and region of socialization in the bivariate tests, thus, all three variables are so closely correlated that it is impossible to discern a direct bivariate relationship. All we can conclude is that those reared in the north tend to hold higher office and officeholders higher in the office

hierarchy tend to be more black conscious. Finally, socio-economic status and black consciousness are in no way related.

A Prediction Model for Black Consciousness

In the preceding sections I examined the relationship of black consciousness with a wide range of independent variables. This analysis indicated several political and sociological factors that were associated with black consciousness. As these relationships were weak to moderate in most instances, it is difficult to ascertain which of the factors are the best predictors of black consciousness. To explore this topic, I will attempt in this section of the data analysis to build a prediction model, using multiple regression techniques.

In the first step, variables that were significantly related to black consciousness at some stage of the univariate analysis were entered into the prediction equation, in order to discover the ones that yield the highest significance. The variables were entered in the following order:

Group 1) The social and personal characteristic variables that were significantly related to black consciousness in the bivariate tests, with the exception of education. Education was not significantly related to black consciousness, but was included in the prediction equation, because of the substantive importance of including a measure of SES. Education was chosen rather than occupation because occupation was highly correlated with the attractiveness of office scale (one of the variables in Group 4), and I wanted to avoid the problem of multicollinearity. The demographic variables that were entered into the equation were: 1) age that interest in politics developed; 2) sex; 3) age; 4) region

where office was held (since this was a categorical variable, a dummy variable was created; and 5) education.

Group 2) The political variables that were significantly related to black consciousness in the bivariate tests after having controlled for all the demographic variables simultaneously. These variables were: 1) political campaign experience; 2) period of time in public office; 3) judicial and administrative officeholders vs. all other types of officeholders; 4) racial composition of district; 5) type of electoral district; 6) political party office; and 7) evaluation of political party relationship.

Group 3) The political variables that were significantly related to black consciousness in the bivariate test after controlling for all the other independent variables in the study one at a time. The only variable that met this criterion was formal level of office.

Group 4) The political variables that were significantly related in the bivariate test before controls were made. The attractiveness of office measure was the only variable that fell into this category.

When these variables were all in the equation, the results showed that the F statistics ranged from less than 1 to more than 9 (Table 28). In order to build a parsimonious model, I decided to eliminate all the variables with F statistics less than 1, provided that the variable was not highly correlated with any other variable, as high interrelationship of two variables in the equation may have created a low F statistic for each of them. The correlation matrix of all the variables (Appendix 39) showed that two pairs of variables with low F statistics were indeed highly intercorrelated. These were attractiveness of office and formal level of office ($r = .7$); and, the instate and outstate variables ($r =$

TABLE 28

**Multiple Regression Analysis of Variables That
Were Significant in the Univariate Analysis
And Black Consciousness**

	F	F Sig.	Beta	Elasticity
Time that Interest in Politics Developed	7.70	.007	.240	.173
Age	.528	.470	.070	.101
Judicial/Administrative Office	6.70	.011	.288	.053
Sex	2.53	.115	-.148	-.096
Education	-.195	.662	-.044	-.029
Instate Office	.001	.978	-.003	-.001
Outstate Office	-.689	.408	-.091	..006
Racial Composition of District	9.39	.003	-.311	-.195
Period of Time in Office	.517	.474	.074	.027
Evaluation of Party Relationship	2.65	.106	.153	.067
Political Party Office	1.37	.244	-.111	-.039
Type of Electoral District	1.71	.194	-.153	-.060
Political Campaign Experience	2.13	.147	-.125	-.022
Formal Level of Office	.242	.624	.071	.097
Attractiveness of Office	.312	.860	-.023	-.037

Multiple R = .6056	Analysis of Variance	Df	Overall F = 3.98
R Square = .3669	Regression =	14	F Sig. = .000
Std. Dev. = 2.681	Residual =	104	

.9). The latter relationship was probably caused by the fact that the two variables were actually dummy variables that had been created from the original variable -- region of socialization.

To solve the problem of multicollinearity, I ran the regression again, leaving out the attractiveness of office variable and the instate variable. However, after doing this the formal level of office and outstate variables failed to achieve F statistics higher than 1. I therefore eliminated them, as well as all the other variables with F statistics lower than 1. The variables that were eliminated were: 1) age; 2) education; 3) instate office; 4) outstate office; 5) period of time in office; and 6) formal level of office.

I ran the regression analysis twice again; once with the variables with F statistics greater than 1 but less than 2; the second time with only variables with F's greater than 2. Each time, the variables were entered in the order of their F significance; that is, the most significant were entered first. The results of the first run showed that the variables with F statistics between 1 and 2 became insignificant (Table 29). All the variables with F's greater than 2 remained significant. As the latter variables were the ones included in my second run, the findings of the second regression run represent the constructed prediction model (Table 30 shows these findings).

As may be observed from Table 30, the square multiple correlation coefficient (R^2)¹⁰ indicates that 32% of the variance in black consciousness can be accounted for by six predictor (independent) variables ($R^2 = .3223$). Conjointly, these variables yield a multiple R of .5678, with a level of significance of .000, which indicates a moderate to strong relationship, and a high level of significance.

TABLE 29

Multiple Regression: Relationship of Variables With F
Statistics Greater Than 1 and Black Consciousness

	F	F Sig.	Beta	Elasticity
Time that Interest in Politics Developed	10.04	.002	.256	.185
Racial Composition of District	8.00	.006	-.258	-.161
Evaluation of Political Party Relationship	4.48	.037	.189	.083
Political Campaign Experience	3.01	.086	-.142	-.026
Sex	3.29	.072	-.151	-.097
Judicial/Administrative Office	15.55	.000	.359	.066
Political Party Office	1.21	.273	-.099	-.035
Type of Electoral District	1.94	.166	-.136	-.053
Multiple R = .5818	Analysis of Variance	Df	Overall F = 7.035	
R Square = .3385	Regression =	8	F Sig. =	.000
Std. Dev. = 2.65				

The variables in my prediction model are therefore: 1) racial composition of district; 2) sex; 3) evaluation of party relationship; 4) political campaign experience; 5) judicial and administrative office vs. all other office types (executive, legislative, educational); and 6) age that interest in politics developed. By looking at the sign of the B score for each of these variables in Table 30, we can deduce the following findings:

TABLE 30

Multiple Regression: Variables With F Statistics That Were Higher Than 2 and Black Consciousness -- Final Prediction Model

	F	F Sig.	Beta	Elasticity
Racial Composition of District	6.16	.015	-.206	-.129
Judicial/Administrative Office	14.20	.000	.317	.059
Sex	3.42	.067	-.154	-.099
Time that Interest in Politics Developed	9.93	.002	.252	.182
Evaluation of Party Relationship	6.69	.011	.210	.092
Political Campaign Experience	3.63	.059	-.156	-.028

Multiple R = .5678	Analysis of Variance	Df	Overall F = 8.88
R Square = .3223	Regression =	6	F Sig. = .000
Std. Dev. = 2.66	Residual =	112	

- 1) Officeholders who developed interest in political issues early in life are more black conscious than those whose interest developed later.
- 2) As the proportion of blacks in officeholder's electoral district increases, the level of black consciousness also increases.
- 3) Officeholders who evaluate their party relationships favorably show higher black consciousness than those who give a less positive evaluation.
- 4) Officeholders with political campaign experience show greater black consciousness than those without.
- 5) Females are less black conscious than males

- 6) Judicial and administrative officeholders are less black conscious than officeholders in executive, legislative or educational office.

In sum, the black conscious officeholder is most likely to represent a predominately black district, evaluate party relationships favorably, have had political campaign experience, have developed an interest in political issues early in life, hold non-judicial and non-administrative office, and be male.

FOOTNOTES

1. The predominant reason given was that it would not be viable or practical to create a black party.
2. The items in the scale were all multiple choice with the number of possible responses ranging from three to five.
3. The purpose of calculating a reliability coefficient is to assess the internal consistency of a scale, that is, the extent to which the items in the scale are homogeneous. The calculated reliability coefficient tells how much variance of the total variance of a measured variable is "true" variance.
4. The term "response set" refers to the general tendency to agree or disagree with questionnaire items, regardless of their content. For a discussion of the problem of uniform response bias, see Fred Kerlinger, Foundations of Social and Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), p. 482.
5. When I controlled for the relationship of number of offices held and black consciousness by all the other variables, none brought the bivariate relationship into significance (see Appendix 4). Controlling for the demographic characteristics also failed to make the relationship significant (Appendix 5).
6. When I controlled for the relationship between number of offices sought and black consciousness by all the other independent variables in the study, the only variable that made the relationship significant at the .05 level was political party office (Appendix 6). This would suggest that number of offices sought is strongly related to political party office, and the latter is acting as an intervening variable. The bivariate correlation of number of offices sought and political party office is significant enough to warrant drawing this interpretation (Pearson $r = .324$, sig. = .008). It also suggests that officeholders who held political party office had held more public offices. When I controlled for the demographic characteristics using multiple regression analysis, the bivariate relationship remained insignificant (Appendix 7).
7. Throughout the data analysis, one-way analysis of variance tests will sometimes be reported along with correlation results because the latter test statistic only gives an understanding of the overall relationship, and does not allow us to see where significant changes in the overall relationship actually takes place. Through analysis of variance procedures we can more readily discern the

internal differences between the various groups on a continuous, dependent variable.

8. To test the interactions between these variables, the Finn multivariate program was used because it corrects for unequal cell sizes.
9. It is generally found that ruralites become politically aware later in life than urbanites. See Norman Nie and Sydney Verba, Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).
10. The squared multiple correlation coefficient, R^2 , sometimes called the coefficient of multiple determination represents the proportion of variance accounted for by the predictors (the independent variables) in the regression equation.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION OF RESULTS OF HYPOTHESES, IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Introduction

This research study investigated the degree of diversity in intra-group identification among black elected officials in Michigan. The concern was two-fold. First, I explored the extent to which this group was monolithic in their perceptions of their racial identity, a value which for short-hand purposes was called black consciousness. Then I examined certain factors that could possibly account for variation in this type of value configuration.

To put the problem in an appropriate theoretical framework, I began with Rollo Handy's theory of values which starts from the premise that the source of values may be located in the needs of individuals. Because of differences in cultural experiences, the needs of individuals are often dissimilar and as a result values differ. Based on this proposition concerning the source of value differences, I inferred that since black consciousness was a value, variation in support for it would emerge from differences in needs that different groups of blacks had. As the population of interest to us in this study comprised elected officials, I consulted theories of leadership behavior that addressed the issue of how the environment of electoral politics impacts on office-seekers behavior, specifically the works of Schlesinger and Downs. Assuming that

politicians have peculiar needs as a result of their overriding concern for office-seeking and office-holding, these authors propose that politicians adjust their office-seeking behavior in such a way to fulfill their office goals. From the latter proposition, which has been validated in several empirical studies, I drew the inference that values of officeholders not explicitly concerned with gaining office could also be affected by the need for office. Assuming that needs for office vary, as implied by Schlesinger and Downs,¹ I further inferred that degree of need for office (or office commitment) would be related to the degree of subscription to the value, black consciousness. The latter comprised the first of the three major propositions that I elected to examine in this study.

In addition to the preceding proposition, I also posited another political factor that would be associated with variation in black consciousness, namely degree of partisan commitment. Assuming that partisan and racial interests were not likely to be harmonious, but would often conflict, I proposed that black officeholders with close partisan interests would be less black conscious than those without. This was the second major proposition tested.

Finally, mindful of the fact that officeholders are both social and political actors, and that some theories of leadership emphasize the social and personal dimensions of leadership behavior, I also investigated whether sociological and demographic differences were associated with variation in black consciousness. In testing for these latter correlates of black consciousness, I was also exploring whether black consciousness was strictly a political value that was adopted for the utilitarian reason that it fulfilled certain political needs; if the

latter was the case, it would not be influenced by the social and personal distinctions that commonly account for attitudinal differentiation among blacks. In summary, in addition to the two aforementioned "political" hypotheses, the third major hypothesis of the study stated that there would be an interrelationship of certain social and personal characteristics with black consciousness.

To properly evaluate the evidence relevant to each of these three hypotheses, it may be helpful to briefly review the findings for each of the sub-hypotheses that were tested.

Review of Findings

Office Commitment

- Major Hypothesis I: Black consciousness and degree of office commitment will be inversely related.
- Sub-hypothesis 1: Officeholders who have spent longer time in present office will be less black conscious than those who have been in office a shorter period of time.
- Finding: Not supported, $r = .0162$, $\text{sig.} = .430$. When controls were made, the relationship did not become significant.
- Sub-hypothesis 2: Officeholders who have been in office longer (both appointive and elective) will be less black conscious than those whose sojourn in office has been shorter.
- Finding: Not supported, $r = .1608$, $\text{sig.} = .040$. Despite its significance, the relationship disappeared when age was introduced as a control variable indicating that the latter variable had created a spurious relationship.
- Sub-hypothesis 3: Officeholders who had held many offices would be less black conscious than those who hadn't.
- Finding: Not supported, $r = .0244$, $\text{sig.} = .396$. The relationship remained insignificant even after controls were made.

- Sub-hypothesis 4: Officeholders who had sought more offices would be less black conscious than those who hadn't.
- Finding: Not supported, $r = .0754$, $\text{sig.} = .317$. The introduction of controls did not "bring out" a significant relationship.
- Sub-hypothesis 5: Officeholders who hold different types of office will show different degrees of black consciousness.
- Finding: Supported, $F = 3.65$, $F \text{ Prob} = .008$. Judicial and administrative officeholders were much less black conscious than executive, legislative and educational officeholders. Controls for demographic variables revealed that administrative officeholders were not "really" a distinctive group as they first seemed to be. However, judicial officeholders continued to be distinct from other types of officeholders in having much lower black consciousness.
- Sub-hypothesis 6: Officeholders who hold offices higher up in the office echelon in the formal level of office hierarchy will show lower black consciousness than those who hold lower level offices.
- Finding: Not supported. The highly significant bivariate relationship ($r = .2210$, $\text{sig.} = .008$) was erased when controls were made for demographic characteristics.
- Sub-hypothesis 7: Officeholders in more attractive offices will be less black conscious than those in less attractive offices.
- Finding: Not supported. The weakly significant bivariate relationship ($r = .1385$, $\text{sig.} = .067$) which showed increases in black consciousness with higher office levels, was erased when controls were made for other independent variables.
- Sub-hypothesis 8: Officeholders who are more ambitious will be less black conscious than those who are less ambitious.
- Finding: Not supported, $r = .0073$, $\text{sig.} = .469$. None of the control variables created a significant relationship.
- Sub-hypothesis 9: Officeholders who hold offices in districts with a high proportion of blacks will be more black conscious than those in low proportion black districts.

Finding: Supported, $r = .2153$, $\text{sig.} = .009$. As was expected, controlling for type of electoral district obliterated the relationship. However, this merely reinforced our hypothesis that the number of blacks in a district affects the black consciousness of officeholders.

Sub-hypothesis 10: Type of electoral district and black consciousness will be significantly related.

Finding: Supported, $T = 2.10$, $\text{prob.} = .038$. Officeholders in at-large districts were much less black conscious than those in wards. As was expected, the control variable, racial composition of district, obliterated the relationship. Again this control finding reinforced our belief that officeholders in different types of districts were likely to vary in their black consciousness.

Sub-hypothesis 11: Political ambition and racial composition of district would interactively be related to black consciousness.

Finding: Supported, $F = 4.11$, $\text{prob.} = .004$; officeholders with progressive and static ambitions showed a general decrease in black consciousness as districts became less black in racial composition. Officeholders with discrete politicians did not conform to this trend; their pattern of black consciousness was very haphazard when racial composition of district was taken into account.

Sub-hypothesis 12: Officeholders with political campaign experience will be less black conscious than those without.

Finding: Supported, $T = -2.20$, $\text{prob.} = .031$. Although the relationship was significant, contrary to prediction, those with political campaign experience were more black conscious than those who had not been involved in political campaigns. The opposite had been predicted.

Partisan Commitment

Major Hypothesis II: Black consciousness and degree of partisan commitment will be inversely related.

Sub-hypothesis 13: Officeholders who evaluate their party relationships favorably will be less black conscious than those who evaluate their party relationships less favorably.

Finding: Not supported. The significant bivariate relationship ($r = .1734$, $\text{sig.} = .030$) was erased when controls were made for other independent variables, leading us to conclude that there really was no relationship.

Sub-hypothesis 14: Officeholders who are closely affiliated with political parties will be less black conscious than those who are not.

Finding: Not supported, $T = 1.979$, $\text{prob.} = .143$.

Sub-hypothesis 15: Officeholders who are Independents will be more black conscious than those who are Democrats or Republicans.

Finding: Not supported, $T = -.95$, $\text{prob.} = .343$.

Sub-hypothesis 16: Republicans will be least black conscious, Independents more black conscious, and Democrats will show a level of black consciousness between the two preceding groups.

Finding: Not supported, $T = 1.979$, $\text{prob.} = .143$.

Sub-hypothesis 17: Officeholders who hold political party office will be less black conscious than those who did not hold this type of office.

Finding: Supported, $r = -.254$, $\text{prob.} = .012$. Although the relationship was significant, the nature of the findings contradicted the hypothesis. Political party officeholders showed higher black consciousness than those who hadn't held political party office. So contradicting our predictions, those with partisan commitment actually show higher black consciousness.

Social and Personal Characteristics

Major Hypothesis III: Black consciousness will be a function of social and personal characteristics.

Sub-hypothesis 18: Officeholders with higher occupational status will exhibit greater black consciousness than those of lower occupational status.

Finding: Not supported, $r = .0998$, $\text{sig.} = .140$.

Sub-hypothesis 19: Officeholders with higher office salary will exhibit greater black consciousness than those with lower office salary.

- Finding: Not supported, $r = .0482$, $\text{sig.} = .301$.
- Sub-hypothesis 20: Officeholders with higher educational status will be more black conscious than those of lower educational status.
- Finding: Not supported, $r = -.0431$, $\text{prob.} = .321$.
- Sub-hypothesis 21: Officeholders who were reared in the North will exhibit greater black consciousness than those reared in the South.
- Finding: Supported, $T = -1.45$, $\text{prob.} = .068$. Northerners showed higher black consciousness than Southerners; however, the control results showed importance of office to be a contributing factor.
- Sub-hypothesis 22: Officeholders who hold office instate will be more black conscious than those who hold office outstate.
- Finding: Supported, $r = .1688$, $\text{sig.} = .035$. Time that interest in politics was a confounding factor.
- Sub-hypothesis 23: Officeholders who are male will be more black conscious than females.
- Finding: Supported, $T = -2.24$, $\text{prob.} = .027$.
- Sub-hypothesis 24: Younger officeholders will be more black conscious than those who are older.
- Finding: Supported, $r = .1844$, $\text{sig.} = .022$.
- Sub-hypothesis 25: Officeholders who became interested in politics earlier in life will be more black conscious than those whose political interests developed later.
- Finding: Supported, $r = .2637$, $\text{sig.} = .002$. The variable measuring "evaluation of party relationship" was a contributing factor.

The foregoing summary of the specific findings of this study reveals six variables that were individually related to black consciousness, three variables that were contributing factors, and two that interacted with each other to explain variation in black consciousness. The six individual factors were: 1) function of office; 2) political campaign experience; 3) racial composition of district; 4) political party office;

5) age; and 6) sex. The three contributing variables were: 1) region of state where office is held; 2) time that interest in politics developed; and 3) evaluation of political party relationships. Finally, the two factors that interacted with each other in relation to black consciousness were political ambition and racial composition of district.

Evaluation of Findings

Office Commitment

Very little evidence was found to substantiate the proposition that degree of commitment to office-holding was associated with variation in black consciousness. Only one factor -- political campaign experience -- was individually related to black consciousness; however, contrary to predictions, those who had political campaign experience were more black conscious than those lacking in this type of experience. None of the other factors tested for substantiated the hypothesis that office commitment was associated with variation in black consciousness. For example, formal level of office held was not associated with variation in black consciousness. While the bivariate tests did indicate an increase in black consciousness as level of office held decreased (I had predicted the opposite) controls for the demographic characteristics obliterated the relationship. Similarly, the bivariate test of attractiveness of office showed that black consciousness increased as the level of office held increased (again, the reverse was hypothesized); however, controls reduced the relationship to insignificance.

The only clear finding that emerged from looking at importance of office concerned the "function of office" variable. Here, we saw a remarkable difference between the level of black consciousness of

judicial and other types of officeholders.² While we lack evidence to support the idea that black officeholders become less black conscious as they achieve higher office, there is strong evidence to indicate that those who assume judicial positions are far less black conscious than other types of officeholders. Whether judicial officeholders reduce identification with their race after attaining this particular office, or are this way before becoming judicial officials cannot be answered by the data; however, it is a question that should be considered in future research.

Finally, no evidence was found to substantiate the hypotheses that politicians with high ambitions were less black conscious than their less ambitious counterparts. However, highly significant differences emerged among officeholders with different levels of ambition when political ambition and racial composition of district were analyzed in relation to black consciousness.

By itself, racial composition of district and black consciousness were significantly related. As was hypothesized, there was a general decrease in black consciousness as districts became "whiter" in racial composition. However when political ambition and racial composition of district were analyzed in terms of their joint relationship with black consciousness, it became evident that black consciousness decreased when districts became "whiter" in racial composition only among those who were ambitious (i.e., those with progressive and static ambitions). In counter distinction, non-ambitious officeholders (i.e., those with discrete ambitions) showed an entirely different pattern of change in black consciousness; there was no general decrease in black consciousness as districts became less black.³ The haphazard change in black

consciousness in the non-ambitious category, suggests that the absence of concern for office makes one oblivious toward the racial composition of one's district. Thus, the finding that the ambitious showed patterned changes in their black consciousness as districts' racial mixture changed and the non-ambitious didn't, supports Schlesinger's proposition that ambition for office motivates politicians to be very solicitous of their constituent's interest, because constituent preferences are critical determinants of whether they realize their office goals.

None of the other measures of office commitment indicated that those more committed to office were less black conscious.⁴ Given the sparsity of findings, and the fact that those relationships that were significant actually showed that office commitment enhances black consciousness, the posited interrelationship of black consciousness and office commitment is untenable. What did emerge from exploring this issue was that commitment to office and constituency characteristics tend to affect each other; and also, that characteristics of the electoral district are associated with black consciousness. In summary, the make-up of constituencies seems to be very important to understanding black leadership behavior.

Partisan Commitment

Absolutely no evidence was found to substantiate the theoretical proposition that black officeholders who have strong partisan attachments will abandon their commitment to their race. Of the four indices of partisan commitment that were considered, only one emerged as significantly related to black consciousness after controls were made -- "political party office." However, contrary to our prediction, political

party officeholders were more black conscious than those who hadn't held political party office. This finding is very revealing because I considered "political party office" to be one of the best indices of degree of political party attachments. It also contradicts the study of blacks in the Illinois legislature, undertaken by Dunn, which found that black legislators with partisan ties were less racially conscious than those lacking in these ties.

None of the other measures of political party attachments were significantly related to black consciousness, although all suggested that the most black conscious officeholders are those with close partisan commitments. Political party affiliates, partisan officeholders, and those who evaluated their party relationships positively all showed higher black consciousness than Independents, officeholders in non-partisan office, and those who evaluated their party relationships in less positive terms. While these differences were not statistically significant, the nature of the findings tend to disconfirm the proposition that close attachment to political parties reduces black intra-group identification.

Social and Personal Characteristics

The sociological factors that most clearly differentiated black officeholders in their attitude toward their race were age and sex. The data showed the older and female as less black conscious than the younger and the male. These findings had been predicted. Age at which interest in politics developed, region of socialization, and region where office was held seemed to be important individual correlates of attitudinal differentiation, until control variables were introduced. In each instance, the nature of the control findings indicated that these

variables were actually contributing factors; by themselves they appear to explain variation in black consciousness, but actually do so only in conjunction with other factors.

In the case of the variable "age that interest in politics developed," the other contributing factor was evaluation of party relationships. This means that those who became interested in politics earlier in life, also tend to evaluate their party relationships more favorably and to be highly black conscious.

The data showed that differences in black consciousness may also be explained in terms of both region of socialization and importance of office together. Those born in the south generally hold lower levels of office and also tend to be less black conscious. This finding suggests that northerners have had a distinct advantage over southerners in access to high level governmental positions. An example of such an advantage could be high SES. If this was the case, controlling for occupation and education should reduce the relationship of region of socialization and black consciousness to insignificance; as they did not, the fact that northerners hold higher office than southerners is not a result of their having the advantage of higher SES. The data do not provide a clue to why this should be the case; however, it could possibly be that those reared in the north were more aware of the workings of the political process as they have had the right to vote for a much longer time than blacks in the south. Greater knowledge of the political system may have helped them to climb up the office hierarchy at a faster pace than those who grew up in the south.

Finally, region of state where office was held and time that interest in politics developed conjointly account for variation in black

consciousness. Those who hold office instate became interested in politics earlier than those who hold office outstate, and they also show a comparatively high level of black consciousness. This finding is not surprising since the instate/outstate distinction is commensurate with the urban/rural dichotomy. Instaters are closer to the more "urbanized area of the state," and urbanites usually become interested in politics earlier in life than ruralites, and in addition, are generally more amenable to new ideas than ruralites. As black consciousness is a relatively new mood of thinking among blacks, it is to be expected that instaters would exhibit it to a greater extent than outstaters.

Summary

In summing up the findings of this study, the conclusion may be drawn that black consciousness may be explained in terms of both political and sociological factors. Thus it cannot be said that black officeholders identify with their race only because of the political utility of such identification. Rather the data suggests that black consciousness is a function of constituency characteristics, partisan commitments, office commitments and social and personal differentiation. It is impossible to single out one factor as more important than the others.

Implications and Suggestions for Future Research

Several of the findings of this study, if they continue to hold over time, suggest certain critical prospects for the future of black politics. One of the most significant from a policy relevant perspective, is the difference in black consciousness between judicial and other types of officeholders. Throughout American history, racial tensions

have been contained principally by white police and resolved by white judges. For this reason, blacks have continuously sought to receive equal justice under the law, through better representation in the area of law enforcement. Recent increases in black judges, sheriffs and police should therefore portend a fundamental modification in the traditional type of justice accorded to blacks. The findings of my study, however, cautions us to temper our optimism about the changes that may be brought about by the emergence of more equitable black representation in law enforcement. The fact that these individuals are not highly black conscious, at least in comparison to other types of officeholders, could possibly indicate that the containment and resolution of racial conflict may not be qualitatively different in character from times past, even with the entry of blacks into the law enforcement realm. On the other hand, one could argue that while black law enforcement officials are not committed to black concerns in comparison to other black officeholders, they may yet be more sensitive to the problems of their race than white officeholders. A black defendant, for example, may still stand a better chance of receiving equal justice before a black than a white judge. The point was cogently expressed by one judge in the sample thus:

I do not perceive my role as a black judge to be the defender of the black man's cause. I am a judge first and foremost and therefore am not influenced by racial distinctions. However, compared to what obtained in the past, before the advent of black judges like myself, a black defendant will receive better justice before me. You see, I interpret the law equally for all; my white colleagues have two sets of laws, one for the rich, one for the poor, and one for whites, another for non-whites.

In summary, the low black consciousness of judicial officials suggests two possibilities for the future. It could indicate the continuation

of past practices of insensitivity to the problems of blacks; or more optimistically, it could mean that blacks will receive more equitable justice, despite the apparent divorce of black judges, sheriffs, etc., from black issues.

As my sample excluded white judicial officeholders it is impossible to conclusively infer whether blacks will receive better treatment from having representatives in their race in judicial office. Nonetheless, the significantly lower black consciousness of the judicial group, supports a recent statement by St. Clair Drake concerning the potential impact of the diversity in types of black politicians on black politics in the seventies:

It is likely that at the nation's capital and in northern states the power structure of repressive right-wing governments would install a token representation of conservative blacks in some high-level posts in army units, police forces, administrative cadres, and the judiciary. . .

The irony of Drake's statement is the heavy emphasis placed on conservative blacks filling judicial and law enforcement positions. The data from this study suggests that his prediction may already have been validated in Michigan.

Another significant finding of this research is the fact that so many of the officeholders in the sample represented areas that were extremely heterogenous in racial composition. Thirty-three members of the sample were elected by districts less than one-third black. Possibly this means that the white community is becoming more receptive than in times past to the inclusion of blacks in politics. If this is indeed the case, the prospects for blacks achieving racial equality through the electoral approach are very bright. On the other hand, it

may simply mean that whites are willing to accept a few blacks in positions of authority without according total equality to the group. The latter more cynical view is basically the position of Drake. He states that:

These electoral victories may portend a future situation in which the white public will respond to black leadership as it has to Jewish leadership in the past -- that is, choose an individual in whom they have confidence despite their prejudiced attitudes toward the ethnic group from which he comes, but remain disinclined to have any intimate social relationships with him or members of his ethnic group.⁶

In summary, one can contend that the election of blacks in white districts indicates a reduction of the salience of racism in the society; or less optimistically, it may simply mean the white electorate will support a few blacks in policy-making positions, but will not necessarily condone full racial equality.

The latter view is more tenable than the former in light of the finding that those black politicians who represent white areas tend to reduce their identification with their race as their districts become whiter in racial composition. If white voters had reached the point where they had become oblivious to racial distinctions, this pattern would be less salient. Its presence demonstrates that for black leaders to get elected in integrated neighborhoods their identification with their race must be lowered. It also suggests that the chances for successful election to office of a highly black conscious candidate are lowered in a predominately white district and enhanced in a district with a high proportion of blacks.

The foregoing explanation that black officeholders adjust their identification with their race to suit the composition of their constituency is buttressed by the fact that this pattern was observed

only among the ambitious, not the non-ambitious. If race was no longer important in American politics, it is unlikely that we would observe the ambitious apparently paying great attention to constituency characteristics, and the non-ambitious not doing so.

While the preceding argument is tenable, the proposition could also be advanced that the increase of black consciousness as districts become blacker simply represents the attempt by black policy-makers in poorer districts to substitute psychological rewards for more tangible public outputs. This point is suggested by Walton in his attempt to account for the diversity in intra-group identification among black officeholders. He argues that black officeholders who cannot deliver tangible material rewards to constituents will attempt to compensate for their failings by exhibiting sentiments of strong solidarity with their constituents. In other words, they will exhibit high black consciousness as a psychological payoff for their inability to deliver material improvements.

The preceding proposition becomes more plausible when cognizance is taken of the economic geography of Michigan. The areas of the state with the largest concentration of blacks are the inner-cities, and these are also some of the least prosperous areas of the state. Given this correlation between racial density and economic prosperity of districts, the finding that black officeholders identify most with their race in districts where blacks are plentiful may be a function of the fact that these officeholders are simply substituting high black consciousness for their inability to deliver necessary economic improvements to their districts. In Walton's words, these types of black politicians who cannot deliver on their public policy promises will "seek to answer the needs

of the black community with verbiage and promises -- phrases and slogans to replace programs and actions they cannot carry out."⁷

The preceding argument that variation in black consciousness is related to politicians' inability to deliver public policies was suggested by the fact that "whiter" areas of the state are generally more prosperous than "blacker" areas, and also by my findings that black officeholders from "whiter" districts are less black conscious than those from "blacker" districts. To explore the validity of this proposition one could create an index of economic prosperity of electoral districts and relate this to leadership attitude toward black consciousness. While this procedure could possibly create an ecological fallacy, by relating these attitudes to the economic index it may be possible to discover whether one identifies more with one's race because of one's ability to deliver the necessary public policy to them, or whether it represents an attempt to make one seem more "representative" to one's constituents. Of course, there is always the possibility that both factors are operative.

Another very significant finding of this study was the fact that holders of political party office identified more with their race than those who hadn't. The nature of the data does not allow us to draw cause-effect inferences. Nonetheless, it would be interesting to discover whether the development of black consciousness preceded or followed election to political party office; in other words, does high black consciousness motivate one to become more involved in partisan politics, or does one become more black conscious as a result of being involved in partisan politics.

It would also be interesting to find out if the party in which offices were held made a difference in commitment to black consciousness. Do political party officeholders in the Republican party identify with their race to the same extent as Democratic party officeholders? My study could not answer this question as only two of the twelve Republicans in the sample had ever held political party office.

Another implication of this research that should be addressed concerns the possible effect of the diversity of black politicians' attitudes towards their race on the black community. If nothing else, this study clearly demonstrates that the value heterogeneity that characterizes black officeholders is heavily influenced by constituency characteristics. It may therefore be deduced that political alienation will be greater among those blacks in integrated districts than those in more heavily black districts. However, in light of the social and economic deprivations faced by blacks in many highly populated black areas of the state, it is also possible for the black voter to be more alienated in the latter type of area than in more integrated areas, despite the positive attitudes of representatives in these areas toward their race. If the black public official can deliver quality outputs, the blacks in his district may not attach importance to whether he identifies with his race or not; and hence, they may not be alienated from politics in spite of the low black conscious officeholder.

In this regard, it will be interesting to look at the attitudes of blacks in those parts of the south where some black officials have recently sought rapprochement with formerly outspoken segregationist white politicians. An example would be Charles Evers of Fayette, Mississippi, and Johnny Ford of Tuskegee, black mayors who both supported

George Wallace for Governor of Alabama. Campbell and Feagin in a recently published article point out that these two black officials have brought substantial improvements to their communities through federal and private grants.⁸ It would be informative to explore whether delivery of these material benefits has mollified the disenchantment of black voters toward the policy stances of these two men, if indeed there was disapproval of their endorsement of Wallace. Again, future research needs to be done concerning the perceptions of the black electorate toward the different types of black politicians which this study has documented to exist.

The final implication of this study has to do with the opportunity structure for blacks rather than with attitudes specifically. The data from my study suggest that while Michigan has the highest number of blacks in elective office in the nation, it is questionable whether the problems of blacks at large can be solved in the near future through the electoral approach. Review of the two scales measuring importance of office reveals that the overwhelming majority of blacks hold office in the lowest echelons of the office hierarchy, indicating that like elsewhere in the nation, blacks have not yet attained positions of power and prestige in electoral politics. Moreover, their concentration in urban areas means that they are faced with the tremendous problems of urbanism -- poverty, slummism, crime, etc. Given the tasks they face, and their over-concentration in positions lacking in real power potential, it is questionable whether the black community will receive anything more than cathartic satisfaction from seeing members of their race in public view. As noted by Walton, "black politicians without power, or outside the loci of power, are just as bad as no black politicians at all."⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. This assumption is substantiated by the distinction that Schlesinger makes between progressive, static and discrete ambitions, and Downs between climbers and conservers.
2. At first inspection it seemed that administrative officials were very much like judicial officials, in the low level of black consciousness that both groups showed in comparison to executive, legislative, and educational officeholders. However, after controls were made, it was firmly established that judicial officials comprised a group by themselves.
3. Those in medium proportion black districts exhibited the lowest level of black consciousness, and those in high and low proportion black districts showed a level of black consciousness that was almost the same.
4. Neither number of offices held nor number of offices sought were associated with black consciousness.
5. St. Clair Drake, "Prospects for the Future" in Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Vol. II, ed. Nathan Huggins, Martin Kilson, and David Fox (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), p. 285.
6. Ibid., pp. 300-301
7. Hanes Walton, Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1972), p. 202.
8. David Campbell and Joe Feagin, "Black Politics in the South: A Descriptive Analysis," Journal of Politics, Vol. 37 (February 1975), pp. 129-163.
9. Hanes Walton, op. cit., pp. 207-208.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF ITEMS THAT DID NOT CLUSTER
IN THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS SCALE

Bussing

Strongly Favor	Partially Favor	Partially Oppose	Strongly Oppose
54.6% (59)	18.5% (20)	13.9% (15)	13.0% (14)

Segregated Education

Strongly Favor	Partially Favor	Partially Oppose	Strongly Oppose
13.4% (16)	30.3% (36)	10.1% (12)	46.2% (55)

Black Political Party

Strongly Favor	Partially Favor	Partially Oppose	Strongly Oppose
5.1% (6)	-	-	94.9% (112)

Black Graduates Should Return to Black Community

Return to Black Community	No Preference	Should Not Return To Black Community
58.1% (61)	25.0% (26)	17.1% (18)

APPENDIX 1-Continued

Community Control of Education

Total Community Control	Community Input	No Community Input or Control
22.0% (28)	60.0% (70)	18.0% (21)

Black English

Support	Partially Support	Oppose
6.7% (8)	20.2% (24)	73.1% (87)

Black Businesses

Strongly Support	Partially Support	Partially Oppose	Strongly Oppose
38.6% (44)	38.6% (44)	16.0% (19)	6.8% (8)

APPENDIX 2

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF LENGTH OF TIME IN
PRESENT OFFICE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	-.0023	115	.491
Occupational Status	.0129	115	.445
Salary	.0120	115	.449
Education	.0151	115	.431
Age	-.0496	115	.298
Region Office Held	.0089	115	.463
Region of Socialization	.1332	115	.362
Sex	.0133	115	.494
Political Ambition	.0157	115	.434
District's Racial Composition	.0082	115	.461
Length of Time in Public Office	-.0777	115	.203
Number of Offices Sought	-.0212	115	.411
Number of Offices Held	.0205	115	.414
Political Party Office	.0531	115	.285
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.0056	115	.477
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.0404	115	.333
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.034	115	.471
Political Campaign Experience	.0008	115	.497
Attractiveness of Office	.0499	115	.297
Formal Level of Office	.0741	115	.214
Type of Electoral District	.0308	115	.371
Political Party Affiliation	.0230	115	.403

APPENDIX 3

REGRESSION EQUATION: PERIOD OF TIME IN PRESENT OFFICE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Period of Time In Present Office	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	.184	2.837	.257	1.666	1.813	4.137	6.193	2.225	1.628
F SIG.	.668	.095	.613	.200	.181	.044	.014	.139	.205
BETA	-.040	-.155	.058	.147	.293	.463	.231	.141	.126
ELASTICITY	-.017	-.100	.022	.023	.111	.105	.167	.204	.083

MULTIPLE R = .447

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

OVERALL F = 3.021

R SQUARE = .200

REGRESSION = 9

F SIG. = .003

STD. DEV. = 2.931

RESIDUAL = 109

APPENDIX 4

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER OF OFFICES
HELD AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.0711	115	.222
Occupational Status	.0241	115	.399
Salary	.0108	115	.454
Education	.0279	115	.383
Age	-.0066	115	.472
Region Office Held	.0531	115	.285
Region of Socialization	.0412	115	.330
Sex	.0740	115	.214
Political Ambition	.0249	115	.395
District's Racial Composition	.0289	115	.375
Length of Time in Present Office	.0274	115	.385
Length of Time in Public Office	-.0654	115	.242
Number of Offices Sought	.0146	115	.438
Political Party Office	.0212	115	.303
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.0401	115	.335
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.0146	115	.438
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.0222	115	.407
Political Campaign Experience	.0301	115	.374
Attractiveness of Office	.5160	115	.276
Formal Level of Office	.0531	115	.285
Type of Electoral District	.0077	115	.468

APPENDIX 5

REGRESSION EQUATION: NUMBER OF OFFICES HELD AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Number Of Offices Held	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	.874	3.500	.288	2.248	3.408	1.245	6.576	1.473	1.493
F SIG.	.352	.064	.593	.137	.068	.267	.012	.227	.224
BETA	.087	-.176	.061	.171	.425	.247	.238	.110	.121
ELASTICITY	.048	-.113	.023	.026	.096	.094	.172	.159	.080

MULTIPLE R = .452

R SQUARE = .205

STD. DEV. = 2.922

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

REGRESSION = 9

RESIDUAL = 109

OVERALL F = 3.117

F SIG. = .002

APPENDIX 6

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF NUMBER OF OFFICES
SOUGHT AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.0791	115	.199
Occupational Status	.0762	115	.208
Salary	.0674	115	.236
Education	.0731	115	.217
Age	.0224	115	.406
Region Office Held	.1220	115	.096
Region of Socialization	.0743	115	.213
Sex	.0928	115	.160
Political Ambition	.0765	115	.207
District's Racial Composition	.0848	115	.182
Length of Time in Present Office	.0766	115	.206
Length of Time in Public Office	-.0124	115	.448
Number of Offices Held	.0729	115	.218
Political Party Office	.1533	115	.048
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.0823	115	.189
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.0878	115	.174
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.0858	115	.179
Political Campaign Experience	.0902	115	.167
Attractiveness of Office	.1179	115	.103
Formal Level of Office	.1163	115	.106
Type of Electoral District	.0986	115	.146

APPENDIX 7

REGRESSION EQUATION: NUMBER OF OFFICES SOUGHT AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Number Of Offices Sought	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	.958	3.310	1.800	.222	4.144	1.460	5.914	1.045	1.946
F SIG.	.330	.072	.183	.639	.044	.230	.017	.309	.166
BETA	.093	-.168	.151	.054	.462	.264	.225	.096	.139
ELASTICITY	.029	-.108	.023	.020	.105	.100	.162	.139	.091

MULTIPLE R = .453

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

OVERALL F = 3.128

R SQUARE = .205

REGRESSION = 9

F SIG. = .002

STD. DEV. = 2.920

RESIDUAL = 109

APPENDIX 8

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF PERIOD OF TIME IN
PUBLIC OFFICE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.1709	115	.033
Occupational Status	.1617	115	.041
Salary	.1543	115	.049
Education	.1630	115	.040
Age	.0850	115	.182
Region Office Held	.1843	115	.024
Region of Socialization	.1948	115	.018
Sex	.1985	115	.016
Political Ambition	.1607	115	.042
District's Racial Composition	.1664	115	.037
Length of Time in Present Office	.1774	115	.028
Length of Time in Public Office	.1716	115	.033
Number of Offices Sought	.1430	115	.063
Political Party Office	.1850	115	.023
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.1617	115	.041
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.1739	115	.031
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.1822	115	.029
Political Campaign Experience	.1555	115	.048
Attractiveness of Office	.2044	115	.014
Formal Level of Office	.2055	115	.014
Type of Electoral District	.1565	115	.046
Political Party Affiliation	.1712	115	.032

APPENDIX 9

REGRESSION EQUATION: PERIOD OF TIME OFFICE HELD AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Period Of Time Office Held	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	4.923	4.752	.201	3.543	.938	3.295	6.447	.002	1.325
F SIG.	.029	.031	.655	.062	.335	.072	.013	.969	.252
BETA	.233	-.201	.050	.214	.209	.407	.230	.004	.112
ELASTICITY	.084	-.129	.019	.033	.079	.092	.166	.006	.073

MULTIPLE R = .483

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

OVERALL F = 3.678

R SQUARE = .233

REGRESSION = 9

F SIG. = .000

STD. DEV. = 2.869

RESIDUAL = 109

APPENDIX 10

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN
EXPERIENCE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.1847	115	.024
Occupational Status	.1845	115	.024
Salary	.1971	115	.017
Education	.1911	115	.020
Age	.1887	115	.021
Region Office Held	.1802	115	.026
Region of Socialization	.1991	115	.016
Sex	.2099	115	.012
Political Ambition	.1941	115	.019
District's Racial Composition	.2333	115	.006
Length of Time in Present Office	.1918	115	.020
Length of Time in Public Office	.1881	115	.022
Number of Offices Sought	.1985	115	.016
Political Party Office	.1528	115	.051
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.1738	115	.031
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.1830	115	.025
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Party Affiliate	.1724	115	.032
Attractiveness of Office	.1727	115	.032
Formal Level of Office	.1468	115	.058
Type of Electoral District	.1939	115	.019

APPENDIX 11

REGRESSION EQUATION: POLITICAL CAMPAIGN EXPERIENCE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Political Campaign Experience	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	3.101	3.530	2.155	.298	2.787	2.495	5.993	2.039	1.524
F SIG.	.081	.063	.145	.586	.098	.117	.016	.159	.220
BETA	-.153	-.171	.164	.061	-.161	-.159	.224	.125	.120
ELASTICITY	-.028	-.110	.025	.023	-.010	-.061	.162	.181	.079

MULTIPLE R = .470

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

OVERALL F = 3.425

R SQUARE = .220

REGRESSION = 9

F SIG. = .001

STD. DEV = 2.892

RESIDUAL = 109

APPENDIX 12

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF JUDICIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICEHOLDERS
VS. EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE AND EDUCATIONAL OFFICEHOLDERS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.1996	116	.016
Occupational Status	.1667	116	.036
Salary	.1774	116	.028
Education	.1730	116	.031
Age	.1544	116	.048
Region Office Held	.1479	116	.055
Region of Socialization	.1898	116	.020
Sex	.1242	116	.091
Political Ambition	.1730	116	.031
District's Racial Composition	.1402	116	.065
Length of Time in Present Office	.1731	116	.031
Length of Time in Public Office	.1690	116	.034
Number of Offices Sought	.1736	116	.031
Number of Offices Held	.1733	116	.031
Political Party Office	.1499	116	.053
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.1557	116	.049
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.1687	116	.034
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.1631	116	.039
Political Campaign Experience	.1658	116	.037
Attractiveness of Office	.1624	116	.040
Formal Level of Office	.1313	116	.079
Type of Electoral District	.1007	116	.140

APPENDIX 13

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF FORMAL LEVEL OF
OFFICE HELD AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.226	115	.008
Occupational Status	.219	115	.009
Salary	.234	115	.006
Education	.218	115	.010
Age	.219	115	.009
Region Office Held	.209	115	.012
Region of Socialization	.209	115	.012
Sex	.198	115	.017
Political Ambition	.223	115	.008
District's Racial Composition	.216	115	.010
Length of Time in Present Office	.232	115	.006
Length of Time in Public Office	.255	115	.003
Number of Offices Sought	.220	115	.009
Number of Offices Held	.237	115	.005
Political Party Office	.1657	115	.038
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.192	115	.019
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.217	115	.010
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.191	115	.020
Political Campaign Experience	.183	115	.025
Attractiveness of Office	.176	115	.029
Type of Electoral District	.1575	115	.045
Political Party Affiliation	.217	115	.020

APPENDIX 14

REGRESSION EQUATION: FORMAL LEVEL OF OFFICE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Formal Level of Office	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	1.923	2.394	2.019	.543	2.229	1.650	6.613	2.416	1.440
F SIG.	.168	.125	.158	.463	.138	.202	.011	.123	.233
BETA	.135	-.142	.159	.084	-.153	-.134	.237	.137	.118
ELASTICITY	.184	-.091	.025	.032	-.058	-.009	.171	.199	.077

MULTIPLE R = .461

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

OVERALL F = 3.262

R SQUARE = .212

REGRESSION = 9

F SIG. = .002

STD. DEV. = 2.908

RESIDUAL = 109

APPENDIX 15

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF ATTRACTIVENESS
OF OFFICE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.1148	115	.109
Occupational Status	.1192	115	.101
Salary	.1870	115	.022
Education	.1317	115	.079
Age	.1347	115	.074
Region Office Held	.1001	115	.142
Region of Socialization	.1229	115	.094
Sex	.0953	115	.154
Political Ambition	.1419	115	.064
District's Racial Composition	.1648	115	.038
Length of Time in Present Office	.1461	115	.058
Length of Time in Public Office	.1876	115	.022
Number of Offices Sought	.1651	115	.038
Number of Offices Held	.1387	115	.068
Political Party Office	.0859	115	.179
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.1193	115	.110
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.1129	115	.113
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.1265	115	.088
Political Campaign Experience	.1088	115	.112
Formal Level of Office	-.0283	115	.381
Type of Electoral District	.1158	115	.107

APPENDIX 16

REGRESSION EQUATION: ATTRACTIVENESS OF OFFICE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Attrac- tiveness of Office	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	.454	2.917	1.868	.229	3.138	3.738	6.063	1.948	1.488
F SIG.	.832	.090	.174	.633	.079	.056	.015	.166	.255
BETA	-.022	-.158	.155	.055	-.188	-.203	.229	.125	.122
ELASTICITY	-.036	-.102	.024	.021	-.072	-.013	.165	.181	.080

MULTIPLE R = .446

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

OVERALL F = 3.002

R SQUARE = .199

REGRESSION = 9

F SIG. = .003

STD. DEV. = 2.93

RESIDUAL = 109

APPENDIX 17

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL AMBITION
AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	-.019	115	.422
Occupational Status	.004	115	.483
Salary	.024	115	.398
Education	.003	115	.487
Age	-.028	115	.383
Region Office Held	-.0247	115	.396
Region of Socialization	-.0034	115	.486
Sex	.009	115	.463
District's Racial Composition	.021	115	.412
Length of Time in Present Office	.006	115	.475
Length of Time in Public Office	-.0034	115	.486
Number of Offices Sought	.0147	115	.468
Number of Offices Held	.009	115	.463
Political Party Office	-.030	115	.373
Evaluation of Party Relationship	-.010	115	.457
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.004	115	.485
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	-.0024	115	.490
Political Campaign Experience	-.027	115	.389
Attractiveness of Office	-.032	115	.366
Formal Level of Office	-.032	115	.365
Type of Electoral District	.002	115	.489
Political Party Affiliation	-.0024	115	.490

APPENDIX 18

REGRESSION EQUATION: POLITICAL AMBITION AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Political Ambition	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	.254	2.754	1.863	.210	1.663	4.024	6.149	2.226	1.486
F SIG.	.615	.100	.175	.648	.200	.047	.015	.139	.225
BETA	-.045	-.153	.154	.052	.281	.457	.230	.134	.121
ELASTICITY	-.033	-.098	.024	.020	.107	.104	.166	.194	.079

MULTIPLE R = .447

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

OVERALL F = 3.031

R SQUARE = .200

REGRESSION = 9

F SIG. = .003

STD. DEV. = 2.93

RESIDUAL = 109

APPENDIX 19

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF RACIAL COMPOSITION
OF DISTRICT AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	-.2255	115	.008
Occupational Status	-.2599	115	.003
Salary	-.2119	115	.011
Education	-.2373	115	.006
Age	-.2198	115	.009
Region Office Held	-.1753	115	.030
Region of Socialization	-.2104	115	.012
Sex	-.2615	115	.003
Political Ambition	-.2161	115	.010
Length of Time in Present Office	-.2149	115	.011
Length of Time in Public Office	-.2194	115	.009
Number of Offices Sought	-.2186	115	.009
Number of Offices Held	-.2158	115	.010
Political Party Office	-.2196	115	.009
Evaluation of Party Relationship	-.2176	115	.010
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	-.2045	115	.014
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	-.2124	115	.011
Political Campaign Experience	-.2521	115	.004
Attractiveness of Office	-.2321	115	.006
Formal Level of Office	-.2103	115	.012
Type of Electoral District	.1474	115	.057

APPENDIX 20

REGRESSION EQUATION: RACIAL COMPOSITION OF DISTRICT AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Racial Composition of District	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	8.374	4.265	1.328	.085	6.729	5.094	6.248	1.967	.205
F SIG.	.005	.041	.252	.771	.011	.026	.014	.164	.652
BETA	-.276	-.184	.126	.032	.579	.500	.224	.120	.045
ELASTICITY	-.174	-.119	.019	.012	.131	.190	.161	.174	.029

MULTIPLE R = .505

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

OVERALL F = 4.156

R SQUARE = .255

REGRESSION = 9

F SIG. = .000

STD. DEV. = 2.827

RESIDUAL = 109

APPENDIX 21

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF TYPE OF ELECTORAL
DISTRICT AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	-.1747	115	.030
Occupational Status	-.2025	115	.015
Salary	-.1882	115	.022
Education	-.1946	115	.018
Age	-.1672	115	.036
Region Office Held	-.1592	115	.044
Region of Socialization	-.2259	115	.068
Sex	-.1915	115	.020
Political Ambition	-.1903	115	.020
District's Racial Composition	-.1066	115	.127
Length of Time in Present Office	-.1922	115	.019
Length of Time in Public Office	-.1869	115	.022
Number of Offices Sought	-.1891	115	.021
Number of Offices Held	-.1891	115	.021
Political Party Office	-.1891	115	.021
Evaluation of Party Relationship	-.1797	115	.027
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	-.1664	115	.037
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	-.1725	115	.032
Political Campaign Experience	-.1919	115	.020
Attractiveness of Office	-.1879	115	.022
Formal Level of Office	-.1882	115	.022

APPENDIX 22

REGRESSION EQUATION: TYPE OF ELECTORAL DISTRICT AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Type of Electoral District	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	4.226	2.817	.437	3.290	4.959	2.233	5.700	1.211	.859
F SIG.	.042	.096	.510	.072	.028	.138	.019	.273	.356
BETA	.187	-.151	.074	.206	-.210	-.151	.218	.097	.091
ELASTICITY	.074	.098	.028	.032	-.013	-.057	.157	.140	.060

MULTIPLE R = .478

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

OVERALL F = 3.581

R SQUARE = .228

REGRESSION = 9

F SIG. = .001

STD. DEV. = 2.878

RESIDUAL = 109

APPENDIX 23

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF PARTY AFFILIATE VS.
NON-AFFILIATE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.0598	116	.261
Occupational Status	.1004	116	.140
Salary	.0982	116	.146
Education	.0916	116	.162
Age	.0855	116	.179
Region Office Held	.0789	116	.198
Region of Socialization	.0803	116	.194
Sex	.1142	116	.110
Political Ambition	.0875	116	.173
District's Racial Composition	.0800	116	.195
Length of Time in Present Office	.0880	116	.172
Length of Time in Public Office	.1065	116	.126
Number of Offices Sought	.0990	116	.144
Number of Offices Held	.0898	116	.167
Political Party Office	.0239	116	.399
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.0208	116	.412
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.0630	116	.250
Political Campaign Experience	.0572	116	.270
Attractiveness of Office	.0622	116	.252
Formal Level of Office	.0367	116	.347
Type of Electoral District	.0726	116	.218

APPENDIX 24

REGRESSION EQUATION: PARTY AFFILIATES VS. INDEPENDENTS AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Party Affiliates Vs. Inde- pendents	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	.167	2.999	.241	1.769	3.865	3.037	5.834	2.028	1.486
F SIG.	.683	.086	.625	.186	.052	.084	.017	.157	.225
BETA	.036	-.160	.056	.150	-.189	-.178	.225	.126	.121
ELASTICITY	.004	-.103	.021	.023	-.012	-.068	.162	.183	.079

MULTIPLE R = .447

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

OVERALL F = 3.019

R SQUARE = .200

REGRESSION = 9

F SIG. = .003

STD. DEV. = 2.931

RESIDUAL = 109

APPENDIX 25

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL PARTY
OFFICE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.211	115	.012
Occupational Status	.224	115	.008
Salary	.239	115	.005
Education	.226	115	.008
Age	.259	115	.003
Region Office Held	.200	115	.016
Region of Socialization	.222	115	.009
Sex	.220	115	.009
Political Ambition	.231	115	.007
District's Racial Composition	.233	115	.006
Length of Time in Present Office	.234	115	.006
Length of Time in Public Office	.246	115	.004
Number of Offices Sought	.265	115	.002
Number of Offices Held	.229	115	.007
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.1742	115	.031
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.211	115	.012
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.204	115	.014
Political Campaign Experience	.198	115	.017
Attractiveness of Office	.2026	115	.015
Formal Level of Office	.1765	115	.029
Type of Electoral District	.195	115	.018

APPENDIX 26

REGRESSION EQUATION: POLITICAL PARTY OFFICE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Political Party Office	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	3.520	2.682	.182	1.340	1.531	2.997	5.801	3.127	1.600
F SIG.	.063	.104	.671	.240	.219	.086	.018	.080	.209
BETA	-.168	-.148	.048	.132	.265	.394	.220	.157	.123
ELASTICITY	-.060	-.096	.018	.020	.101	.089	.159	.227	.081

MULTIPLE R = .473

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

OVERALL F = 3.483

R SQUARE = .223

REGRESSION = 9

F SIG. = .001

STD. DEV. = 2.887

RESIDUAL = 109

APPENDIX 27

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF PARTISAN VS. NON-PARTISAN
OFFICE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.125	115	.09
Occupational Status	.125	115	.089
Salary	.097	115	.149
Education	.110	115	.119
Age	.120	115	.100
Region Office Held	.1310	115	.080
Region of Socialization	.085	115	.183
Sex	.119	115	.101
Political Ambition	.100	115	.141
District's Racial Composition	.073	115	.216
Length of Time in Present Office	.107	115	.126
Length of Time in Public Office	.121	115	.098
Number of Offices Sought	.110	115	.119
Number of Offices Held	.099	115	.146
Political Party Office	.045	115	.317
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.040	115	.333
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.093	115	.158
Political Campaign Experience	.080	115	.195
Attractiveness of Office	.0600	115	.261
Formal Level of Office	-.0919	115	.163
Type of Electoral District	.036	115	.351
Political Party Affiliation	.055	115	.279

APPENDIX 28

REGRESSION EQUATION: PARTISAN/NON-PARTISAN OFFICE AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Partisan/ Non-Partisan Office	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	.754	2.953	.189	1.576	2.918	1.066	6.163	2.297	1.155
F SIG.	.387	.089	.665	.212	.090	.304	.015	.132	.285
BETA	-.080	-.157	.050	.422	.404	.234	.230	.135	.108
ELASTICITY	-.021	-.101	.019	.022	.092	.089	.166	.195	.071

MULTIPLE R = .451

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

OVERALL F = 3.010

R SQUARE = .204

REGRESSION = 9

F SIG. = .002

STD. DEV. = 2.923

RESIDUAL = 109

APPENDIX 29

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF EVALUATION OF RELATIONSHIP
WITH POLITICAL PARTY AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.180	115	.026
Occupational Status	.177	115	.028
Salary	.184	115	.029
Education	.171	115	.033
Age	.197	115	.017
Region Office Held	.178	115	.028
Region of Socialization	.171	115	.034
Sex	.176	115	.029
Political Ambition	.174	115	.031
District's Racial Composition	.176	115	.029
Length of Time in Present Office	.173	115	.032
Length of Time in Public Office	.174	115	.031
Number of Offices Sought	.176	115	.029
Number of Offices Held	.176	115	.029
Political Party Office	.086	115	.178
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.1476	115	.057
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.152	115	.052
Political Campaign Experience	.152	115	.052
Attractiveness of Office	.159	115	.044
Formal Level of Office	.134	115	.075
Type of Electoral District	.162	115	.042

APPENDIX 30

REGRESSION EQUATION: EVALUATION OF PARTY RELATIONSHIP AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS CONTROLLING FOR DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Evaluation of Party Relationship	Sex	Michigan Reared	Southern Reared	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Age of Political Awareness	Age	Education
F RATIO	3.318	2.960	1.042	.005	1.309	3.234	6.150	2.585	1.842
F SIG.	.071	.088	.310	.947	.255	.075	.015	.111	.178
BETA	.161	-.156	.116	.008	.247	.407	.227	.141	.132
ELASTICITY	.071	-.100	.018	.003	.094	.092	.164	.204	.087

MULTIPLE R = .471

R SQUARE = .222

STD. DEV. = 2.890

DEGRESS OF FREEDOM

REGRESSION = 9

RESIDUAL = 109

OVERALL F = 3.455

F SIG. = .001

APPENDIX 31

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF AGE OF POLITICAL
AWARENESS AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Occupational Status	.256	115	.003
Salary	.278	115	.002
Education	.261	115	.003
Age	.259	115	.003
Region Office Held	.224	115	.008
Region of Socialization	.277	115	.002
Sex	.230	115	.007
Political Ambition	.264	115	.002
District's Racial Composition	.272	115	.002
Length of Time in Present Office	.263	115	.003
Length of Time in Public Office	.270	115	.002
Number of Offices Sought	.265	115	.002
Number of Offices Held	.265	115	.002
Political Party Office	.248	115	.004
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.002	115	.268
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.273	115	.002
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.276	115	.002
Political Campaign Experience	.258	115	.003
Attractiveness of Office	.253	115	.003
Formal Level of Office	.268	115	.002
Type of Electoral District	.253	115	.003
Political Party Affiliation	.272	115	.002

APPENDIX 32

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF REGION OF
STATE WHERE OFFICE IS HELD

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.1134	115	.112
Occupational Status	.1711	115	.033
Salary	.2242	115	.008
Education	.1767	115	.029
Age	.1664	115	.037
Region of Socialization	.1922	115	.019
Sex	.1652	115	.038
Political Ambition	.1831	115	.025
District's Racial Composition	.1309	115	.080
Length of Time in Present Office	.1811	115	.026
Length of Time in Public Office	.2026	115	.015
Number of Offices Sought	.2048	115	.014
Number of Offices Held	.1875	115	.022
Political Party Office	.1417	115	.064
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.1863	115	.023
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.1997	115	.016
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.1785	115	.028
Political Campaign Experience	.1685	115	.035
Attractiveness of Office	.1548	115	.048
Formal Level of Office	.1665	115	.037
Type of Electoral District	.1485	115	.056

APPENDIX 33

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF AGE
AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.1779	115	.028
Occupational Status	.1723	115	.032
Salary	.1786	115	.028
Education	.1818	115	.025
Region Office Held	.1694	115	.034
Region of Socialization	.1761	115	.029
Sex	.1671	115	.036
Political Ambition	.1863	115	.023
District's Racial Composition	.1897	115	.021
Length of Time in Present Office	.1901	115	.021
Length of Time in Public Office	.1246	115	.091
Number of Offices Sought	.1702	115	.034
Number of Offices Held	.1829	115	.025
Political Party Office	.2217	115	.009
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.2064	115	.013
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.1953	115	.018
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.1775	115	.028
Political Campaign Experience	.1805	115	.026
Attractiveness of Office	.1816	115	.026
Formal Level of Office	.1817	115	.025
Type of Electoral District	.1602	115	.049

APPENDIX 34

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF OCCUPATIONAL
STATUS AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.076	115	.209
Salary	.019	115	.101
Education	.095	115	.155
Age	.075	115	.213
Region Office Held	.79	115	.200
Region of Socialization	.113	115	.113
Sex	.016	115	.434
Political Ambition	.099	115	.143
District's Racial Composition	.179	115	.027
Length of Time in Present Office	.1994	115	.144
Length of Time in Public Office	.101	115	.139
Number of Offices Sought	.100	115	.141
Number of Offices Held	.200	115	.143
Political Party Office	.088	115	.173
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.106	115	.127
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.125	115	.090
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.141	115	.08
Political Campaign Experience	.083	115	.187
Attractiveness of Office	.070	115	.226
Formal Level of Office	.095	115	.155
Type of Electoral District	.1218	115	.096
Political Party Affiliation	.136	115	.072

APPENDIX 35

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATIONAL
STATUS AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.0149	115	.437
Occupational Status	.0294	115	.377
Salary	-.0758	115	.209
Age	-.0297	115	.376
Region Office Held	.0054	115	.478
Region of Socialization	-.0671	115	.237
Sex	.0230	115	.403
Political Ambition	-.0426	115	.325
District's Racial Composition	-.1107	115	.118
Length of Time in Present Office	-.0427	115	.324
Length of Time in Public Office	-.0509	115	.293
Number of Offices Sought	-.0388	115	.339
Number of Offices Held	-.0452	115	.315
Political Party Office	-.0244	115	.397
Evaluation of Party Relationship	-.0332	115	.362
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	-.0624	115	.252
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	-.0792	115	.199
Political Campaign Experience	-.0362	115	.350
Attractiveness of Office	.0014	115	.495
Formal Level of Office	-.0191	115	.421
Type of Electoral District	-.0592	115	.263

APPENDIX 36

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF OFFICE SALARY
AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.1018	115	.138
Occupational Status	.0814	115	.192
Education	.0788	115	.200
Age	.0123	115	.448
Region Office Held	.1419	115	.064
Region of Socialization	.0488	115	.301
Sex	.0928	115	.160
Political Ambition	.0535	115	.284
District's Racial Composition	.0284	115	.381
Length of Time in Present Office	.0469	115	.308
Length of Time in Public Office	-.0151	115	.436
Number of Offices Sought	.0918	115	.159
Number of Offices Held	.0430	115	.323
Political Party Office	.0842	115	.184
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.0784	115	.201
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.0414	115	.329
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.0540	115	.282
Political Campaign Experience	.0648	115	.244
Attractiveness of Office	.1356	115	.073
Formal Level of Office	.0917	115	.163
Type of Electoral District	.0379	115	.343

APPENDIX 37

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF REGION OF SOCIALIZATION
AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.1593	115	.044
Occupational Status	.1436	115	.062
Salary	.1335	115	.076
Education	.1427	115	.063
Age	.1214	115	.097
Region Office Held	.1476	115	.057
Sex	.1411	115	.065
Political Ambition	.1332	115	.077
District's Racial Composition	.1251	115	.090
Length of Time in Present Office	.1364	115	.072
Length of Time in Public Office	.1731	115	.031
Number of Offices Sought	.1327	115	.077
Number of Offices Held	.1373	115	.070
Political Party Office	.1202	115	.099
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.083	115	.129
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.1218	115	.096
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.1196	115	.100
Political Campaign Experience	.1929	115	.063
Attractiveness of Office	.1170	115	.105
Formal Level of Office	.1110	115	.117
Type of Electoral District	.1812	115	.026

APPENDIX 38

CONTROL RELATIONSHIP OF SEX AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Control Variable	Partial r	Df	Sig.
Political Awareness	.154	115	.049
Occupational Status	.178	115	.028
Salary	.217	115	.01
Education	.200	115	.016
Age	.187	115	.022
Region Office Held	.188	115	.021
Region of Socialization	.208	115	.013
Political Ambition	.203	115	.015
District's Racial Composition	.252	115	.004
Length of Time in Present Office	.203	115	.015
Length of Time in Public Office	.233	115	.006
Number of Offices Sought	.210	115	.012
Number of Offices Held	.214	115	.011
Political Party Office	.193	115	.019
Evaluation of Party Relationship	.205	115	.014
Partisan vs. Non-Partisan Office	.2123	115	.011
Party Affiliate vs. Non-Affiliate	.229	115	.008
Political Campaign Experience	.219	115	.009
Attractiveness of Office	.177	115	.029
Formal Level of Office	.177	115	.029
Type of Electoral District	.203	115	.014
Political Party Affiliation	.234	115	.006

APPENDIX 39 CORRELATION MATRIX OF SIGNIFICANT UNIVARIATE VARIABLES

	Age Pol. Int. Dev.	Age	Jud./Ad. Office	Sex	Education	Instate Office	Outstate Office	Dist. Racial Comp.	Per. of Time in Ofc.	Eval. Party Rel.	Pol. Party Office	Type Elect. Dist.	Pol. Camp. Exper.	Formal Level of Ofc.	Attract. of Office
Age Pol. Int. Dev.		.04	.03	-.19	-.19	-.31	-.05	.03	.03	.04	-.13	.11	.07	.12	.03
Age	.04		.30	-.11	-.07	-.10	-.11	.00	.47	-.10	.13	.15	-.04	.03	.03
Jud./Ad. Office	-.03	.30		-.15	.23	-.05	-.13	-.16	.32	.21	-.01	.39	-.10	.21	-.01
Sex	-.19	-.11	-.15		.32	.10	.01	-.18	-.15	-.01	.06	-.01	-.06	-.15	.24
Education	-.19	-.07	.23	.32		.27	.21	-.28	.04	-.06	.08	.08	.04	-.11	-.32
Instate Office	.31	-.10	-.05	.10	.27		.90	.27	.11	.01	.20	-.20	.09	-.24	-.18
Outstate Office	-.05	-.11	-.13	.01	.21	.90		-.32	-.12	-.12	.02	.16	.16	-.39	-.17
Dist. Racial Comp.	.03	.00	-.16	-.18	-.28	.27	-.32		.01	-.01	.01	-.45	-.15	-.04	.10
Per. of Time in Ofc.	.03	.47	.32	-.15	.04	.11	-.12	.01		.01	.08	-.04	.04	-.17	-.25
Eval. Party Rel.	.04	-.10	.21	-.01	-.06	.01	-.12	-.01	.01		-.42	.08	-.13	.21	.13
Pol. Party Ofc.	-.13	.13	-.01	.06	.08	.20	.02	.01	.08	-.42		-.22	.20	-.29	-.25
Type Elect. Dist.	.11	.15	.39	-.01	.08	-.20	.16	-.45	-.04	.08	-.22		-.01	.43	.14
Pol. Camp. Exper.	-.07	-.04	-.10	-.06	.04	.09	.16	-.15	.04	.13	.20	-.01		-.24	-.17
Formal Level of Ofc.	.12	.03	.21	-.15	-.11	-.24	-.39	-.04	-.17	.21	-.29	.43	-.24		.71
Attract. of Office	.03	.03	-.01	-.24	-.32	-.18	-.17	.10	-.25	.13	-.25	.14	-.17	.71	

APPENDIX 40

INTRODUCTORY LETTER MAILED TO MEMBERS OF SAMPLE

Dear

I am a black political scientist in the Department of Political Science at Michigan State University, and am presently conducting a study involving all black elected officials in Michigan.

As you are probably aware, Michigan leads the nation in having the highest number of black elected officials. The purpose of my study is to assess the gains that blacks can expect from this increase in political opportunities, and to make projections about the impact that the increase in blacks in policy making positions will have on the politics of this state. I believe that this study will fill a gap in the field of American political science, and just as importantly, be valuable to persons like yourself involved in the actual decision making process of government.

As a black officeholder, your participation in the study is needed to make it comprehensive and complete. Within the next three weeks, I will be contacting you by telephone, and, hopefully, we can arrange a personal interview at your convenience. The interview will not take more than 45 minutes.

I would like to assure you that all information gathered in the study and the identities of respondents will be kept completely confidential. In addition, a summary of the overall findings will be made available to you, with the hope that it may prove useful to you in your career as a public servant.

Sincerely,

Pauline Stone

PS/nmv

APPENDIX 41

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Date of Interview _____
 Place of Interview _____
 Name of Officeholder _____
 Office Held _____
 Partisan _____ Non-Partisan _____
 Sex _____
 Part-time Office _____ Full-time Office _____

1. The first question I would like to ask you concerns the time and circumstances when you first became interested in political issues. How old were you when this happened, and how did it happen?

1) Age that respondent first became interested in politics _____
 2) Circumstances that made the respondent interested in politics. _____

2. How old were you when you first became interested in running for public office?

Age that respondent first became interested in running for public office _____

3. What caused you to become interested in running for your first public office?

4. How old were you when you first attained public office?

_____ years

5. How old were you when you got elected to this office?

_____ years

6. How old are you now?

_____ years

7. For how long have you held this office?

_____ months
 _____ years

8. Is this the only elective public office that you have held?

Yes _____

No _____

9. Could you list all the elective offices that you have held in order from the first to the last, and state how long you held each as well as your reason for leaving.

	Name Office	Period of Time	Reason for Leaving
1)			
2)			
3)			
4)			
5)			
6)			

10. Have you ever held any appointive office?

Yes _____

No _____

11. Could you list all the appointive offices that you have held from the first to the last, and state how long you held it for and who appointed you to it.

	Name Office	Period of Tenure	Person Who Made Appointment
1)			
2)			
3)			
4)			
5)			
6)			

12. Have you ever held office in any political party?

Yes _____

No _____

13. What party offices have you held, in what party were they held and for how long did you hold them?

	Name Office	Political Party	Period of Tenure
1)			
2)			
3)			
4)			
5)			
6)			

14. Have you ever been a member of any labor union?

Yes _____

No _____

15. What unions were you a member of and for how long?

	Name of Union	Period of Membership
1)		
2)		
3)		
4)		
5)		

16. Did you ever hold office in any union?

Yes _____ No _____

17. What offices did you hold, in what union were they held, and for how long were you a union officeholder?

	Name of Office	Name of Union	Period of Tenure
1)			
2)			
3)			
4)			
5)			

18. Did you ever run for public office while holding union office?

Yes _____ No _____

19. Which union office did you hold, what public office did you run for and did you win the office?

	Name Union Office	Name Public Office	Results
1)			
2)			
3)			
4)			
5)			

20. Did you ever run for public office while holding party office?

Yes _____ No _____

21. What party office did you hold, what public office did you run for and what were the results?

	Name Party Office	Name Public Office	Results
1)			
2)			
3)			
4)			
5)			

22. Have you ever been involved in any other type of union activity?

Yes _____ No _____

23. Can you describe what other type of union activity you were involved in?

24. Were your parents active participants in any union?

Yes _____

No _____

25. What union were they active in?

Name of Union

1)

4)

2)

5)

3)

6)

26. Have you ever run for a public office which you did not win?

Yes _____

No _____

If no, go to question 29.

27. If yes, what office did you run for and why do you think that you did not win?

Name of Office

Reason for Not Winning

1)

2)

3)

4)

5)

28. In each of the foregoing cases, what was the racial identity of your opponent?

1)

2)

3)

4)

5)

29. Do you intend to continue holding public office, or would you like to return to private life?

1) Remain in public office _____

2) Return to private life _____

If 2, go to question 33.

30. Do you intend to run for this office again or do you want to run for some other office?

1) Run for same office _____

2) Run for another office _____

31. Do you think you will run for another office in the more distant future?

Yes _____

No _____

If no, go to question 34.

32. Which offices would you like most to run for in order of strongest preference?

Offices Aspired For

1)

2)

3)

4)

5)

Go to question 34.

33. Why do you intend to return to private life?

Reason:

34. With which political party are you presently affiliated?

Democrat _____ Republican _____ Other _____

35. Has your political party affiliation ever changed?

Yes _____

No _____

If no, go to question 38.

36. If yes, what political party did you previously belong to?

Democrat _____ Republican _____ Other _____

37. Why did you change political parties?

38. Is there any reason why you are presently affiliated with that party?

Reason:

39. Have you ever sought office in any political party?

Yes _____

No _____

If no, go to question 45.

40. If yes, what offices did you seek in which party, and were you successful?

Name of Office

Name of Party

Results

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)
- 4)
- 5)

41. When you sought each of the foregoing offices, what was the racial identity of your opponent?

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)
- 4)
- 5)

42. When you sought each of the foregoing offices, were there some groups within the party that favored your candidacy and some that opposed it?

Yes _____

No _____

If no, go to question 45.

43. Which groups favored your candidacy, and which opposed it?

Groups That Favored
Your Candidacy

Groups That Opposed
Your Candidacy

- 1)
- 2)
- 3)
- 4)
- 5)

44. Why do you think each of the foregoing groups supported/opposed your candidacy for party office?

Reason for groups which opposed you:

Reason for groups which supported you:

45. How would you evaluate your present relationship with the political party with which you are affiliated?

- 1) Excellent _____
- 2) Good _____
- 3) O.K. _____
- 4) Fair _____
- 5) Poor _____
- 6) Don't Know _____
- 7) Not applicable _____

I would now like to ask your opinion on certain issues that one sometimes hears a great deal of talk about nowadays.

46. Some people say that black officeholders should represent the interests of all their constituents, while others disagree and state that the black officeholder should focus solely on issues that pertain directly to blacks. Do you believe that you should give priority to your black constituents?

1) Strongly agree _____
 2) Agree _____
 3) Undecided _____
 4) Oppose _____
 5) Strongly oppose _____
 6) Don't know _____
 7) Not applicable _____

47. Why do you take that position?

48. What do you think of the idea of black officeholders forming black political caucuses?

1) Strongly support _____
 2) Support _____
 3) Indifferent to the idea _____
 4) Oppose _____
 5) Strongly oppose _____
 6) Don't know _____
 7) Not applicable _____

49. Why do you take that position?

50. Are you presently a member of any black caucuses?

Yes _____ No _____

If no, go to question 52.

51. What black caucuses are you a member of and do you hold any office or position in it?

Name of Black Caucus	Position
1)	
2)	
3)	
4)	
5)	

52. Were you ever a member of a black caucus?

Yes _____ No _____

If no, go to question 54.

53. What black caucuses were you a member of and did you hold any office?

Name of Black Caucus	Office Held
1)	
2)	
3)	
4)	
5)	

54. What do you think of the Michigan Democratic Black Caucus?

55. How would you sum up your evaluation of the Michigan Black Caucus?

- 1) Very favorable _____
- 2) Favorable _____
- 3) Indifferent to it _____
- 4) Unfavorable _____
- 5) Very unfavorable _____
- 6) Don't know _____
- 7) Not applicable _____

56. Why do you view the organization in that way?

57. How important is it to teach the black history in schools?

- 1) Very important _____
- 2) Important _____
- 3) Doesn't make any difference _____
- 4) Unimportant _____
- 5) Very unimportant _____
- 6) Don't know _____
- 7) Not applicable _____

58. Why do you have that opinion?

59. Do you support the idea that blacks should be educated in an integrated setting?

- 1) Strongly support _____
- 2) Support _____
- 3) Indifferent _____
- 4) Oppose _____
- 5) Strongly oppose _____
- 6) Don't know _____
- 7) Not applicable _____

60. Why do you have that opinion?

61. What do you think of the idea of metropolitan government?

- 1) Strongly support _____
- 2) Support _____

- 3) Indifferent _____
- 4) Oppose _____
- 5) Strongly oppose _____
- 6) Don't know _____
- 7) Not applicable _____

62. Why do you view that form of government in that way?

63. Would you favor a separate political party for blacks?

- 1) Strongly favor _____
- 2) Favor _____
- 3) Indifferent _____
- 4) Oppose _____
- 5) Strongly oppose _____
- 6) Don't know _____
- 7) Not applicable _____

64. Why do you view separate political parties in that way?

65. Do you think that blacks should continue to give most of their support to the Democratic Party, or do you think they should divide their votes between both parties?

- 1) Support Democrats only _____
- 2) Support both Democrats and Republicans _____
- 3) Support Republicans only _____
- 4) Don't know _____
- 5) Not applicable _____

66. Do you think communities should have total control over education, community input only, or no control at all?

- 1) Total community control _____
- 2) Community input _____
- 3) No community control _____
- 4) Don't know _____
- 5) Not applicable _____

67. Why do you view the issue of community control in that light?

68. Do you think that blacks who graduate from colleges and universities should return to the black community?

- 1) Should return to black community _____
- 2) No preference (or should be an individual decision) _____
- 3) Should not return to black community _____

69. What do you think of bussing to improve the education of blacks?

70. How would you sum up your attitude toward bussing?

- 1) Strongly favor _____
- 2) Favor _____
- 3) Indifferent _____
- 4) Oppose _____
- 5) Strongly oppose _____
- 6) Don't know _____
- 7) Not applicable _____

71. Some people say that blacks should retain their distinctive way of speaking; others disagree. Do you favor the idea of blacks retaining their dialect?

- 1) Support _____
- 2) Indifferent _____
- 3) Oppose _____
- 4) Don't know _____
- 5) Not applicable _____

72. Why do you say that?

73. There's a lot of talk nowadays about creating black-owned business enterprises. What is your opinion on this issue?

74. How would you sum up your attitude toward black business?

- 1) Strongly support _____
- 2) Support _____
- 3) Indifferent _____
- 4) Oppose _____
- 5) Strongly oppose _____
- 6) Don't know _____
- 7) Not applicable _____

75. What do you think of black Americans taking a position on U. S. policy toward Africa?

- 1) Strongly support _____
- 2) Support _____
- 3) Indifferent _____
- 4) Oppose _____
- 5) Strongly oppose _____
- 6) Don't know _____
- 7) Not applicable _____

76. What is the racial breakdown of your constituency?

Black _____% White _____%

77. What do you think should be the relationship between blacks in the U. S. and Africans?

78. What is your occupation (apart from office)?
79. What is your present income from office?
80. What is your total family income?
81. What is the highest level of education that you attained?
82. What is the highest level of education that your parents attained?

Father:

Mother:

83. What was your parents' occupations?

Father:

Mother:

84. What is your wife's education and occupation?

Wife's education:

Wife's occupation:

85. How would you rank your parents' socio-economic position?

- 1) Upper _____
- 2) Upper-middle _____
- 3) Middle _____
- 4) Lower-middle _____
- 5) Lower _____

86. How would you rank yourself on the same scale?

- 1) Upper _____
- 2) Upper-middle _____
- 3) Middle _____
- 4) Lower-middle _____
- 5) Lower _____

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