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RACIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES  
AMONG APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

BY

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RACIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES  
AMONG APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

A Thesis

Presented to

the faculty of the Graduate School

Appalachian State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Elizabeth Lingerfelt Williams

August 1974



## ABSTRACT

### RACIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES AMONG APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

A study was made of selected attitudes of the undergraduate students on the campus of Appalachian State University during the spring quarter, 1971. The data were collected by a random sample mail survey of the students using a questionnaire that included attitude scales on various aspects of basic democratic concepts. In addition, there were questions relating to the use of the song "Dixie" and the Confederate flag in an effort to discover whether they function as racist symbols.

There were 306 completed questionnaires, equitably distributed among the four classes, a 46 per cent return on a 12 per cent sample of the student body of 5,583.

The data showed that there was moderate to high support for the democratic attitudes that were investigated. Strongest support was for rules of the game (fair play, respect for legal procedures, and consideration for the rights of others), free speech and opinion, and pro-integration sentiments. Racial prejudice did not appear to be a sizable problem at Appalachian.

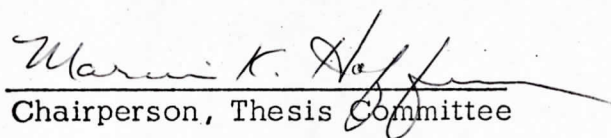
The almost-all-white sample did not, as a whole, think the song "Dixie" or the Confederate flag expressed racist feelings but approximately half of the respondents acknowledged that the use of either

symbol probably seemed racist to black people. Those respondents who were most supportive of democratic principles were also most sensitive to the elements of racism that might be involved in the use of the symbols.

Approximately half of the sample claimed no political party preference. The choice of a political party had no relationship to any of the attitudes that were studied but in some cases strong support for either party was associated with lower support for democratic ideas.

In general, socioeconomic factors were not good predictors of student attitudes.

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## INTRODUCTION

Interest in the attitudes of students in colleges and universities was greatly accelerated by the ferment on campuses across the United States and around the world during the turbulent 1960's. This is the report of a study made of the attitudes of undergraduate students at Appalachian State University during the spring quarter, 1971. The study concerned the relationships among democratic and anti-democratic attitudes, racial prejudice, attitudes toward the use of the song "Dixie" and the use of the Confederate flag, feelings of political cynicism, and feelings of political efficacy.

Appalachian State University, located in the mountains of the northwestern part of the state, is a member institution of the University of North Carolina, serving as a regional university with a largely rural orientation. Major portions of the students enrolled in 1971 were preparing for careers in teaching, but both professional and academic degrees were available to undergraduate and graduate students. Owing to limited physical facilities, enrollment had to be controlled and it was possible to select freshmen and transfers from among the better prepared high school and junior college graduates.

The activism of the college student has generated much social commentary by observers who have offered numerous analyses and interpretations. A large body of such commentary found its way into the news media and popular magazines as well as into the more scholarly journals. Not produced immediately but more useful in

determining hard facts has been a spate of research employing statistical data regarding student attitudes and what the students themselves have to say about what they think and how they feel. The time required to conduct and report in-depth research permits only a gradual filling-in of the total array of prevailing attitudes. That developing picture of what is already past, even though shedding light on what is happening today, may not attract much attention in the press of our fast-moving world of instantaneous news reportage.

One source of information, however, that does produce statistics current enough to be regularly reported in the news media is the public opinion polls, the best known of which is the Gallup Poll. A survey of the questioning done by the Gallup Poll over a number of years reflects the growing importance for society as a whole to know and understand the attitudes held by today's college student who is the nucleus of tomorrow's society. For example, in 1959 the Gallup Poll asked no questions of the college students as a separate group; in 1971 it researched college students' opinions on nine different topics.<sup>1</sup>

Studies of a more comprehensive nature regarding student attitudes have been conducted by various United States government agencies,<sup>2</sup> sponsored by national organizations and foundations,<sup>3</sup> and independently researched by faculty members on college and university campuses. The Social Sciences and Humanities Index, a good source for locating reports on research projects and other articles dealing

with college students, also reveals the increased attention given to student attitudes in recent years. April, 1970, was the first month a separate listing was made of articles dealing specifically with student attitudes. Before that, the occasional article on some aspect of student attitudes was grouped with other general articles concerning the college student. There were four articles on student attitudes listed in the 1970-71 volume, five articles in 1971-72, and eight in 1972-73.<sup>4</sup>

#### SIGNIFICANT OTHER RESEARCH

One topic that has been of continuous interest in recent decades, and one that is included in the present study, is that of racial prejudice. Some research in this area was done on another southern campus, that of the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, by Donald E. Muir and C. Donald McGlamery over a period of several years. They twice tested undergraduate students in an attempt to measure the dimensions and intensity of resistance to desegregation.<sup>5</sup> The first attitude questionnaire was administered to a stratified cluster sample of 676 students in April of 1963, seven years after the abortive attempt of Autherine Lucy to become a student at U.A. and about two months before the court-ordered enrollment of black students Vivian Malone and James Hood.

A follow-up study of 871 students, using the same sampling techniques and the same questionnaire but with some added items, was completed in November, 1966, when the population of blacks on



the university campus was still less than 1.0 per cent. A comparison of the results of the two studies gave a clear picture of a trend in liberalizing attitudes concerning desegregation and some other aspects of racial relations.

Six scales were used: 1) Attitude Regarding Desegregation, 2) Perception of Negro Characteristics, 3) Attitudes Regarding Equality of Political Opportunity, 4) Attitude Regarding Equality of Economic Opportunity, 5) Attitude Regarding Compatibility of Democracy and Segregation, and 6) Social Distance. The findings were reported in percentages of pro-integration and pro-segregation responses on each question in the six scales.

The pro-integration responses to various questions in the 1963 testing for attitudes toward desegregation ranged from 30.0 per cent to 61.8 per cent. The 1966 responses were between 45.7 per cent and 65.7 per cent, an increase in every instance and significant at the .0001 level of confidence on all questions but one.

There was not as much change in the perception of Negro characteristics, but what change there was was in the direction of pro-integration. The pro-integration responses ranged from 22.8 per cent to 58.3 per cent in 1963 and from 30.9 per cent to 65.0 per cent in 1966.

The majority of students in both the 1963 and 1966 samples endorsed the items regarding equality of political opportunity: 55.0 to 90.8 per cent in 1963 and 55.3 to 88.7 per cent in 1966. Two questions out of the six showed statistically significant increases in

pro-integration sentiments.

No significant change was recorded in these two student populations on the question of equal economic opportunity. A percentage of 85.2 was in favor in 1963 as compared to 82.7 per cent in 1966.

The compatibility of democracy and segregation was questioned by significantly more students in the 1966 sample than in the 1963 sample (41.3 per cent to 37.7 per cent), but in neither case did the questioning involve a majority of the student population.

In line with Emery S. Bogardus' findings in 1933, the Social Distance scale showed larger proportions rejecting social interaction with Negroes as the social interaction increased in intimacy. However, a significantly larger proportion endorsed every social distance item in 1966 than in 1963. The pro-integration responses ranged from 0.9 per cent to 56.4 per cent in 1963 and from 11.0 per cent to 76.6 per cent in 1966.

A third survey (N=1039) by Muir in November 1969 confirmed that the trend of increasing acceptance of black students by white students was continuing at a significant pace.<sup>6</sup>

A report Muir made of the data on the Social Distance scale from the three surveys<sup>7</sup> showed the percentages of pro-integration responses on that scale had increased in 1969 to a range of 11.9 to 92.2. All of the 12 items on the Social Distance scale had to do with specific situations in campus life, such as attending classes together, rooming together, and interracial dating. There was a wide range of degrees of

acceptance depending upon the activity, as has been seen. An analysis of pre-college and in-college factors in an attempt to discover the source of the increasing acceptance of black students led him to conclude that it was "due not to academic factors, but to nonacademic and environmental influences."<sup>8</sup> (Muir, p. 377)

A related concern, political alienation, has similarly interested researchers attempting to understand student attitudes. John Holian, Jr., administered four groups of scales to 280 students, primarily sophomores, in introductory sociology classes at a medium-sized, state-supported, residential, midwestern university.<sup>9</sup> He tested for feelings of alienation in relation to the university community; feelings of alienation in relation to the more distant spheres of politics and economics in the surrounding society; information about the university situation; and general knowledge of national political affairs.

Correlations of the data obtained showed a high degree of relationship between alienation to the university and alienation to society at large. There was an inverse relationship of alienation and information about campus affairs and national politics, i.e., higher levels of alienation correlated with lower levels of information.

The part of Holian's study that is relevant to the present study is the data concerning students' feelings of alienation from society in general. Four scales were used: 1) Powerlessness, testing for a feeling of either mastery or helplessness over events in the larger society; 2) Meaninglessness, testing for the degree to which national



and international events were regarded as overwhelmingly complicated, chaotic, and unpredictable; 3) Normlessness, measuring the expectancy that socially unapproved behavior is necessary for goal attainment in business or government; and 4) A Social Isolation scale which gauged the extent to which an individual experienced a separation between himself and others.

The values of correlations among these scales ranged from .38 to .51, indicating that "while there is some separability among the mass society alienation dimensions, there is also a fair amount of commonality."<sup>10</sup>

Holian concludes, "The present findings indicate that there exists among some students in our sample a world view consisting of a low expectancy for control over national and international events; a distrust of individuals in college, business, and government; confusion in the face of university, political and economic affairs; a sense of loneliness, anonymity, and impersonality among people on and off campus; and an expectation that college will only be worth it after it is all over. This world view is related to a lower awareness about one's immediate educational milieu and the domain of politics."<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps of most importance was Holian's finding that correlations between alienation and the social background variables of father's occupation, parental income, community of origin, age, year in college, grade-point average, sex, and religious preference failed to account for differences in levels of alienation. However, there was

some indication that a higher grade-point average was slightly associated with less intense feelings of alienation.

### THE PROBLEM

The present study of the Appalachian State University student was stimulated by some of the same motivational forces that produced the above-mentioned research and analyses. In addition, social controversy over the use of the Confederate flag and the song "Dixie" prompted a desire to discover how these symbols were functioning in attitudinal patterns relating to race. After a review of some of the literature relating to student attitudes and a consideration of some of the fundamental ideas that are vital to a viable democratic society, the following questions were formulated:

1. To what extent are basic democratic attitudes prevalent in the Appalachian student body?
2. To what extent does racial prejudice, with particular reference to blacks, exist in the student body at Appalachian?
3. To what extent are the political and racial attitudes of the students functions of their socioeconomic backgrounds?
4. What are the Appalachian student political party preferences? How strongly do they support their parties?
5. Is political party preference related to support for democratic ideas?
6. Do the Confederate flag and the song "Dixie" function as symbols of racial prejudice?

7. Are there socioeconomic status differentials among those who reacted differently to the images evoked by "Dixie" and the Confederate flag?
8. Do Democratic identifiers see the Confederate flag and "Dixie" differently from Republican students?
9. To what extent are the images of "Dixie" and the Confederate flag related to the more-frequently-studied dimensions of efficacy, support for integration, and measures of support for democratic ideas?
10. Did the referendum conducted on the Appalachian State University campus in February, 1971, on the playing of "Dixie" at athletic events reflect the true feeling of the student body?

#### METHOD OF STUDY

The data for the study were collected through the use of a mailed questionnaire (See Appendix A), the most practical method for the situation, given the existing limitations of time, manpower, and financial resources. The decision that a mailed questionnaire would be an acceptable procedure was made after careful consideration of the problems involved in a mail survey from a scientific point of view.<sup>12</sup> The fact that the universe of college students could reasonably be assumed to be literate eliminated the most serious objection regarding the usual mail survey of the general population. However,

there still remains the possibility of some undetermined amount of selectivity due to nonresponse. "The root of the difficulty lies in the fact that the people who do not respond are in some ways and to varying degrees different from them that do."<sup>13</sup> Another uncertainty involved the question of whether the questionnaire ever got to the intended respondent. The cost of being absolutely certain would have been prohibitive.

A random sample was drawn by computer from the undergraduate student body, excepting the extension students. Using a Monte Carlo procedure, a random number from one to eight was selected and that number was used to select the first name from an alphabetical list of the student body. Thereafter, every eighth name on the list was selected for the 12 per cent sample, numbering 670 out of a universe of 5,583.

Of the 670 questionnaires sent out, 306 were returned. This is a rate of almost 46 per cent, a normal response based on the information reported by E. Terrence Jones that ". . . mail surveys rarely have a return rate of over 50 per cent."<sup>14</sup>

The research design for the study included the use of a number of attitude scales. An attitude scale is a series of questions of a homogeneous content that test for attitudes in a certain area, such as racial integration. The scale is designed to measure individual or group attitudes with a numerical score so as to reveal the strength of the attitude under study. The construction of such a scale is a highly



technical matter, especially the statistical procedures necessary to establish its consistency or reliability and to what degree the scale is valid or testing what it purports to test. Therefore, this study uses previously developed scales for measuring each attitude with the exception of the specific questions relating to the use of the Confederate flag and the song "Dixie," for which original questions were developed.

The previously developed scales were obtained from Measures of Political Attitudes by Robinson, Rusk and Head. The Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan, perhaps the most prestigious survey center in the country, concerned at the proliferation of attitude scales of varying quality, published this collection of what it determined to be "the vast majority of higher-quality instruments available."<sup>15</sup>

Selections were made from the Robinson, Rusk and Head collection because of the desire to use scales of some established reliability and validity; but also in order to compare the results of the survey of Appalachian students with the results other researchers had obtained using the same instruments with other groups of people.

The questions comprising the various scales were scattered randomly in the questionnaire, using a scoring format known as summated rating which was developed by Rensis Likert.<sup>16</sup> Each respondent was given a choice of five responses to each question ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree; each choice was given a

numerical value ranging from one for strongly disagree to five for strongly agree. If a statement were not supportive of the attitude being measured, the scoring was reversed when the data were analyzed. A total score for each scale was obtained for each respondent by summing the numerical values of the responses made on all the questions in the scale.<sup>17</sup>

### THE SAMPLE

It was not considered necessary to draw a stratified sample because the student body was so evenly divided among the four classes. The Freshmen comprised 26.4 per cent of the student body, Sophomores 24.9, Juniors 22.4, and Seniors 26.3.

Figure 1 shows a comparison between the percentage breakdown by class of the student body as a whole and the percentage of the students in each class who returned the questionnaire. Since 22.8 per cent of the respondents were Freshmen, 32.4 per cent Sophomores, 21.9 per cent Juniors, and 22.8 per cent Seniors, it can be seen that the Freshmen, Juniors and Seniors were slightly underrepresented and the Sophomores somewhat overrepresented.

The demographic data collected in the survey provided a collective portrait of the Appalachian student. In regard to scholastics, 69 per cent of the students in the sample had grade point averages between 2.00 and 2.99. Approximately 8.5 per cent were below and 22.5 per cent were above.

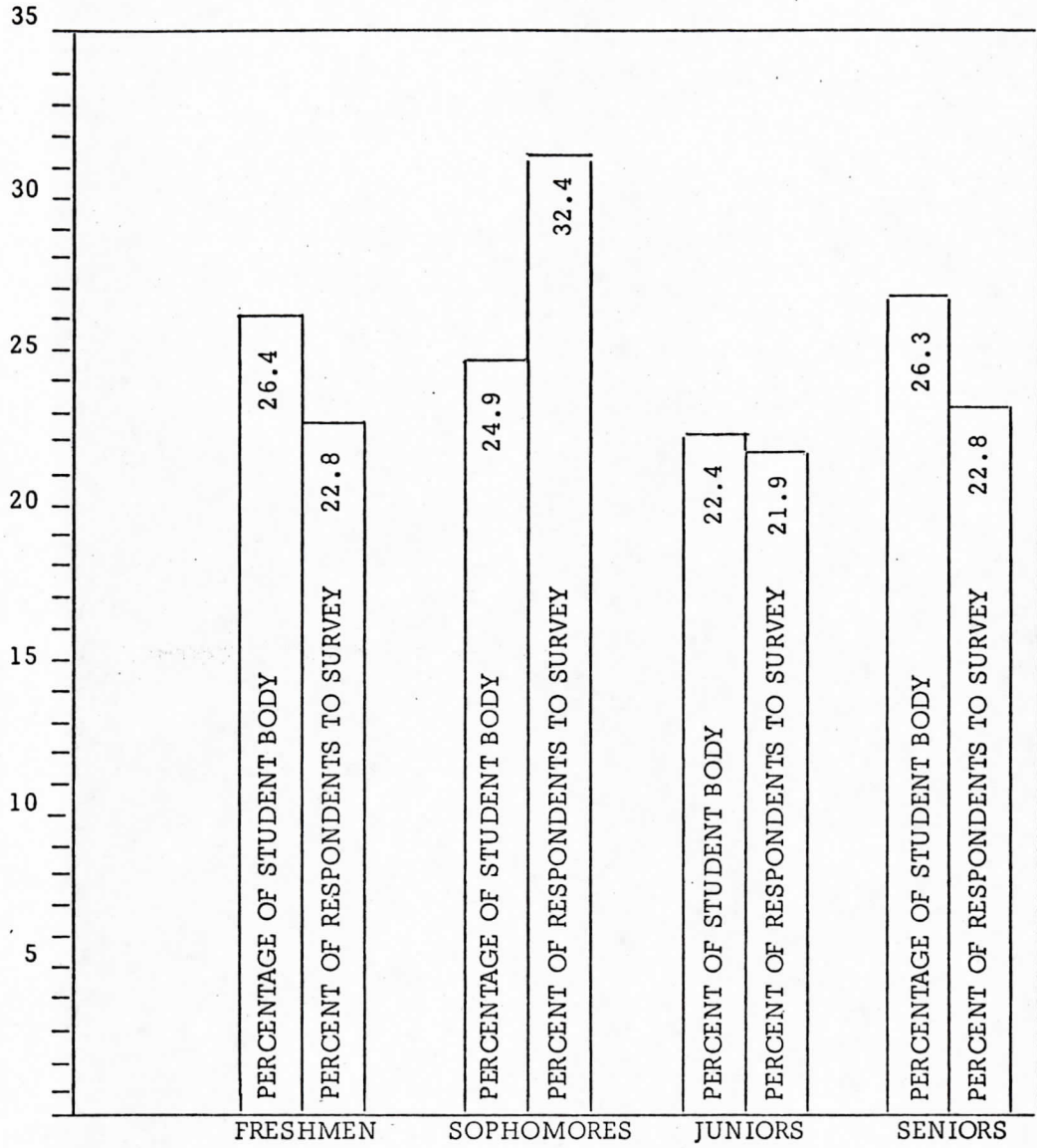


Figure 1

A Comparison of Percentages of Students in University  
and in Survey Sample, by Class



The sample was overwhelmingly white. Only 2 of the 306 respondents were black; there was 1 "other" response, a foreign student.

Ninety-six per cent of the sample were between the ages of 18 and 24 and approximately two-thirds of that group were 20 years old or younger. Nine per cent were married and slightly more than half were female: 157 to 149. Less than 3.0 per cent were military veterans.

Almost exactly half of the respondents, 49.7 per cent, claimed to have no political party preference. Of those remaining, there were more Democrats than Republicans, 29.7 and 19.6 per cent of the total, respectively. Members who described themselves as strong supporters were almost the same numerically for each party, 16 Democrats and 15 Republicans, but the percentage for the Republicans was higher: 25.0 compared to 17.6 for the Democrats. Only 1.0 per cent of the sample were of some other political persuasion. One write-in response said, "White racist - strong."

With reference to religion, the sample was preponderantly Protestant, 82.7 per cent. Seven per cent were Catholic, 9.0 per cent "other," and less than 1.0 per cent Jewish.

The home town of 88 per cent of the sample (269) was located in North Carolina. Almost equal numbers were from another southern state or a northeastern state, 5 per cent in either case. There were two students from the midwest and one foreign student.

Asked about the nature of the place where they spent the majority of their lives up to the age of 12 years, 32 per cent said small town,

31 per cent said rural, 22 per cent city, and 14 per cent suburb. Only 14 per cent indicated they had grown up in the mountains; 57 per cent said the piedmont, and 5 per cent the coastal region.

The questionnaire contained a section asking for demographic information concerning the respondents' parents that would contribute to the description of the respondents themselves. The question regarding occupations revealed 23 per cent of the fathers were skilled workers; 21 per cent were in managerial positions; 15 per cent were professional; 9 per cent white collar/clerical; 7 per cent semi-unskilled; and 4 per cent farmers.

The students reported that 40 per cent of their mothers were housewives, 14 per cent were white collar/clerical workers, and 12 per cent were skilled workers. The categories of professional and semi-unskilled were equally represented with 11 per cent, and managerial positions were held by 4 per cent.

As to education, the level attained by the largest number of parents was that of high school graduate with 28 per cent of the fathers and 39 per cent of the mothers receiving their diplomas. Fifteen per cent and 14 per cent, respectively, attended high school but did not graduate. Fifteen and 12 per cent, respectively, attended college without graduating while 18 and 13 per cent graduated. Nine and 11 per cent acquired a technical college diploma, a trade certificate, or an equivalent, while 13 and 7 per cent got no further than primary school.

There were more parents with approximate annual incomes of over \$20,000 (11 per cent) than below \$5,000 (7 per cent). When the income levels between \$5,000 and \$15,000 were divided into categories containing increments of \$2,000 each, the data showed the parental incomes in each category were between 10 and 15 per cent of the sample. Fourteen per cent indicated parental incomes between \$15,000 and \$20,000. Nine per cent did not respond to the question.

In regard to the parents' political party preferences, the student responses indicated 40 per cent of the fathers and 47 per cent of the mothers were Democrats. The men were more likely to be "strong" Democrats than the women, 14 per cent to 7 per cent.

There were fewer Republicans but the percentage was the same for both the mothers and the fathers, 29 per cent. Again, the men were more likely than the women to be strong in their political party sentiments, 9 per cent to 6 per cent, but the disparity in the percentages was smaller than that between the Democratic men and women.

The students were somewhat better acquainted with their mothers' political affiliations than with their fathers'. Eleven per cent did not know to which party their mothers belonged and 14 per cent did not know about their fathers. Thirteen per cent said their mothers had no preference and 11 per cent said their fathers had no preference.



## STUDENT ATTITUDES

### McCloskey Attitude Scales

Seven of the attitude scales used in this study were developed by Herbert McCloskey for use in a study of democratic and anti-democratic attitudes in which he sampled two population groups: 1) Political leaders, drawn from the 1956 Democratic (1788) and Republican (1232) national convention delegates; 2) Followers, a national cross-section of American voters whose sample size was 1484 persons.<sup>18</sup>

Rules of the Game. The first scale in order, Rules of the Game, tested for the values of fair play, respect for legal procedures, and consideration for the rights of others. Six of the 12 original items were used (see Table 1). With the possible scores on the scale ranging from 6 to 30, the actual mean score for the Appalachian student body as a whole was 20.2 (see Figure 2). The Freshmen scored lowest as a class at a mean of 19.6 with the other classes scoring progressively higher: Sophomores 20.2, Juniors 20.4, and Seniors 20.6. As can be seen, little gross differences appear between classes.

The distribution of the scores is shown in Figure 3. The curve is fairly well balanced but centered somewhat on the high side. There is bimodal distribution around the mean score as a result of 44 students scoring 19 and 41 scoring 21.

This analysis of the total scale scores shows the Appalachian student to be moderately but not highly supportive of the rules of the

Table 1

A Comparison of National and ASU Samples  
on Rules of the Game Scale

Items	National Sample, 1956		ASU Sample
	Political Influentials (N=3020)	General Electorate (N=1484)	Spring Quarter 1971 (N=306)
% Agree			
1. It is all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it.	21.2	30.2	37.9
2. The majority has the right to abolish minorities if it wants to.	6.8	28.4	5.2
3. I don't mind a politician's methods if he manages to get the right things done.	25.6	42.4	18.7
4. There are times when it almost seems better for the people to take the law into their own hands rather than wait for the machinery of government to act.	13.3	26.9	44.7
*5. People ought to be allowed to vote even if they can't do so intelligently.	65.6	47.6	30.4
6. We might as well make up our minds that in order to make the world better a lot of innocent people will have to suffer.	27.2	41.6	26.1

\*Agree responses indicate support for rules of the game.

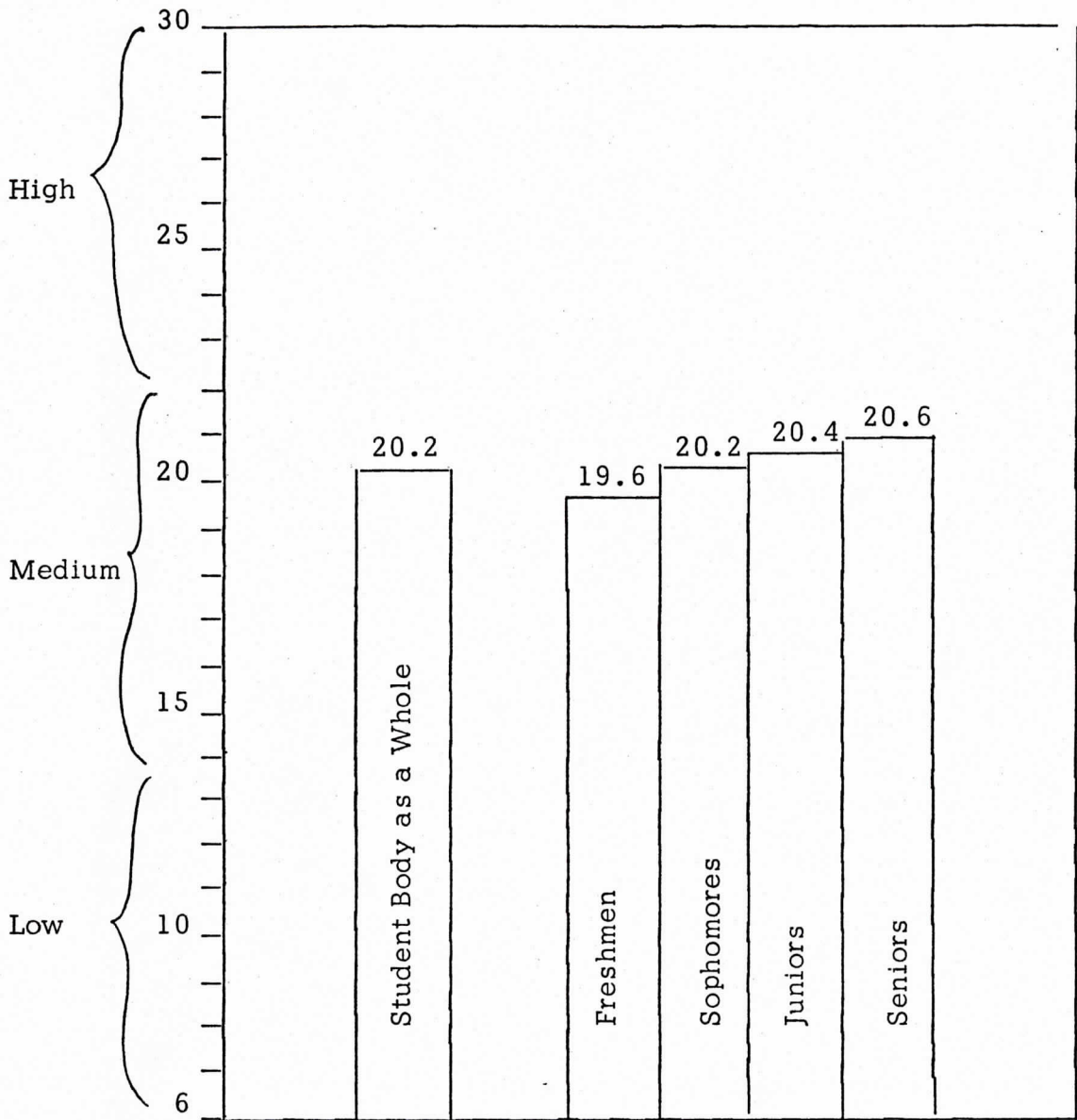
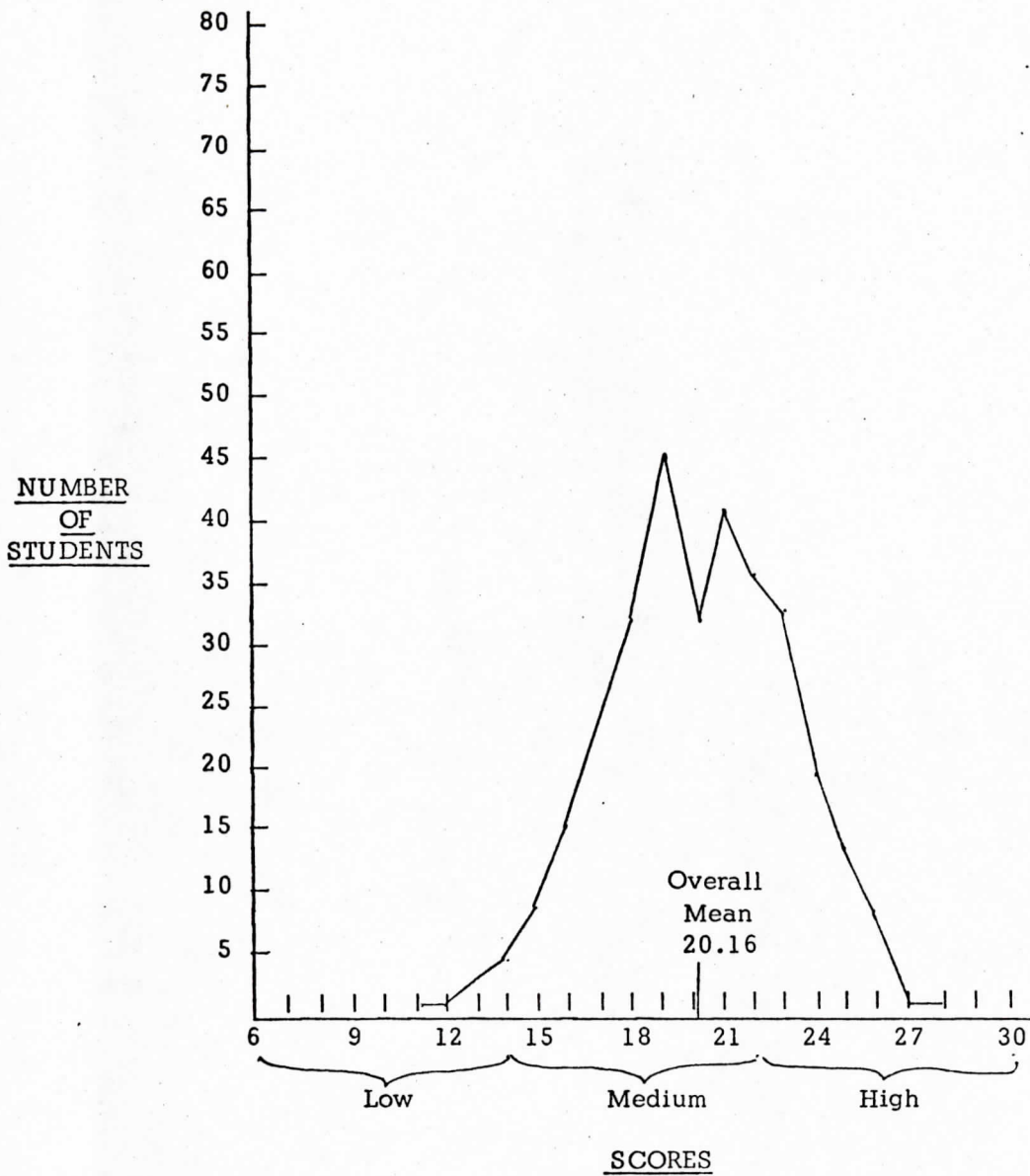


Figure 2

Mean Scores on Rules of the Game  
Scale by Class

SUBGROUP ANALYSIS

Standard Deviations  
by Class

Freshmen 2.820

Sophomores 3.215

Juniors 2.569

Seniors 2.953

Figure 3

Distribution of Scores on Rules of the Game Scale



game. Table 1 shows a comparison of the ASU sample with the two McCloskey samples and a look at the scoring on the individual questions may be more specifically revealing. Between one-third and one-half of the ASU sample thought it was "all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it" and that "there are times when it almost seems better for the people to take the law into their own hands rather than wait for the machinery of government to act." These percentages are markedly higher than for the national samples.

Coupled with that was a much lower percentage of the student sample not minding "a politician's methods if he manages to get the right things done." This pattern could be interpreted as indicative of a feeling of personal accountability and decision along with an insistence that the politician also be accountable for his methods of operation. There is less unquestioning acceptance of "the establishment" and the status quo. Even the rather startlingly low figure of only 30.4 per cent agreeing that "people ought to be allowed to vote even if they can't do so intelligently" ties in with the idea of personal accountability in that it expresses a view that only responsible people should participate in decision making.

Free Speech and Opinion. The scale on support for general statements of free speech and opinion, i. e., showing a respect for the right of all citizens to express any viewpoint or opinion, contained four of McCloskey's original eight items (see Table 2) with a score range of from 4 to 20. The mean score for the Appalachian student

Table 2

A Comparison of National and ASU Samples  
on Free Speech and Opinion Scale

Items	National Sample, 1956		ASU Sample
	Political Influentials (N=3020)	General Electorate (N=1484)	Spring Quarter 1971 (N=306)
	% Agree		
*1. Freedom of conscience should mean freedom to be an atheist as well as freedom to worship in the church of one's choice.	87.8	77.0	90.5
*2. You can't really be sure whether an opinion is true or not unless people are free to argue against it.	94.9	90.8	84.7
*3. No matter what a person's political beliefs are, he is entitled to the same legal rights and protections as anyone else.	96.4	94.3	92.2
*4. I believe in free speech for all no matter what their views might be.	89.4	88.9	83.0

\*Agree responses indicate support for free speech and opinion.

body as a whole was 16.5 (see Figure 4). The mean scores for the individual classes followed an up-and-down pattern with 16.6 for the Freshmen, Sophomores 16.3, Juniors 16.7, and Seniors 16.6. Even so, a fairly strong pattern of similarity existed among the four class groupings.

The curve for the distribution of scores (see Figure 5) was tall and slender, starting low at a score of 8 but showing a preponderance of high scores when 28 students scored the maximum of 20. The peak came at 16, half a point short of the mean, with 76 students recording that score. Such a distribution indicates that as a whole Appalachian students were quite homogeneous on this attitude and that most students had attitudes that were generally supportive of free speech, clustering near the mid point of the upper third of a continuum from a high level of disapproval to a high level of approval of free speech.

While the Appalachian State University student sample was more supportive of the idea of free speech than of any other dimension of democratic attitudes included in the study, Table 2 shows that the Appalachian students still scored slightly lower in general than the two national samples. It is interesting to note that the only statement on which the largely Bible-belt students scored higher was the one saying "freedom of conscience should mean freedom to be an atheist as well as freedom to worship in the church of one's choice."

Specific Applications of Free Speech. A separate testing for support of specific applications of free speech and procedural rights

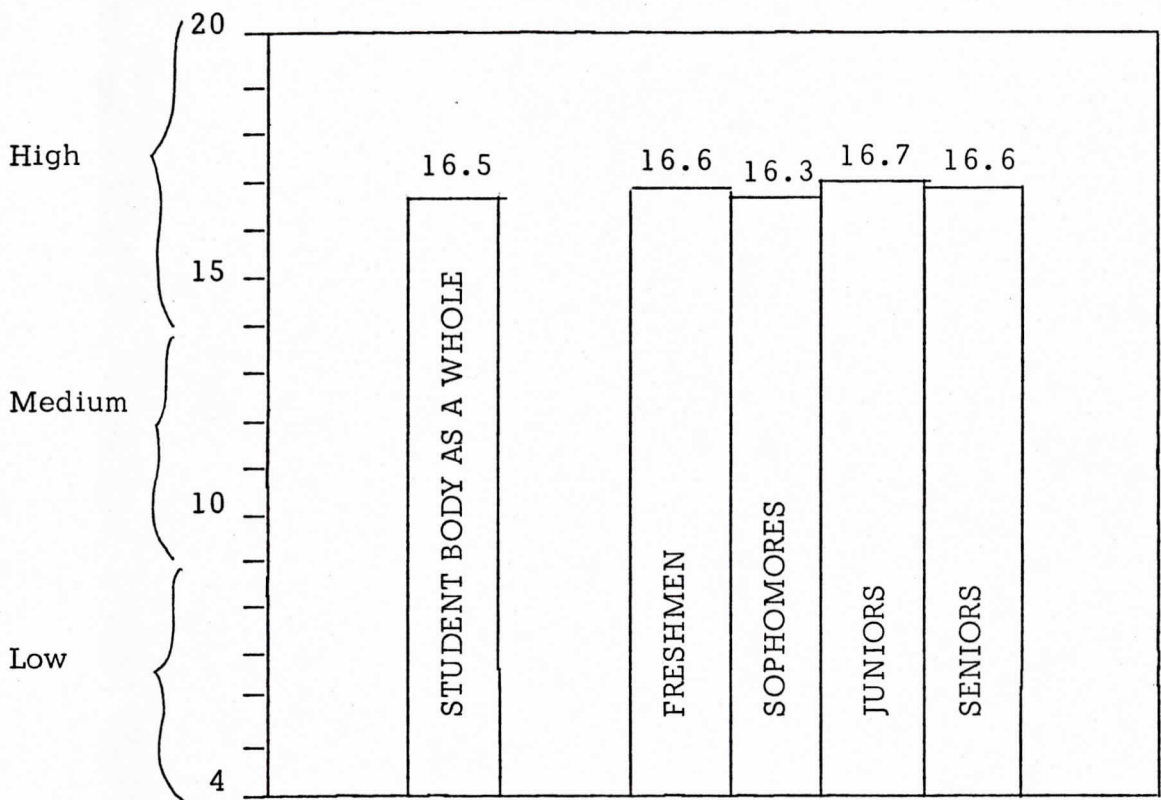
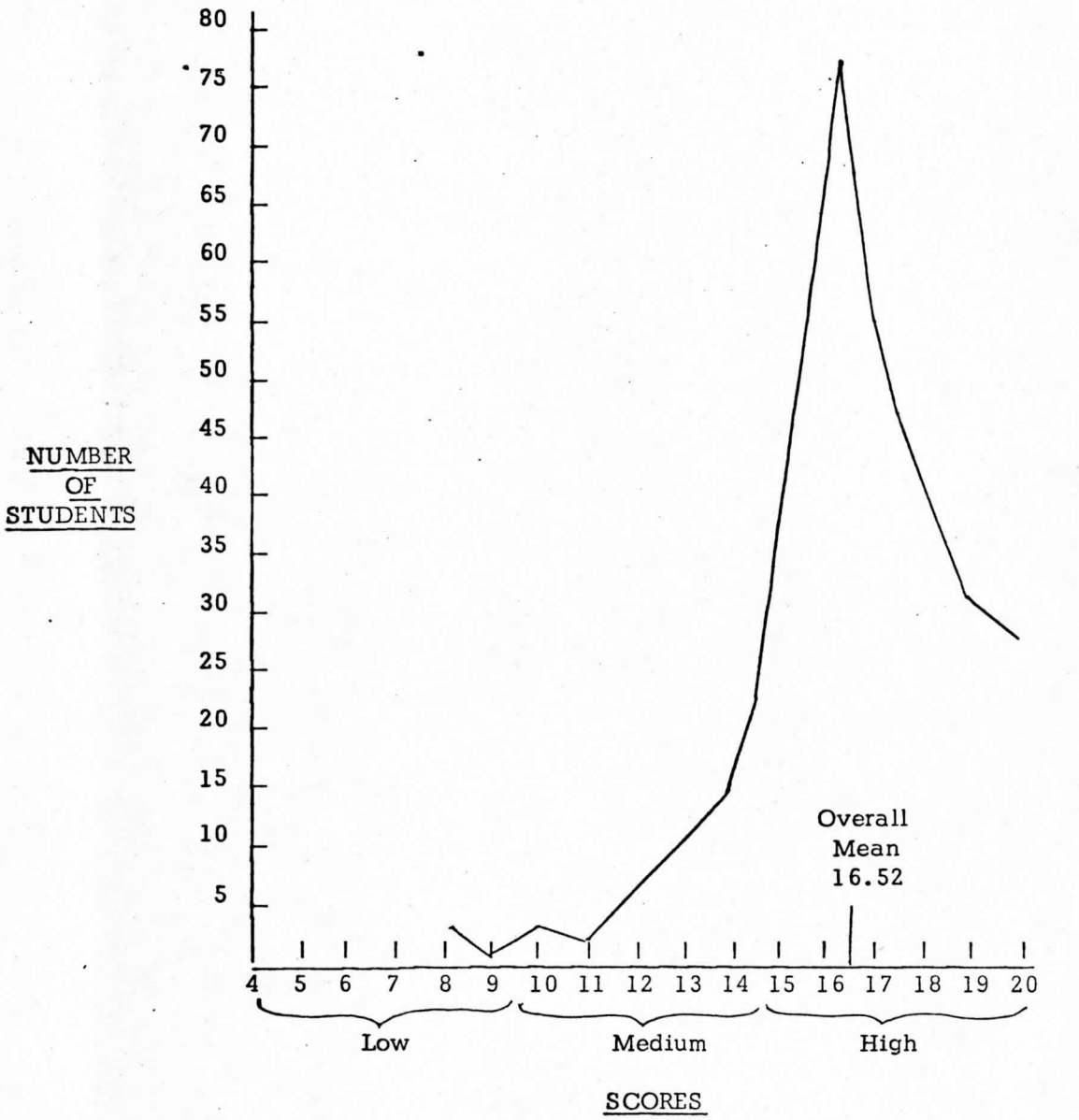


Figure 4

Mean Scores on Free Speech and  
Opinion Scale by Class





SUBGROUP ANALYSIS  
Standard Deviations  
by Class

Freshmen	1.535
Sophomores	2.419
Juniors	2.259
Seniors	2.456

Figure 5

Distribution of Scores on Free Speech and Opinion Scale

revealed the Appalachian student was more in favor of the idea of free speech than in the actual practice of it. Using five of the original nine items on McCloskey's scale (see Table 3), with possible scores ranging from 5 to 25, the study showed the overall mean score of the Appalachian student body was 17.7 (Figure 6). The Freshmen scored lowest as a class with a mean score of 17.2. The other classes had the ascending mean scores of Sophomores 17.7, Juniors 17.9, and Seniors 18.2.

A plotting of the distribution of scores (Figure 7) showed a preponderance of higher scores. There were few very low scores but six students scored the maximum of 25. The curve peaked at 18, three-tenths of a point past the mean, when 53 students scored at that level.

While the Appalachian students did support the specific applications of free speech at a lower level than they supported the idea of free speech, the disparity was not nearly as great as that shown in the national samples. Table 3 shows that the Appalachian State University sample was strikingly higher in its support of specific applications of free speech and procedural rights than were the national samples<sup>19</sup> except in the case of the statement, "If a person is convicted of a crime by illegal evidence, he should be set free and the evidence thrown out of court," and there the support was strikingly lower. The idea of personal accountability is again evidenced: If a person is guilty of a crime he should be punished regardless of the technicalities

Table 3

A Comparison of National and ASU Samples  
on Specific Applications of Free  
Speech (and Procedural  
Rights) Scale

Items	National Sample, 1956		ASU Sample
	Political Influentials (N=3020)	General Electorate (N=1484)	Spring Quarter 1971 (N=306)
% Agree			
1. Any person who hides behind the law when he is questioned about his activities doesn't deserve much consideration.	55.9	75.7	26.2
*2. If a person is convicted of a crime by illegal evidence, he should be set free and the evidence thrown out of court.	79.6	66.1	46.1
3. A book that contains wrong political views cannot be a good book and does not deserve to be published.	17.9	50.3	8.8
4. Freedom does not give anyone the right to teach foreign ideas in our schools.	45.5	56.7	10.8
5. A man oughtn't be allowed to speak if he doesn't know what he's talking about.	17.3	36.7	17.3

\*Agree responses indicate support for specific applications of free speech and procedural rights.

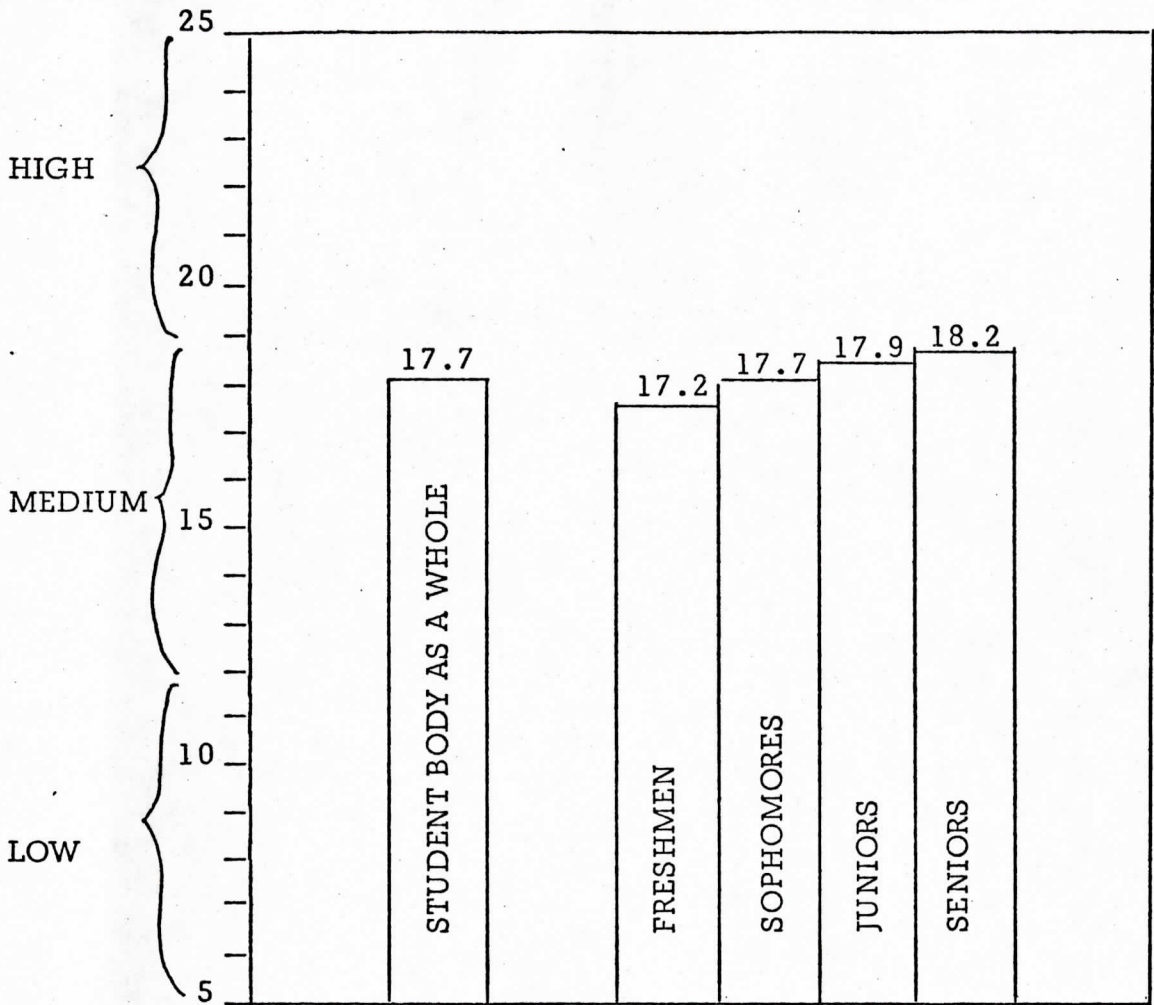
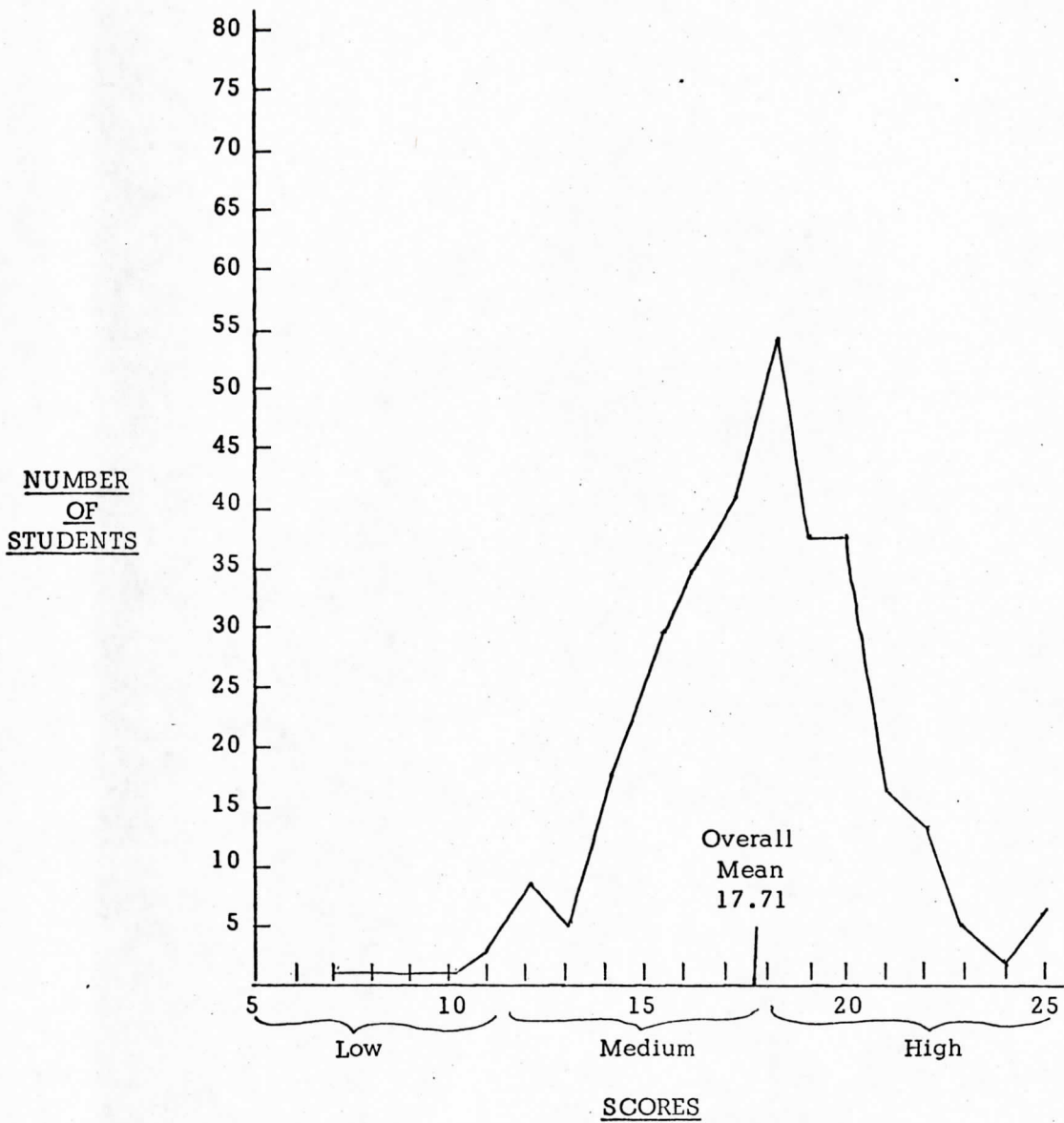


Figure 6

Mean Scores on Specific Applications of Free  
Speech (and Procedural Rights)  
Scale by Class





SUBGROUP ANALYSIS  
Standard Deviations  
by Class

Freshmen	2.225
Sophomores	2.978
Juniors	3.138
Seniors	2.814

Figure 7

Distribution of Scores on Specific Applications of Free Speech (and Procedural Rights) Scale

of court procedure.

Belief in Political Equality. There were three scales relating to belief in equality. The Belief in Political Equality Scale tested for the belief that because the political process results in decisions that affect their lives, all citizens have the right and the ability to participate in that process. The scale as used here contained three of McCloskey's five items (see Table 4), with a scoring range of 3 to 15. The overall mean for the Appalachian State University student body was 8.9 with the individual classes recording evenly spaced ascending scores of Freshmen 8.6, Sophomores 8.8, Juniors 9.0, and Seniors 9.2 (Figure 8).

The curve depicting the distribution of scores (Figure 9) shows one student making the lowest possible score and five making the highest. In between, the curve is asymmetrical with a modal score of 10.

Belief in Economic Equality. The Economic Equality Scale tested for the belief that there are social and governmental responsibilities to see that all citizens share on some equitable basis in the economic benefits of our society. Using three of McCloskey's five items (see Table 5) the scale had a scoring range of 3 to 15. The overall mean score for the student body at Appalachian State University was 9.1 with the individual classes scoring in the only pattern of descending order in this study: Freshmen 9.2, Sophomores 9.1, Juniors 9.1, and Seniors 9.0 (see Figure 10).

Table 4

A Comparison of National and ASU Samples  
on Belief in Political Equality Scale

Items	National Sample, 1956		ASU Sample
	Political Influentials (N=3020)	General Electorate (N=1484)	Spring Quarter 1971 (N=306)
% Agree			
*1. "Issues" and "arguments" are beyond the understanding of most voters.	37.5	62.3	42.8
*2. It will always be necessary to have a few strong, able people actually running everything.	42.5	56.2	46.8
*3. Few people really know what is in their own best interest in the long run.	42.6	61.1	40.5

\*Agree responses indicate lack of belief in political equality.

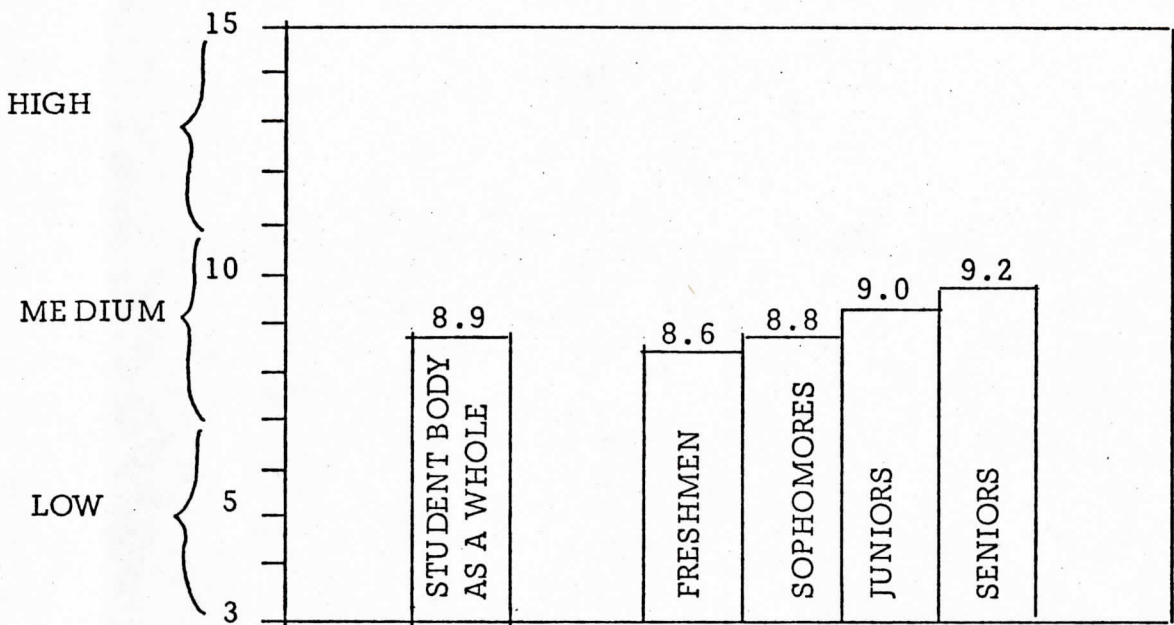


Figure 8

Mean Scores on Belief in Political  
Equality Scale by Class



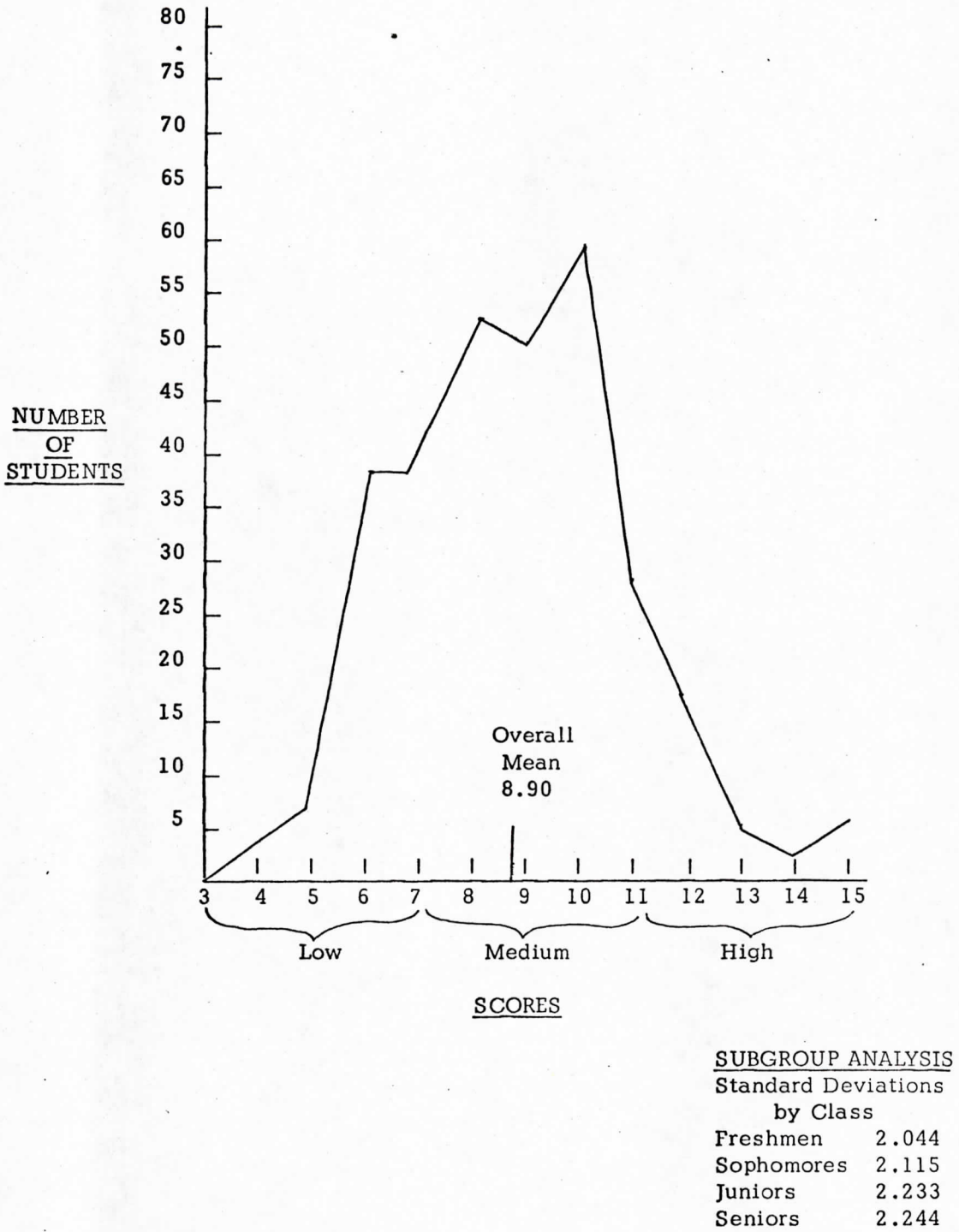


Figure 9

Distribution of Scores on Belief in Political Equality Scale

Table 5

A Comparison of National and ASU Samples  
on Belief in Economic Equality Scale

	National Sample, 1956		ASU Sample
	Political Influentials (N=3020)	General Electorate (N=1484)	Spring Quarter 1971 (N=306)
	% Agree		
1. There will always be poverty, so people might as well get used to the idea.	40.4	59.4	29.0
*2. The government ought to make sure that everyone has a good standard of living.	34.4	55.9	41.5
3. Labor does not get its fair share of what it produces.	20.8	44.8	42.8

\*Agree responses indicate belief in economic equality.

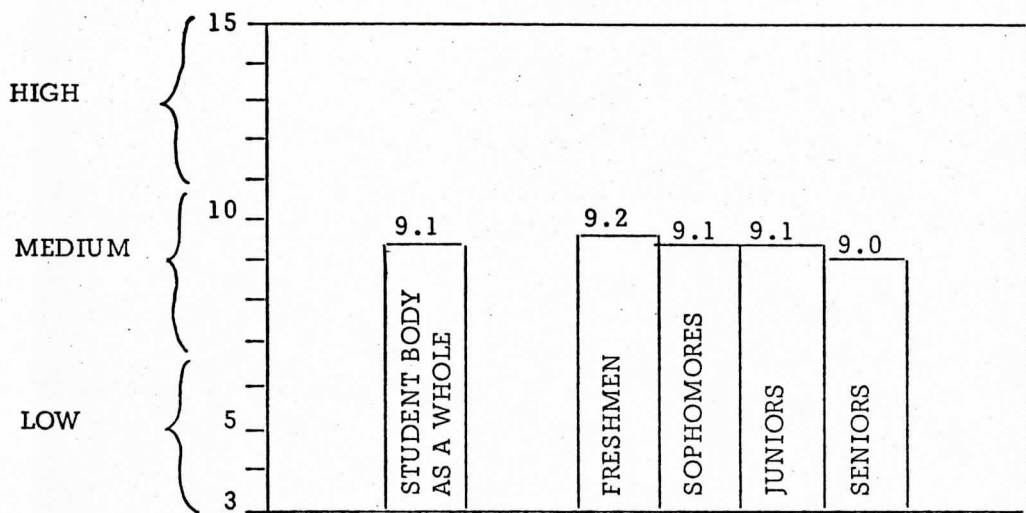


Figure 10

Mean Scores on Belief in Economic  
Equality Scale by Class

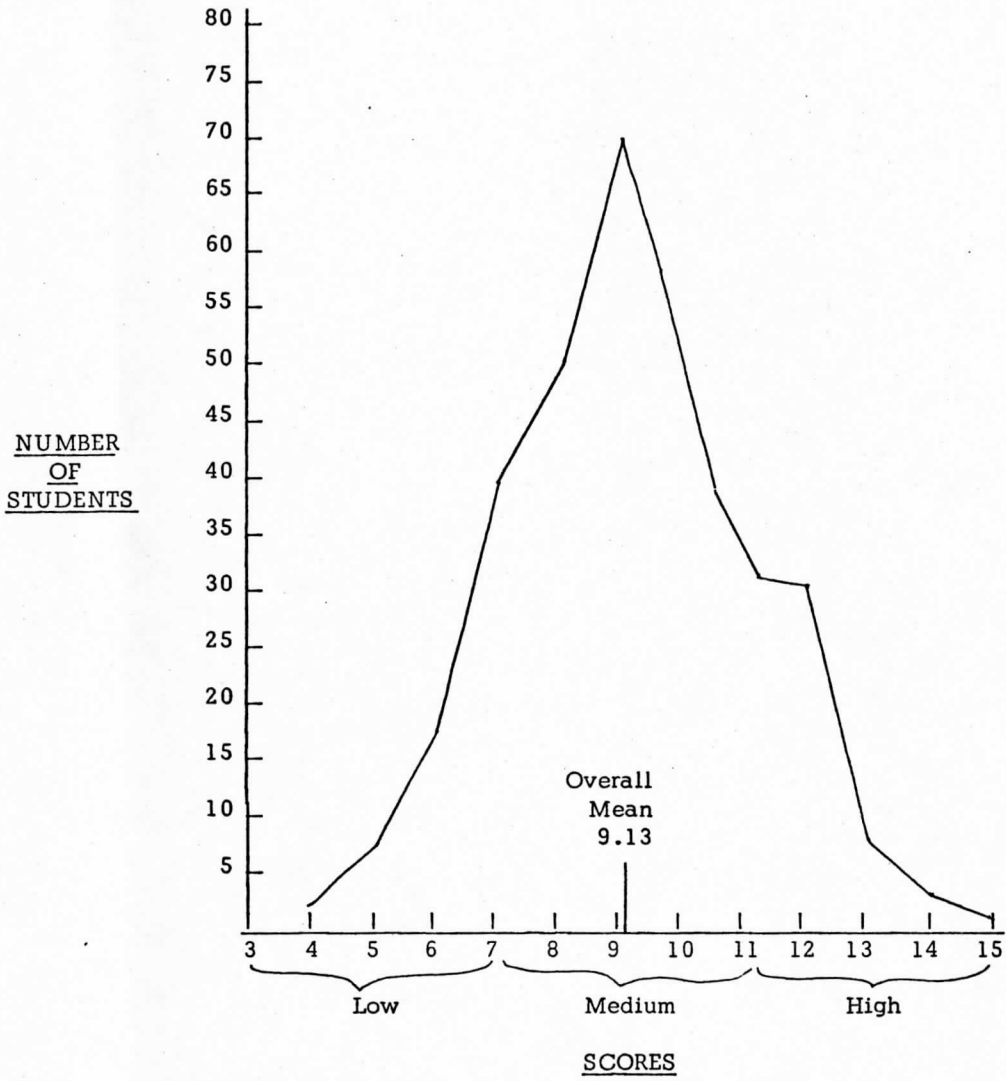
The curve for the distribution of scores (Figure 11) was fairly well balanced and peaked at 9, almost exactly on the mean, with 69 students making that score.

The mean scores of the Appalachian student sample for the scales on both political equality and economic equality came very near the midpoint of the possible scoring range, revealing the strength of support in these areas to be somewhat less than the democratic ideal. However, Tables 4 and 5 show that on most questions on the two scales, the level of support of the Appalachian State University student fell somewhere between that of the national samples of political influentials and the general electorate.

The two statements on which the students registered stronger democratic support than either national sample were "There will always be poverty, so people might as well get used to the idea," and "Few people really know what is in their own best interest in the long run." By rejecting both these ideas, a majority of the Appalachian State University student sample continued an expression of individualism and personal responsibility: an individual does not have to be poor and he does not need someone else to tell him what is best for him.

Belief in Social and Ethnic Equality. The final scale testing for belief in equality concerned support for social and ethnic equality, the belief that there is no inherent reason why the peoples of all the various racial and ethnic groups could not or should not associate freely on an equal basis. Using all five of McCl'oskey's statements





SUBGROUP ANALYSIS  
Standard Deviations  
by Class

Freshmen	1.945
Sophomores	1.938
Juniors	2.148
Seniors	1.958

Figure 11

Distribution of Scores on Belief in Economic Equality Scale

(see Table 6), the scale had a scoring range of 5 to 25. The mean score for the student body as a whole was 17.7 (Figure 12). The Freshmen and Sophomores showed similar low mean scores of 17.2 and 17.1, respectively, followed by a jump to similar high mean scores of 18.4 for the Juniors and 18.3 for the Seniors.

The distribution of scores produced an asymmetrical curve with a preponderance of higher scores (see Figure 13). One student made the lowest possible score and seven made the highest. The peak came at 17, seven-tenths of a point short of the mean, when 39 students scored at that level.

The students showed a markedly higher belief in social and ethnic equality than in political or economic equality. Compared with the national samples on belief in social and ethnic equality alone (see Table 6), the higher level of the student support provides even greater contrast. Approximately 50 per cent, more or less, of the participants in the national samples accepted the statements expressing anti-equality sentiments while only an approximate average of 20 per cent of the students did.

Cynicism toward Government and Politics. One last scale from McCloskey's study dealing with democratic and anti-democratic attitudes was used in this survey. The Cynicism toward Government and Politics Scale, testing for a feeling that the system will not govern justly and for the common good, used six of McCloskey's 14 items (see Table 7). With a scoring range of 6 to 30, the mean score for the

Table 6

A Comparison of National and ASU Samples  
on Belief in Social and Ethnic  
Equality Scale

Items	National Sample, 1956		ASU Sample
	Political Influentials (N=3020)	General Electorate (N=1484)	Spring Quarter 1971 (N=306)
% Agree			
*1. The trouble with letting certain minority groups into a nice neighborhood is that they gradually give it their own atmosphere.	49.8	57.7	17.4
*2. Regardless of what some people say, there are certain races in the world that just won't mix with Americans.	37.2	50.4	15.3
*3. We have to teach children that all men are created equal but almost everyone knows that some are better than others.	54.7	58.3	29.8
*4. When it comes to the things that count most, all races are certainly not equal.	45.3	49.0	24.5
*5. Just as is true of fine race horses, some breeds of people are just naturally better than others.	46.0	46.3	15.0

\*Agree responses indicate lack of belief in social and ethnic equality.

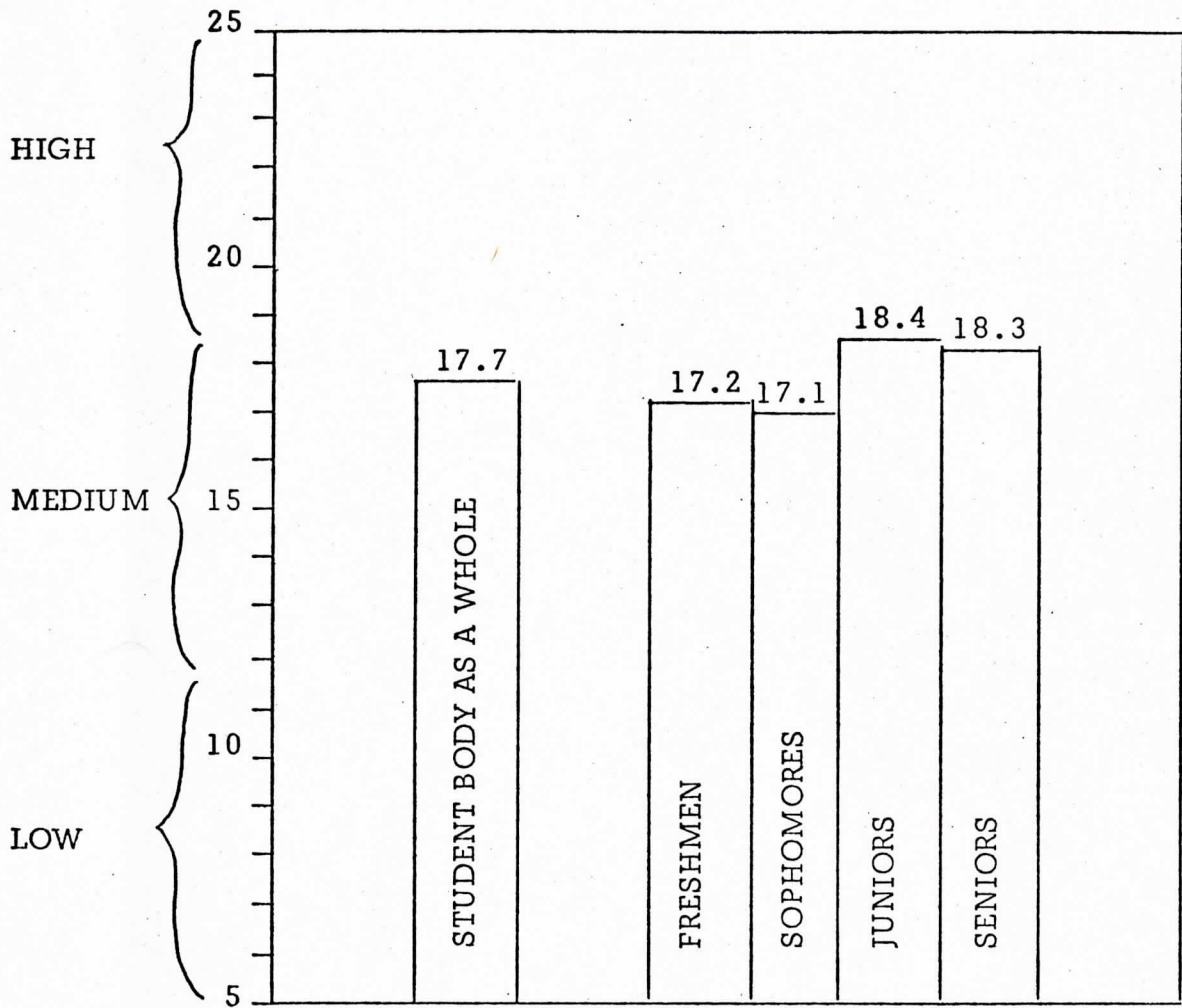
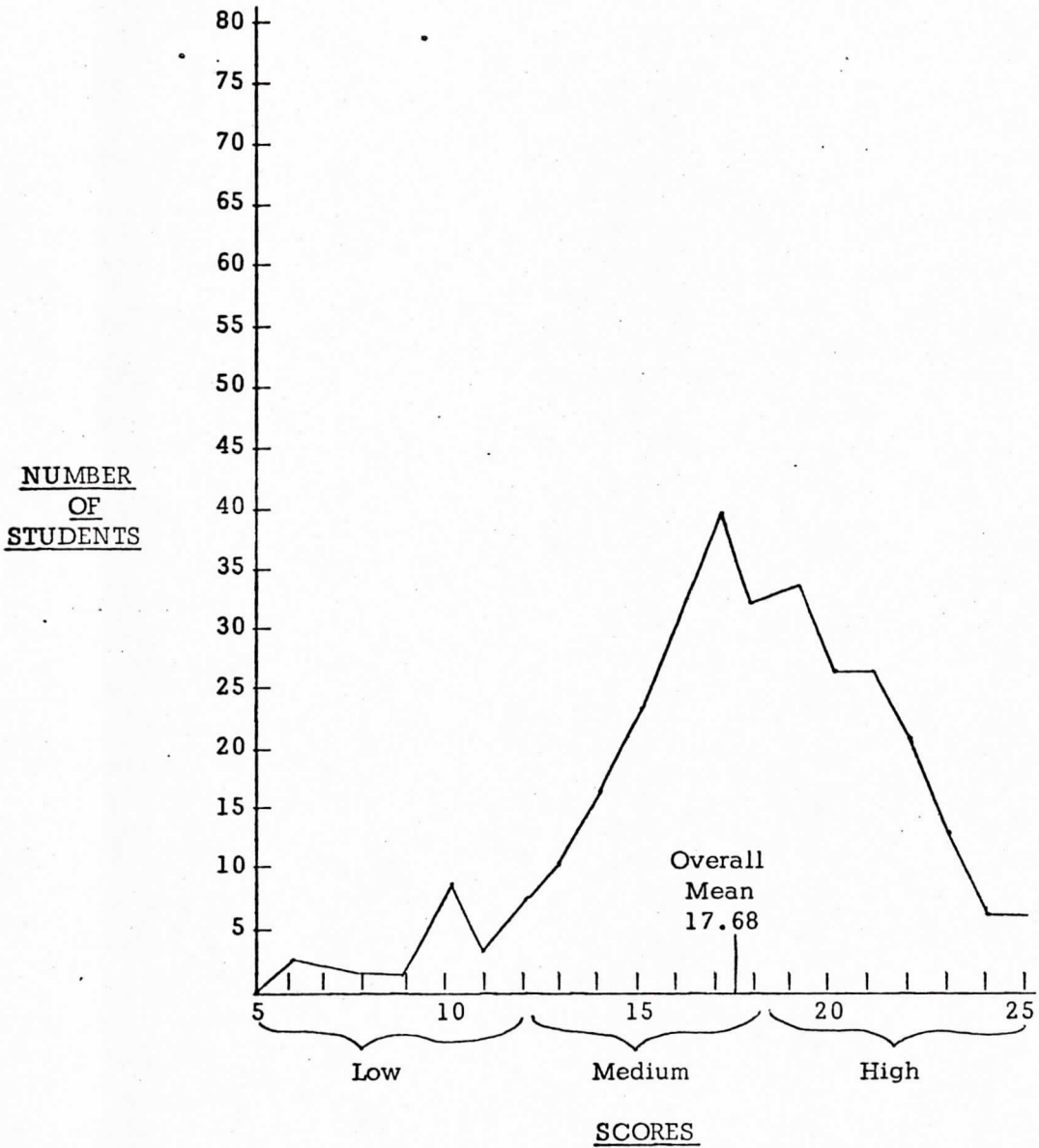


Figure 1 2

Mean Scores on Belief in Social and  
Ethnic Equality Scale by Class



SUBGROUP ANALYSIS

Standard Deviations

by Class

Freshmen	3.486
Sophomores	3.808
Juniors	3.795
Seniors	3.745

Figure 13

Distribution of Scores on Belief in Social and Ethnic Equality Scale

Table 7

A Comparison of National and ASU Samples  
on Cynicism toward Government  
and Politics Scale

Items	National Sample, 1956		ASU Sample
	Political Influentials (N=3020)	General Electorate (N=1484)	Spring Quarter 1971 (N=306)
	% Agree		
*1. No matter what the people think, a few people will always run things anyway.	30.0	53.8	57.1
2. I usually have confidence that the government will do what is right.	81.6	89.6	40.2
*3. The laws of this country are supposed to benefit all of us equally, but the fact is that they're almost all "rich-man's laws."	8.4	33.3	40.5
4. Most politicians can be trusted to do what they think is best for the country.	77.1	58.9	30.7
*5. There is practically no connection between what a politician says and what he will do once he gets elected.	21.4	54.0	36.6
*6. The people who really "run" the country do not even get known to the voters.	40.2	60.5	49.7

\*Agree responses indicate cynicism toward government and politics.

Appalachian study body as a whole was 18.9 (see Figure 14). The pattern for the mean scores of the individual classes showed cynicism toward government and politics to be somewhat higher among the Juniors than in the rest of the student body. The scores ran 18.8, 18.7, 19.6, and 18.7 for the Freshmen, Sophomores, Juniors, and Seniors, respectively.

The curve for the distribution of scores was fairly well balanced (see Figure 15) but with a jagged pattern. There was a bimodal distribution around the mean caused by 34 students scoring 17 and 35 students scoring 20.

The data suggest that the average student at Appalachian entertained a fairly high level of cynicism toward government and politics even before Watergate.<sup>20</sup> Table 7 shows that the Appalachian State University sample was more cynical than the national sample of political influentials in response to every statement included in the scale. It was more cynical than the national sample of the general electorate on all statements but two.

### Political Efficacy

Political efficacy, an attitude that is the approximate obverse of cynicism toward government and politics, was the subject of another scale used in this survey. A sense of political efficacy is defined as the feeling that political and social change is possible and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change.

A scale designed to measure this dimension of a person's

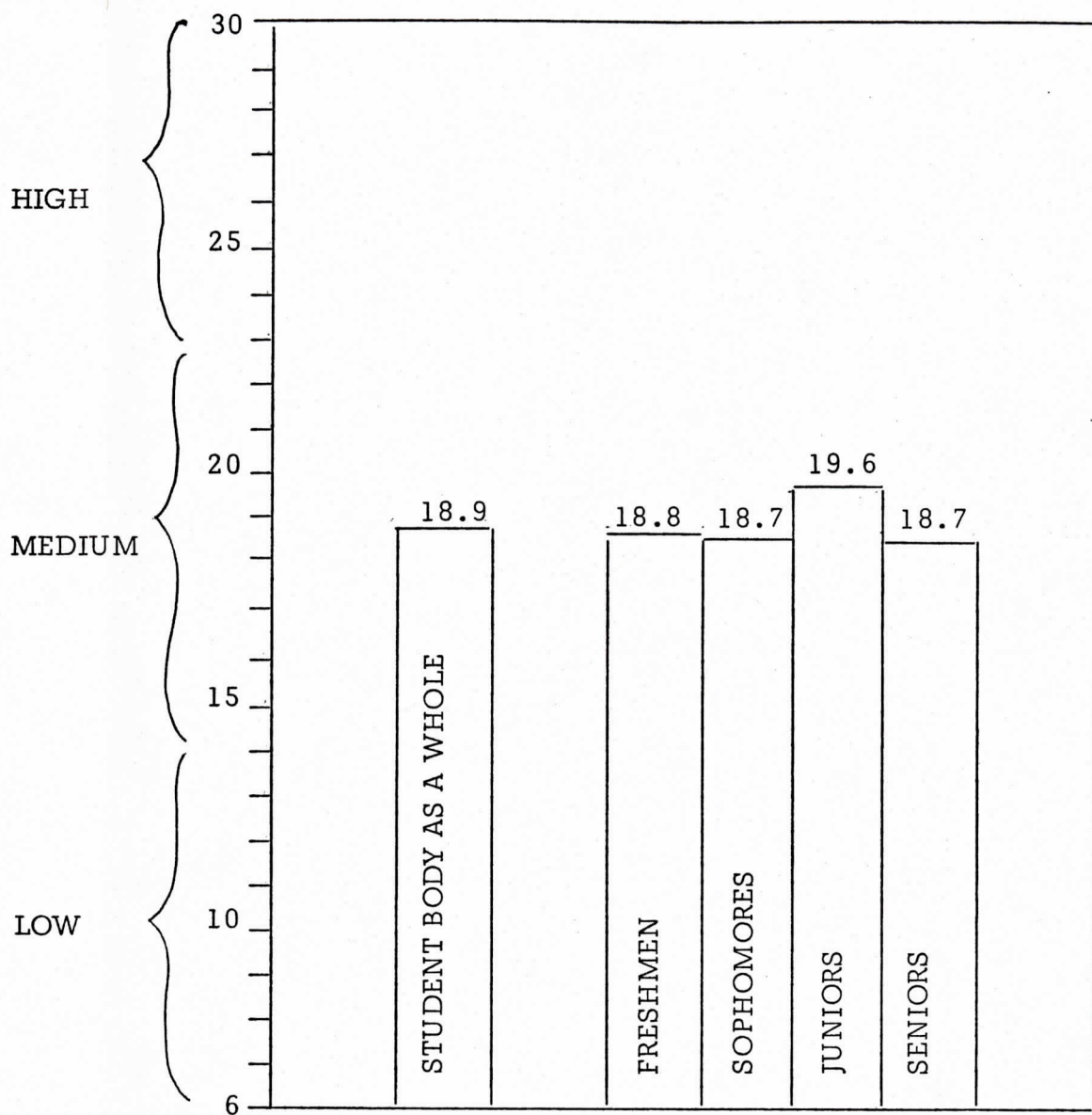
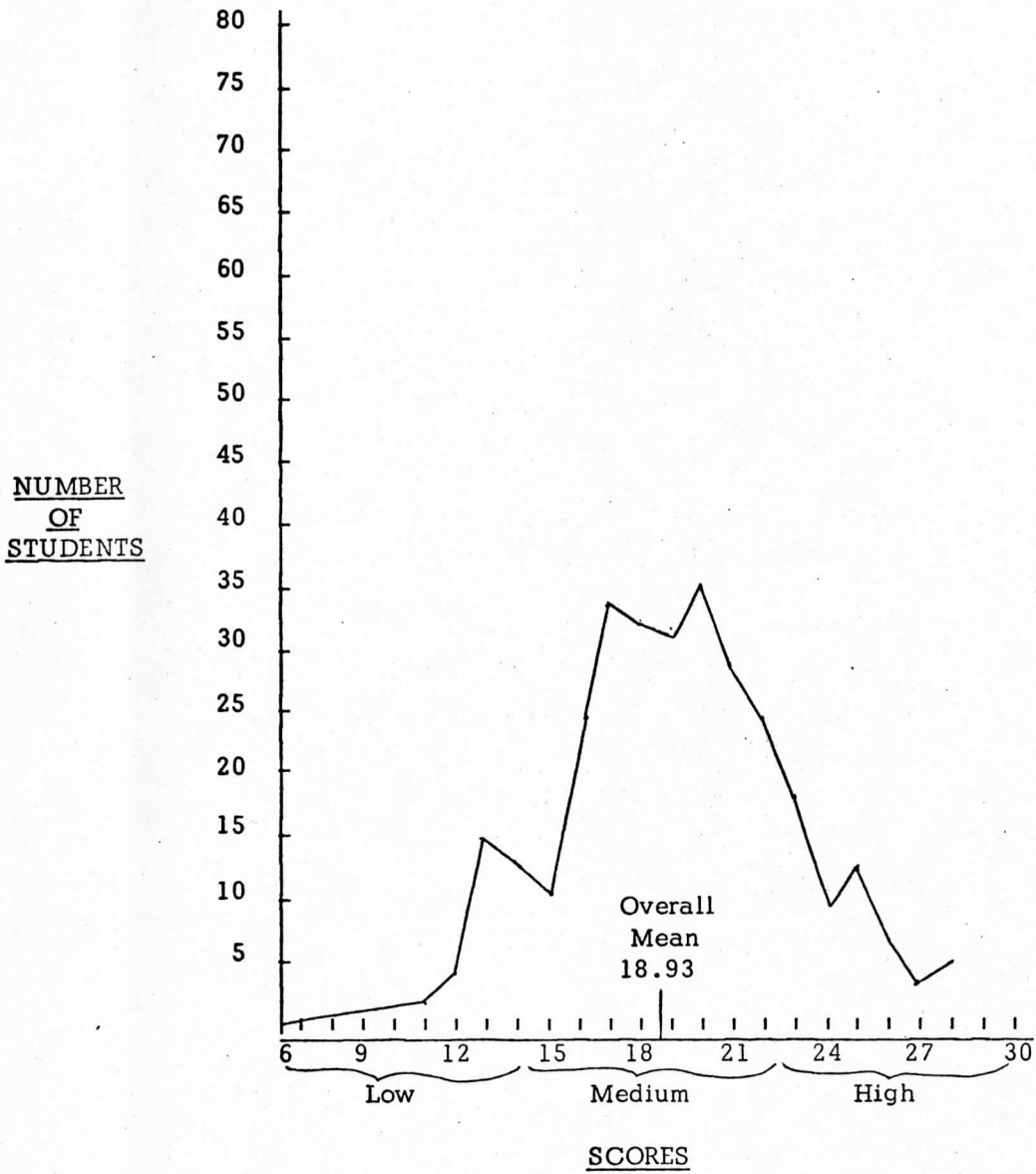


Figure 14

Mean Scores on Cynicism toward Government  
and Politics Scale by Class



SUBGROUP ANALYSIS  
Standard Deviations  
by Class

Freshmen	3.183
Sophomores	3.420
Juniors	3.650
Seniors	3.652

Figure 15

Distribution of Scores on Cynicism toward Government and Politics Scale



subjective competence in politics, especially with regard to one's feeling of playing an important role in telling the government how things should be run, was developed by Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller for the Survey Research Center.<sup>21</sup> It was used as part of the Center's interview schedule for the 1952 election study (and has been used in each Presidential election since then). The sample population was a representative cross-section of 1614 citizens of voting age living in private households in the United States, chosen by area probability sampling methods in early fall 1952.

A list of the statements comprising the scale is shown in Table 8. With the possible scores ranging from 5 to 25, the mean for the Appalachian student body as a whole was 14.9 (see Figure 16). The Freshmen scored lowest as a class with a mean of 14.4. The Juniors were slightly higher with 14.5, the Sophomores went to 15.1, and the Seniors were highest at 15.5.

Figure 17 shows the distribution of scores. Although tending to be heavy on the low side, the curve is fairly well balanced. There is a slight preponderance of lower scores with a bimodal distribution around the mean caused by 51 and 52 students scoring 14 and 16, respectively.

As might be expected, the mean scores on the Political Efficacy Scale and the Cynicism toward Government and Politics Scale were generally complementary to each other, the first hovering slightly below the midpoint on the scoring range and the second hovering

Table 8

## Political Efficacy Scale

- \*1. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country.
2. Sometimes politics and government seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.
3. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.
4. I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.
5. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.

\*Agree responses indicate a feeling of political efficacy.

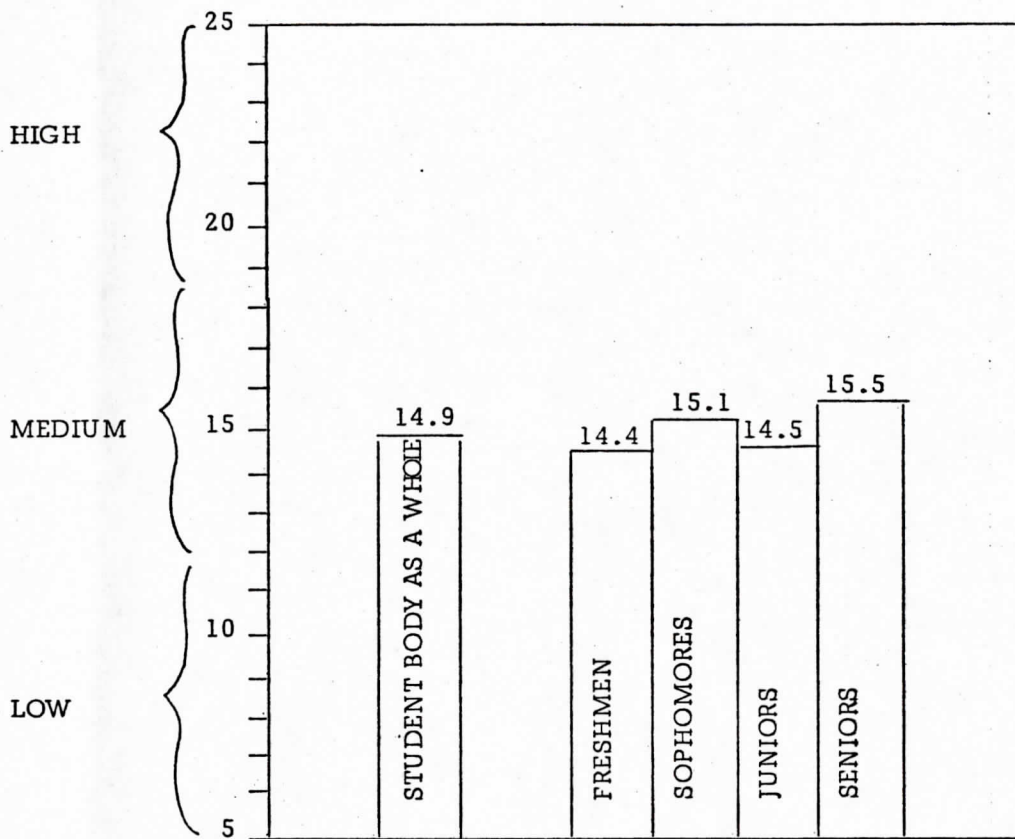
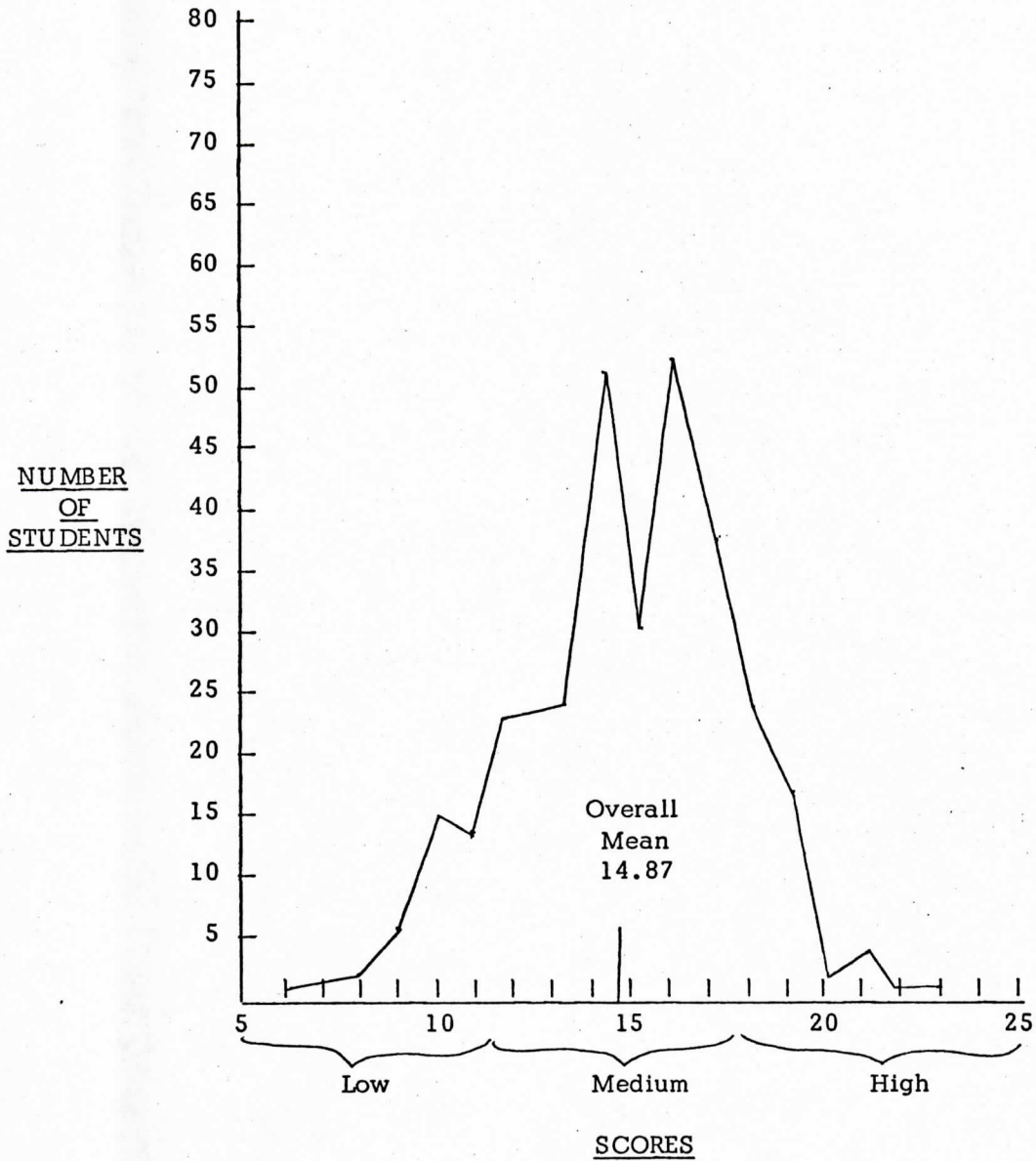


Figure 16

Mean Scores on Political Efficacy  
Scale by Class



SUBGROUP ANALYSIS

Standard Deviations

by Class

Freshmen 2.576

Sophomores 2.695

Juniors 2.803

Seniors 2.883

Figure 17

Distribution of Scores on Political Efficacy Scale

slightly above.

Some data from the 1952 SRC survey using the scale on political efficacy<sup>22</sup> are shown in Table 9. It is broken down by demographic variables and also includes some roughly comparable data from the ASU survey.

A quick glance shows that only a very small percentage of the Appalachian sample had a high feeling of political efficacy, dramatically smaller than any category of the national sample. A closer look at the categories shows the same pattern of men scoring higher than women in both samples. Whites scored higher than blacks in the national sample but there were too few blacks in the ASU sample to evaluate.

The national survey included a wider range of ages than the ASU sample. While the Appalachian sample was younger, in the main, than the youngest grouping of the national sample they may be somewhat comparable. The Appalachian students bunched heavily in the medium range with 77 per cent there compared to 55 per cent for the national sample of 21-to-34-year-olds. Only 3 per cent of the students ranked high while 27 per cent of the national sample scored high. The low scorers included 20 per cent of the ASU sample and 17 per cent of the national sample.

The other age categories in the national sample were very similar, showing a slight rise in the middle years, but dropping to 22 per cent of high scorers in the 55-years-and-older age grouping with an



Table 9

A Comparison of National and ASU Samples  
on Some Demographic Correlates of  
Sense of Political Efficacy

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES	DEGREE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY					
	High		Medium		Low	
	National 1952	ASU 1971	National 1952	ASU 1971	National 1952	ASU 1971
<b>Sex</b>						
Male	35%	4%	47%	77%	17%	19%
Female	20	1	55	79	23	20
<b>Race</b>						
White	28	3	53	77	18	20
Negro	14		36		48	
<b>Age</b>						
18 years and older		3		77		20
21-34 years	27		55		17	
35-44 years	31		52		17	
45-54 years	30		52		17	
55 years and older	22		48		28	
<b>Education</b>						
Grade school	15		49		34	
High school	30		56		13	
College	50	3	44	77	6	20
<b>Occupation of head</b>						
Professional and managerial	41	2	50	76	8	22
Other white collar	39	2	46	76	14	22
Skilled	25	4	57	76	17	20
Unskilled	15	5	47	81	37	14
Farmer	13	0	55	92	31	8
<b>Region</b>						
Northeast	30		53		15	
Midwest	30		50		19	
South	18	3	49	77	32	20
Far West	30		56		12	
<b>Type of Community</b>						
Rural	16	3	55	78	28	19
Non-rural	30	3	51	77	18	20

accompanying rise of low scorers in the same group.

The national survey showed a pattern of the feeling of political efficacy rising with higher educational levels. The ASU sample as a whole showed the percentages mentioned above: 3, 77, and 20 for high, medium, and low. The means for the individual classes formed a down-and-up pattern as shown in Figure 16.

An inverse pattern of the two samples relative to each other was revealed by an analysis of the demographic variable, "Occupation of the head of the family." In the case of the ASU sample, the data are arranged by the students' scores according to the fathers' occupations. The national sample shows the feeling of political efficacy rising along with the rising levels of occupations and the ASU sample shows the exact opposite. The lower-status occupations of ASU fathers produced students with higher feelings of political efficacy and the professional, managerial, and other white-collar-worker fathers produced students with the lowest levels of political efficacy feelings.

Data on income were not included in the table because of the large differences in income levels in the two time periods. But, as might be expected, the general pattern was the same as for the occupation data. Students from families whose income was in the lower brackets tended to score higher on the scale while in the national sample the high scorers came from the upper income brackets.

A breakdown of the national sample data by geographical region showed the South to be markedly lower in feelings of political efficacy

than the other regions of the country. The Northeast, Midwest, and Far West regions all had 30 per cent of the participants scoring high on the scale while the South had only 18 per cent. The ASU sample was even lower with its 3 per cent.

The type of community the ASU students grew up in, whether rural or non-rural, had no effect on their scores on the scale, whereas the national sample showed the sense of political efficacy increasing directly with population density.

### Pro-Integration Sentiments

The last scale used in the Appalachian survey was the Scale of Pro-Integration Sentiments.<sup>23</sup> It was administered by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago in December, 1963, to a national cross-section sample of between 1250 and 1500 white adults. The scale was designed to measure racial attitudes of whites in terms of willingness to allow Negroes to take part in various types of activities.

The form but not the content of some of the questions on the scale was slightly modified in order to conform to the Likert format of the questionnaire used in the present study. One question in the original questionnaire was omitted while the two parts of a forced-choice question were made into two items, one a pro-integration statement and the other anti-integration (No. 1 and No. 2, see Table 10), in order to check the consistency of responses. The results showed a high degree of consistency.

Table 10

A Comparison of National and ASU Samples  
on Scale of Pro-Integration Sentiments

	<u>National Sample</u> 1963	<u>ASU Sample</u> Spring Quarter 1971
	% Agree	
*1. Negroes should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job.	82	92
2. White people should have the first chance at any kind of job.	18	4
3. Generally speaking, there should be separate sections for Negroes in street cars and buses.	23	6
4. Negroes shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted.	73	27
5. White people have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and Negroes should respect that right.	56	16
6. I would object if a member of my family wanted to bring a Negro friend home to dinner.	51	10
*7. White students and Negro students should go to the same schools.	63	74
8. There should be laws against marriage between Negroes and whites.	64	14

\*Agree responses indicate support for integration.



With the possible scores on the Pro-Integration Scale ranging from completely segregationist at 8 to complete integrationist at 40, the overall mean for the Appalachian student body was 31.5 (see Figure 18). The Freshmen scored lowest with a mean of 30.6 with other scores in ascending order being the Sophomores with 31.2, the Seniors with 31.7, and the Juniors topping all at 32.5.

Figure 19 shows the distribution of scores on the scale. Few students made low scores, resulting in a curve that was even more skewed to the high side than the curve for the Belief in Social and Ethnic Equality Scale. The peak of the curve was at 30 with 31 students making that score. A second, smaller peak occurred at 39 with 19 students scoring at that level. Ten students scored the maximum of 40.

A comparison can be made of the all-white national sample and the Appalachian sample because only 2 of the 306 Appalachian respondents were black. The Appalachian student body of Spring quarter 1971 was, as a whole, more pro-integrationist on every item in the scale than was the general population of the United States in December 1963 (see Table 10). The most acceptable idea for both groups was that Negroes should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job and least acceptable was that of Negroes pushing themselves where they are not wanted.

#### Relationships Among All Attitude Scales

Table 11 shows the intercorrelations of all the attitude scales.



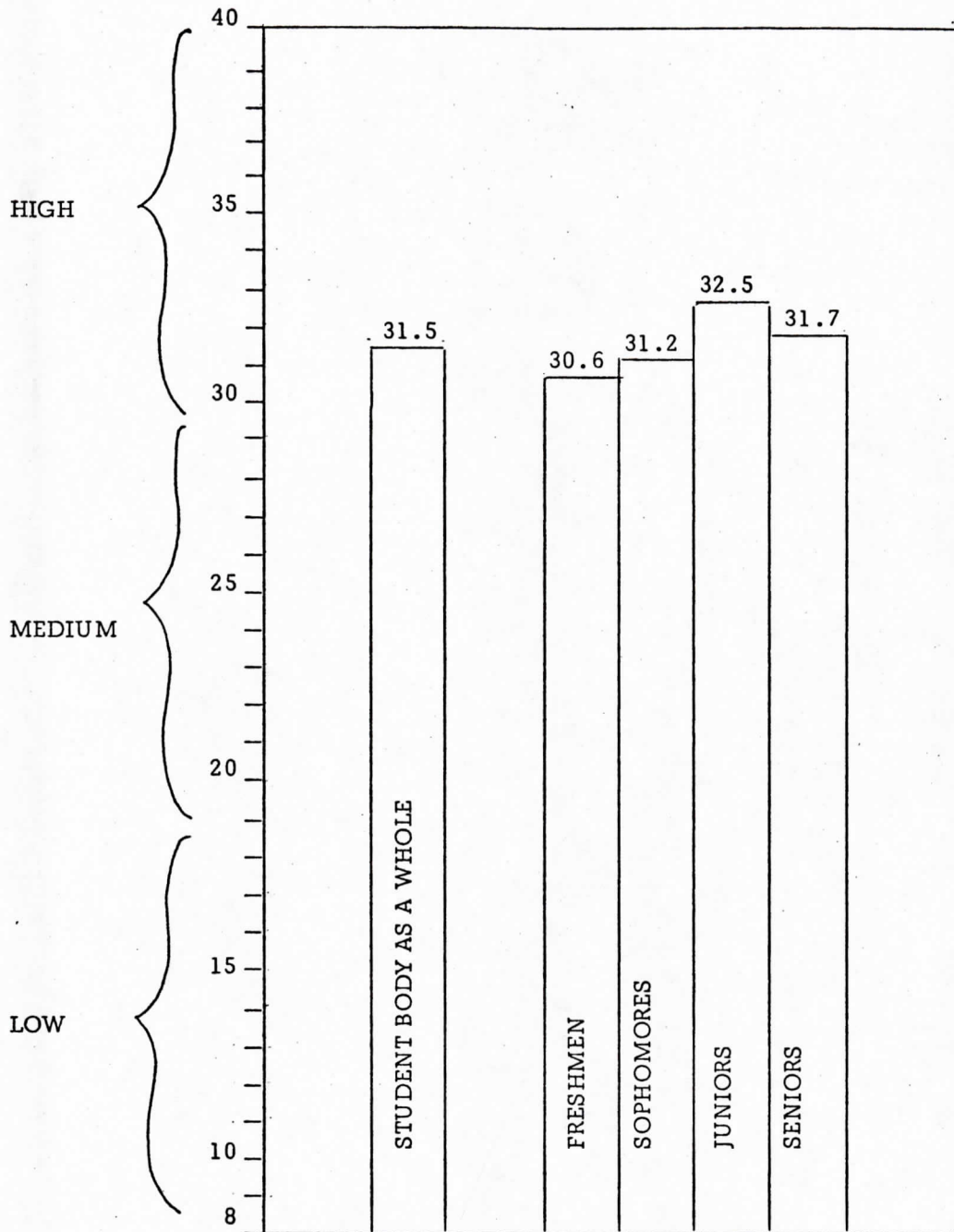
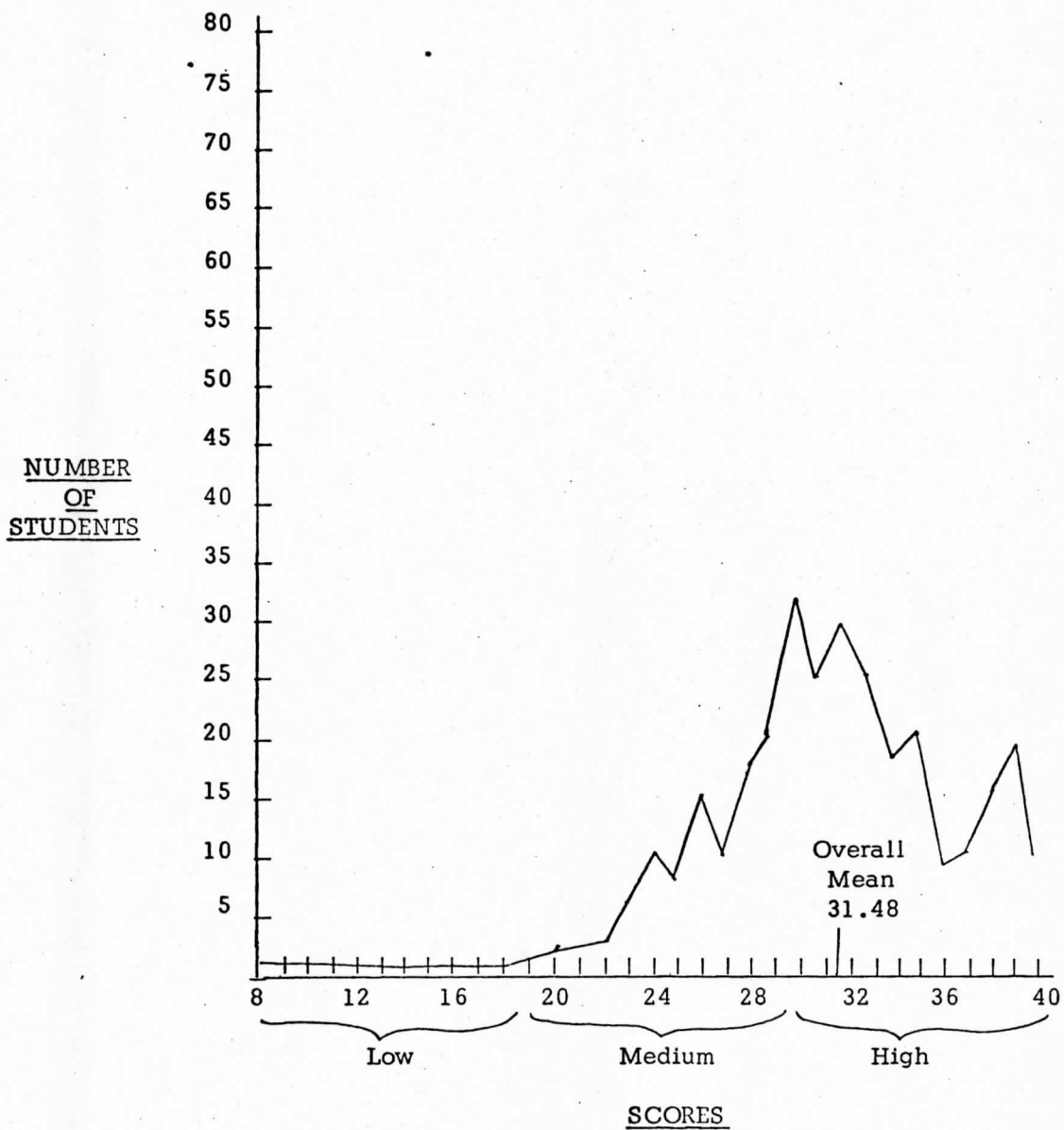


Figure 18

Mean Scores on Pro-Integration  
Scale by Class



SUBGROUP ANALYSIS

Standard Deviations  
by Class

Freshmen	4.599
Sophomores	5.161
Juniors	4.737
Seniors	4.839

Figure 19

Distribution of Scores on Pro-Integration Scale

Table 11  
Intercorrelations of Attitude Scales (Pearson Product Moment)

	Pro- Integration	Political Efficacy	Cynicism toward Gov't. & Politics	Belief in Social and Ethnic Equality	Belief in Economic Equality	Belief in Political Equality	Specific Applications of Free Speech	Free Speech and Opinions	Rules of the Game
Rules of the Game	.26**	.18**	-.10*	.43**	.16**	.22**	.24**	.13**	
Free Speech and Opinion	.41**	---	.23**	.37**	.13**	---	.34**		
Specific Applications of Free Speech	.44**	.19**	---	.42**	.29**	.28**			
Belief in Political Equality	.17**	.22**	-.19*	.34**	.30**				
Belief in Economic Equality	.24**	.11*	---	.29**					
Belief in Social and Ethnic Equality	.55**	.21**	---						
Cynicism toward Gov't and Politics	.14**	-.33**							
Political Efficacy	---								
Pro- Integration									

\*Indicates significance at the .05 level

\*\*Indicates significance at the .01 level

The Pearson correlation coefficients are listed for only those relationships that were significant at the .05 level of confidence or above. All of the scales correlated with almost all of the other scales except the Rules of the Game Scale which correlated with all of the others. The Cynicism toward Government and Politics Scale had inverse correlations with the Rules of the Game, Political Efficacy, and Belief in Political Equality Scales, meaning that the respondents who scored higher on the latter scales tended to exhibit lower levels of cynicism. On the other hand, higher levels of cynicism were more likely to be shown by those respondents who supported the values inculcated in the Pro-Integration and the Free Speech and Opinion Scales.

#### Relationships between Attitude Scales and Demographic Variables

The statistically significant correlations of all the attitude scales with the various background variables are shown in Table 12. It will be noted that the number of significant relationships is somewhat sparse and that even those relationships tend to be quite weak. One statistical explanation for the lack of more substantive findings is the fact that the students were fairly homogeneous in their scoring on the scales. For example, the curve depicting the distribution of scores on the Political Efficacy Scale (Figure 17, page 49) may be considered typical. The standard deviations of the individual classes listed on the graph show that on the 20-point scale, two-thirds of the cases fell within 3 points on either side of the mean, a total span of less than 6 points. This concentration was not facilitative in revealing up

Table 12  
Pearson Correlations between Demographic Variables and Attitude Scales

Demographic Variables	Rules of the Game	Free Speech and Opinion	Specific Applications of Free Speech	Belief in Political Equality	Belief in Economic Equality	Belief in Social and Ethnic Equality	Cynicism toward Gov't & Politics	Political Efficacy	Pro Integration
University Class Level	.11*	---	.12*	---	---	.13**	---	---	.12*
Marital Status (Minus means singles scored high)	.16**	---	---	---	---	---	-.12*	.10*	---
Age	.17**	---	.12*	.16**	---	.12*	---	.14**	---
Grade Point Average	.19**	---	---	---	---	.10*	---	---	.11*
Sex (Minus means men scored high)	---	-.11*	---	---	---	---	---	-.10*	---
Religion (Minus means Protestants scored high)	---	.16**	.16**	---	-.10*	---	---	---	.11*
Political Party Identification									
Student	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Mother	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Father	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Strength of Political Party Identification									
Student	---	---	-.11*	---	---	-.14**	-.10*	---	-.17**
Mother	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Father	---	-.12*	---	---	---	-.11*	---	---	-.17**
Education									
Mother	-.18**	.10*	-.15**	---	---	---	---	---	---
Father	---	.16**	---	.11*	---	---	---	---	.15**
Occupation									
Mother	---	---	-.11*	---	---	---	---	---	---
Father	---	.15**	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Family Income	-.16**	---	---	---	---	-.10*	---	---	---
City Background	---	---	---	.10*	---	---	---	---	---

\*Indicates significance at the .05 level

\*\*Indicates significance at the .01 level



or down trends and thus correlations could not be strongly established.

Nevertheless, definite relationships, however weak, were in existence in some instances as shown by the significance levels and do give us some information. Those instances in which there was no relationship also give us information.

The political party affiliation, whether Democratic or Republican, of either the student or his parents had no measurable effect on the student's response to any of the attitude scales. The strength of political party identification, however, of the student and his father, to whichever party, did have some relationship to some of the attitudes. (The strength of the mother's feeling toward a political party did not correlate with any of the scales.)

All of the correlations were inverse, meaning that the strongly political were less likely to be high scorers on the scales and that those who registered more strength on the attitudes were less likely to feel strongly about their political parties. Such inverse correlations existed between both the student's and the father's political party feelings and the two scales dealing with racial prejudice: Pro-Integration and Belief in Social and Ethnic Equality. Other correlations showed that if the father felt strongly politically the student was less likely to support free speech and opinion and that if the student him/herself had strong political identification, he/she was less likely to support specific applications of free speech but was also less likely to be cynical toward government and politics.

Showing that a relationship exists does not explain cause and effect so we can only speculate as to the reasons why the student who is more strongly identified with his/her political party comes down on the side of lower support for so many of the democratic ideals. The only exception, where there was any relationship at all, was the lack of cynicism toward government and politics. Of course, another way of saying it is that the students who showed stronger support for those same democratic ideals were less likely to be strongly identified with a political party. Such a state of affairs, given our system of government based on two major political parties, makes one pause for thought even though only a tiny portion of our society was involved in this survey.

Education, occupation, and income are three background variables that are often interrelated and are commonly found to have a measure of relationship to some social phenomena under study. It is useful to consider the parental data on these variables in order to determine what effect the socioeconomic status of the family had on the student's response to the attitude scales.

Education influenced more attitudes than the other two variables. Students whose mothers were better educated were more likely to support free speech and opinion but were less likely to support specific applications of free speech or rules of the game. A higher level of education for the father also positively affected the students' support for free speech and opinion along with political equality and integration.

Families with higher incomes produced students who had lower support for rules of the game and social and ethnic equality. The status level of the parents' occupations had the least effect on the students' attitudes. Students whose fathers had high-status occupations were more likely to support free speech and opinion, but those whose mothers held high-status jobs were less likely to support specific applications of free speech. More often than not, the socioeconomic status of the family seemed to have no predictable influence on the student attitudes included in this study.<sup>24</sup>

The size of the community the student grew up in might be expected to have some bearing on the formation of his/her attitudes, but the data for only one scale showed any relationship. Students who grew up in a city or suburb were more likely to support political equality.

Since the students who were in upper classes or who were married were also more likely to be older, there was some congruence in the scale correlations with these variables (university level, marital status, age). All three correlated positively with the Rules of the Game Scale. The older student and the higher level student were likely to be supportive of social and ethnic equality and also specific applications of free speech. A sense of political efficacy was more likely to be felt by the older student and the married student. The married student was also less likely to be cynical toward government and politics. The higher level student was more likely to support integration and the



older student more likely to believe in political equality.

Students with higher grade-point averages were measurably higher in their support of rules of the game, integration, and social and ethnic equality. Sex differences showed up on two scales: men were more likely to have a sense of political efficacy and to support free speech and opinion.

While the questionnaire allowed for several choices of religious preference, the sample was so heavily Protestant (83 per cent) that it must be considered in simply Protestant and non-Protestant categories. Religious orientation was one of the stronger background variables in that it correlated with four scales. Only age had more effect, although other variables had as much. Protestant students were more likely to support integration, free speech and opinion, and specific applications of free speech. They were less likely to support economic equality.

#### Meaning of the Use of the Confederate Flag and the song "Dixie"

Items relating to the use of the Confederate flag and the song "Dixie" were used in the survey in an attempt to discover if either or both function as symbols of racism.

While the almost-all-white sample (303 of 306) largely interpreted the playing of "Dixie" to be of a non-racist nature, slightly over one half (51 per cent) agreed to the statement that Negroes in general are probably offended by the use of the song. Thirty-four per cent said they thought Negroes had a right to feel offended.

When asked what they thought the song "Dixie" expressed when

they heard it played, 63 per cent indicated school spirit, 54 per cent said enjoyment of a lively tune, and 45 per cent said pro-Southern feeling (multiple responses were possible). After those popular responses there was a drop back to 9 per cent for anti-Northern feeling and 0.7 per cent for anti-federal government feeling. Only 5 per cent thought the playing of "Dixie" expressed anti-Negro feeling.

An opportunity was provided for write-in responses to express feelings not provided for in the above list. Fifteen per cent of the sample accepted the invitation (see Appendix B for a listing of the comments). The sentiments expressed ran heavily to pride in Southern heritage with a few responses indicating some interpretation of racism.

During the winter quarter of 1970-71 there was a controversy on the Appalachian campus over the playing of "Dixie" at athletic events by the pep band and the possible affront it might be to visiting teams, black and partially black. After airing the pros and cons of the issue in the student newspaper a referendum was held in February to determine the wishes of the student body. In response to the statement, "I am in favor of playing Dixie at athletic events," 1,692 said yes and 450 said no, i.e., 79 per cent of those participating in the referendum were in favor of playing "Dixie" at athletic events and 21 per cent were opposed.

The exact statement was used in the present survey in order to compare results. Sixty-six per cent of the respondents were in favor of playing "Dixie" at athletic events, 12 per cent were not in favor,



and 21 per cent said they were "neither."

Since those students who had no definite ideas on the question would probably not have participated in the referendum, a better comparison of the two results may be obtained by eliminating the "neither" responses from the survey data. When this is done we find that 84 per cent of those who expressed an opinion in the sample were in favor of playing "Dixie" and 16 per cent were opposed. This compares with 79 per cent and 21 per cent for the referendum as reported above, perhaps indicating that those who were opposed to playing "Dixie" felt more strongly about it and were thus more likely to vote in a referendum.

The responses to questions relative to the use of the Confederate flag followed the same general pattern as the responses to questions relative to the use of "Dixie" but with some less definiteness, perhaps because the Confederate flag had not been the center of a recent controversy on campus as had the playing of "Dixie."

In response to the question of what they thought it meant when they saw the Confederate flag displayed, 60 per cent indicated pro-Southern feeling and 43 per cent said school spirit. Fifteen per cent thought it was just something to do; 8 per cent said it expressed anti-Northern feeling, 3 per cent said anti-federal government feeling, and 2 per cent said expression of approval of the Ku Klux Klan. Twenty per cent said it expressed pro-Confederacy feeling but only 7 per cent said anti-Negro feeling.

Sixteen per cent made write-in responses (see Appendix C) and

they, too, hit heavily on the theme of pride in Southern heritage but with some references to the Civil War. The negative interpretations had more to do with ignorance and hell-raising in general than with racism.

Forty-one per cent agreed with the statement that Negroes in general are probably offended by the use of the Confederate flag and 33 per cent thought they had a right to feel offended.

In line with the data on the use of "Dixie," there was an inverse correlation between the Scale of Pro-Integration Sentiments and the feeling that the display of the Confederate flag meant school spirit ( $p < .02$ ), i. e.; those who thought the use of the flag meant school spirit were less likely to be supportive of integration. Only 6.5 per cent of the sample thought displaying the Confederate flag meant an anti-Negro feeling but of those so inclined, 85 per cent were highly supportive of integration and the rest were moderately supportive. The correlation was significant at the .05 level of confidence.

Another instance of one-sided response involved the idea that displaying the Confederate flag meant anti-Northern feeling. Only 7.5 per cent of the sample responded in this manner but there was an inverse correlation with the Political Efficacy Scale ( $p < .02$ ). All those who thought the use of the Confederate flag meant anti-Northern feeling scored medium or low on the scale measuring the feeling of political efficacy; not any of the 7.5 per cent scored high.

A similar pattern existed relative to the Belief in Social and Ethnic Equality Scale. There was a positive correlation between higher scores on that scale and the view that the use of Dixie expressed a pro-Southern feeling ( $p < .01$ ). An inverse correlation was revealed between higher scores on the scale and the feeling that "Dixie" expressed school spirit ( $p < .05$ ), i. e., those who felt "Dixie" was an expression of school spirit were less likely to support social and ethnic equality.

In regard to the use of the Confederate flag, the scale that showed a positive correlation with the view that it expressed a pro-Southern feeling was the Cynicism toward Government and Politics Scale ( $p < .02$ ): those who thought the display of the Confederate flag expressed a pro-Southern feeling were more likely to be cynical toward government and politics. Those who viewed the use of the flag as pro-Confederacy also showed a tendency to be cynical toward politics and government ( $p < .05$ ).

Relationships between scale-measured attitudes and attitudes toward the Confederate Flag and "Dixie." A study was made of the possible relationships between the various scaled attitudes and the feelings about what the use of the Confederate flag or the song "Dixie" meant. Chi-square computations were used to determine the statistical significance of correlations between each attitude scale and each question in the survey relating to the Confederate flag and to "Dixie." Only those relationships that were significant at the .05 level of confidence or above are reported.



There was a positive correlation ( $p < .05$ ) between the view that the use of "Dixie" expressed a pro-Southern feeling and the expression of higher support for values incorporated in the Rules of the Game Scale: fair play, respect for legal procedures, and consideration for the rights of others. On the other hand, those showing less support for these values were more likely to feel that the use of "Dixie" was an expression of school spirit and/or that it was a lively tune to be enjoyed ( $p < .02$  in both cases).

The question regarding whether Negroes were probably offended by the use of "Dixie" or the Confederate flag and if they had a right to feel offended were much more likely to correlate with the attitude scales in a statistically significant way than the above questions about what the usages meant (see Table 13).

The statement that Negroes in general are probably offended by the use of "Dixie" correlated positively with the scales on free speech and opinion, specific applications of free speech, cynicism toward government and politics, and pro-integration sentiments.

The statement that Negroes in general are probably offended by the use of the Confederate flag correlated positively with only two scales: Specific Applications of Free Speech, and Pro-Integration Sentiments.

While fewer respondents thought Negroes had a right to feel offended by these symbols than thought they actually were offended (there were 17 percentage points difference in the case of "Dixie" and

Table 13  
 Pearson Correlations between Attitude Scales  
 and Questions on the use of "Dixie"  
 and the Confederate Flag

Scales	Negroes in general are probably offended by the use of "Dixie"	Negroes have a right to be offended by the use of "Dixie"	Negroes in general are probably offended by the use of the Confed. flag	Negroes have a right to be offended by the use of the Confed. flag
Rules of the Game	---	.20**	---	.16**
Free Speech and Opinion	.13*	.20**	---	.21**
Specific Applications of Free Speech	.10*	.17**	.14**	.16**
Belief in Political Equality	---	---	---	---
Belief in Economic Equality	---	.11*	---	.13**
Belief in Social and Ethnic Equality	---	.26**	---	.21**
Cynicism toward Gov't and Politics	.11*	---	---	---
Political Efficacy	---	.15**	---	.12*
Pro-Integration	.16**	.30**	.16**	.30**

\*Indicates significance at the .05 level

\*\*Indicates significance at the .01 level



8 points in regard to the Confederate flag), the question regarding "right" resulted in more correlations with the attitude scales than the other question. In fact, they correlated with exactly the same scales and with generally similar strengths and levels of significance. Positive relationships existed with all scales except Belief in Political Equality and Cynicism toward Politics and Government.

Relationships between demographic variables and attitudes toward the Confederate flag and "Dixie." None of the background variables showed any correlation with ideas about what the use of "Dixie" or the Confederate flag signified, but there were some relationships with the questions about whether Negroes are probably offended (see Table 14). Men were more likely than women to think that Negroes in general probably are offended by the use of either symbol. Men were also more likely to think Negroes have a right to feel offended by the use of "Dixie" but there was no correlation with the corresponding question about the flag.

The strength of political party identification was another factor that had some relationship to the questions. Those students who had stronger feelings about their political parties were less likely to think that Negroes had a right to feel offended by the use of either "Dixie" or the Confederate flag. Students whose fathers strongly identified with their political parties were less likely to think that Negroes in general are probably offended by the use of "Dixie" or that they have a right to be offended. Students whose father's occupation was among

Table 14  
 Pearson Correlations between Demographic Variables  
 and Questions on the Use of "Dixie"  
 and the Confederate Flag

Demographic Variables	Negroes in general are probably offended by the use of "Dixie"	Negroes have a right to be offended by the use of "Dixie"	Negroes in general are probably offended by the use of the Confed. flag	Negroes have a right to be offended by the use of the Confed. flag
University Class Level	---	.15**	---	.13**
Marital Status	---	---	---	---
Age	---	---	---	.13**
Grade Point Average	---	---	---	---
Sex (Minus means singles scored high)	-.14**	-.12*	-.12*	---
Religion	---	---	---	---
Political Party Identification				
Student	---	---	---	---
Mother	---	---	---	---
Father	---	---	---	---
Strength of Political Party Identification				
Student	---	-.10*	---	-.11*
Mother	---	---	---	---
Father	-.13*	-.15**	---	---
Education				
Mother	---	---	---	---
Father	---	---	---	---
Occupation				
Mother	---	---	---	---
Father	.13*	---	---	---
Family Income	---	---	---	---
City Background	---	---	---	---

\*Indicates significance at the .05 level

\*\*Indicates significance at the .01 level

the higher status levels were more likely to think Negroes are probably offended by the use of "Dixie."

Both upperclassmen and older students as separate categories were likely to think Negroes have a right to feel offended by the use of the flag. Upperclassmen but not older students as separate categories correlated positively with the companion question about "Dixie."

To sum up the findings in regard to the use of the Confederate flag and the song "Dixie," it would seem that while approximately half of the student sample acknowledged that such usage was probably offensive to Negroes, the preponderant feeling among the students themselves was a free and easy one of expression of school spirit and regional pride.

However, a detailed analysis of the data showed that those who were most supportive of democratic principles were also most sensitive to the elements of racism that might be involved and least likely to view the usage as merely school spirit or Southern pride.

While only a third of the sample felt that Negroes had a right to be offended by the use of "Dixie" and the Confederate flag, that third was much more likely to score high on the scales testing for democratic attitudes than the other two-thirds.

There were indications of some differences in the attitudes regarding the Confederate flag and "Dixie." "Dixie," while having some racial implications, seemed to be largely an expression of simple pride and enjoyment. The Confederate flag, on the other hand, while

also expressing school spirit and regional pride, seemed to carry more overtones of cynicism toward government and politics. The negative things about "Dixie" were more purely racial while the implications of the use of the Confederate flag were racial as well as touching on a wider range of societal attitudes.



## SUMMARY

A study was made of selected attitudes of the undergraduate students on the campus of Appalachian State University during the spring quarter, 1971. The data were collected by a random sample mail survey of the students using a questionnaire that included attitude scales on rules of the game (fair play, respect for legal procedures, and consideration for the rights of others), free speech and opinion, specific applications of free speech and procedural rights, belief in political equality, belief in economic equality, belief in social and ethnic equality, cynicism toward government and politics, feelings of political efficacy (individual citizens can play a part in political and social change), and pro-integration sentiments. In addition, there were questions relating to the use of the song "Dixie" and the Confederate flag in an effort to discover if they function as racist symbols. There were 306 completed questionnaires, equitably distributed among the four classes, a 46 per cent return on a 12 per cent sample of the student body of 5,583.

From the analysis of the data thus assembled, an attempt was made to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent are basic democratic attitudes prevalent in the Appalachian student body? There was moderate to high support for democratic ideals as reflected by the attitudes that were investigated. The average score of the student body as a whole was in the



top third of the scoring range for both the scale on rules of the game and the scale on free speech and opinion. Showing moderate support for other attitudes, the scales with mean scores in descending order were: Specific Applications of Free Speech, Belief in Social and Ethnic Equality, Rules of the Game, Belief in Economic Equality, and Belief in Political Equality.

The obverse attitudes of cynicism toward government and politics and feeling of efficacy hovered around the midpoint of the scoring range, cynicism slightly above and efficacy slightly below.

2. To what extent does racial prejudice, with particular reference to blacks, exist in the student body at Appalachian? Racial prejudice, as measured by the scales on pro-integration sentiments and belief in social and ethnic equality, did not seem to be a sizable problem at Appalachian, although it did exist in a small-to-moderate degree. The sample was almost all white; there were only two black students and one "other," a foreign student.

3. To what extent are the political and racial attitudes of the students functions of their socioeconomic backgrounds? Correlations between the attitude scales and socioeconomic variables showed a few statistically significant relationships but they were all weak. In general, socioeconomic factors were not good predictors of student attitudes.

4. What are the Appalachian student political party preferences? How strongly do they support their parties? Almost exactly half of the

respondents claimed no political party preference but there were more Democrats than Republicans among those who did. However, a higher percentage of the Republicans described themselves as "strong" supporters of their party.

5. Is political party preference related to support for democratic ideas? Affiliation with a political party, whether Democrat or Republican, had no measurable relationship to the students' attitudes, but the strength of feelings toward a political party, whichever, did have an inverse relationship in a few cases. That is, those with stronger political party identification were more likely to support some democratic ideas at a lower level.

6. Do the Confederate flag and the song "Dixie" function as symbols of racial prejudice? The data from the almost-all-white sample on the questions concerning the use of the Confederate flag and the song "Dixie" seemed to indicate that to them, in general, these symbols were not racist, but approximately half acknowledged that their use probably seemed like expressions of racism to blacks.

7. Are there socioeconomic status differentials among those who reacted differently to the images evoked by "Dixie" and the Confederate flag? Not any of the background variables showed any relationship to how the respondents themselves viewed the use of "Dixie" and the Confederate flag. There were a few weak relationships with how the respondents viewed the reactions and rights of blacks relative to their use, but, as with the attitude scales, socioeconomic factors were

generally not good predictors.

8. Do Democratic identifiers see the Confederate flag and "Dixie" differently from Republican students? Again, the choice of a political party had no statistically significant relationship to expressed attitudes but the strength of political feelings had some inverse correlations: strong support for a political party was associated with a lower likelihood of thinking that blacks were probably offended by the use of the symbols or that they had a right to be offended.

9. To what extent are the images of "Dixie" and the Confederate flag related to the more-frequently-studied dimensions of efficacy, support for integration, and measures of support for democratic ideas? Analysis of the data on the attitude scales relative to the questions on the use of "Dixie" and the Confederate flag showed that those who were most supportive of democratic principles were also most sensitive to the elements of racism that might be involved in their use.

10. Did the referendum conducted on the Appalachian State University campus in February, 1971, on the playing of "Dixie" at athletic events reflect the true feeling of the student body? In both cases the students were overwhelmingly in favor of playing "Dixie" but the referendum showed a higher level of opposition than the survey (21 per cent as compared to 16 per cent), perhaps indicating that those who disapproved felt more strongly about it and were thus more likely to vote in a referendum.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>George H. Gallup, The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971, Vol. 3 (New York: Random House, 1959-71).

<sup>2</sup>Much of the governmental research has been directed toward the analysis of student protest, an understanding of the underlying causes along with recommendations for the prevention and/or containment thereof. Perhaps the most comprehensive and penetrating report was prepared by the President's Commission on Campus Unrest in 1970. The Commission read widely in the available literature, held numerous public hearings, and conducted extensive research of its own in the course of its investigation. The Report contains a lengthy bibliography of some of its sources as well as a listing of other bibliographies on campus unrest.

Some more recent publications by other governmental agencies may be found listed in the bibliography at the end of this report.

<sup>3</sup>One analysis of some research of this type, The Changing Values on Campus by Daniel Yankelovich, Inc. (New York: Washington Square Press, 1972), contained data from a survey in 1968 for Fortune Magazine, data from a background study for a television program in 1969 for the Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., and some 1970 data from a report published by the JDR 3rd Fund, "Youth and the Establishment."

<sup>4</sup>J. Doris Dart (ed.), Social Sciences and Humanities Index, Vols. 24-26 (New York: H.W. Wilson Co., 1970-73).

<sup>5</sup>Donald E. Muir and C. Donald McGlamery, "Evolution of Desegregation Attitudes of Southern University Students," Phylon, Vol. 29 (Summer, 1968), 105-17.

<sup>6</sup>Donald E. Muir, "Six-Year Trends in Integration Attitudes of Deep-South University Students" (paper presented in the race relations section of the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, 1970, Washington, D.C.), Integrated Education, Vol. 9 (January-February, 1971), 21-27.

<sup>7</sup>Donald E. Muir, "First Years of Desegregation: Patterns of Acceptance of Black Students on a Deep-South Campus, 1963-69," Social Forces, Vol. 49 (March, 1971), 371-78.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 377.

<sup>9</sup>John Holian, Jr., "Alienation and Social Awareness among College Students," Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 13 (Winter, 1972), 114-25.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>12</sup>The discussion of the mailed questionnaire by William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt in their book, Methods in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952), pp. 170-83, was one of the main sources of information.

<sup>13</sup>William Edwards Deming, Some Theory of Sampling (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1950), p. 33.

<sup>14</sup>E. Terrence Jones, Conducting Political Research (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 71.

<sup>15</sup>John P. Robinson, Jerrold G. Rusk, and Kendra B. Head, Measures of Political Attitudes (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, Survey Research Center, 1968), p. 3.

<sup>16</sup>Rensis Likert, "A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes," Arch. Psychol, No. 140 (1932), cited by Allen L. Edwards, Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957), pp. 170-78.

<sup>17</sup>For a technical discussion of the Likert method of scale construction, also known as the method of summated ratings, see Edwards, op. cit., pp. 149-71.

<sup>18</sup>Robinson, Rusk, and Head, op. cit., pp. 170-78, citing Herbert McCloskey, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," American Political Science Review, Vol. 58 (1964), 361-82.

<sup>19</sup>It should be noted that all items on the scale that do not have an asterisk are reverse statements on which a low percentage of agree responses indicates a high level of support for specific applications of free speech.

<sup>20</sup>A series of outrageous scandals connected with President Richard Nixon's administration (1969- ) came to be known collectively as "Watergate." The first incident to come to light occurred during the 1972 presidential election campaigns when in the early morning hours of June 17, James W. McCord, security chief of the Committee for the Reelection of the President, and four other men were arrested by Washington, D.C., police while they were burglarizing the offices of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate complex to obtain political intelligence.



<sup>21</sup>Robinson, Rusk, and Head, *op. cit.*, pp. 459-60, citing Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill: Row Peterson & Co., 1954), pp. 187-89.

<sup>22</sup>Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1954), pp. 193-94.

<sup>23</sup>Robinson, Rusk, and Head, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-37, citing P. Sheatsley, "White Attitudes toward the Negro," Daedalus, Vol. 95 (1966), 217-38.

<sup>24</sup>These data are in line with Holian's finding that, in general, social background variables did not correlate with student feelings of alienation (see page 7 ). Similar findings regarding student attitudes and socioeconomic status also resulted from a five-nation study by Russell F. Farnen, Jr., and Daniel B. German. They used three scales, Legitimacy, Dissent/Opposition, and Efficacy, that corresponded roughly to the Rules of the Game, Free Speech and Opinion, and Political Efficacy Scales that were employed in this study. ("Cross-National Research on Political Socialization and Educational Processes," Public Opinion and Political Attitudes, ed. Allen R. Wilcox. (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1974, pp. 321-39.)

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OPINION SURVEY

Please check the appropriate boxes.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. It is all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. The majority has the right to abolish minorities if it wants to.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. There will always be poverty, so people might as well get used to the idea.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. "Issues" and "arguments" are beyond the understanding of most voters.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. I don't mind a politician's methods if he manages to get the right things done.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. The government ought to make sure that everyone has a good standard of living.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Negroes should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Freedom of conscience should mean freedom to be an atheist as well as freedom to worship in the church of one's choice.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Any person who hides behind the law when he is questioned about his activities doesn't deserve much consideration.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. White people should have the first chance at any kind of job.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Sometimes politics and government seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Generally speaking, there should be separate sections for Negroes in street cars and buses.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

More on the next page!



Page 2

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
14. It will be always be necessary to have a few strong, able people actually running everything.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Negroes shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. No matter what the people think, a few people will always run things anyway.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. There are times when it almost seems better for the people to take the law into their own hands rather than wait for the machinery of government to act.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. The trouble with letting certain minority groups into a nice neighborhood is that they gradually give it their own atmosphere.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. If a person is convicted of a crime by illegal evidence, he should be set free and the evidence thrown out of court.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Negroes in general are probably offended by the use of the Confederate flag.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Negroes have a right to feel offended by the use of the Confederate flag.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. I don't think public officials care much about what people like me think.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. I usually have confidence that the government will do what is right.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. When you hear the song "Dixie" played do you think it expresses (check one or more)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Pro-Southern feeling				
<input type="checkbox"/>	Anti-Northern feeling				
<input type="checkbox"/>	School spirit				
<input type="checkbox"/>	Enjoyment of a lively tune				
<input type="checkbox"/>	Anti-Negro feeling				
<input type="checkbox"/>	Anti-federal government feeling				
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify) _____				

Page 3

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
26. People ought to be allowed to vote even if they can't do so intelligently.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27. White people have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and Negroes should respect that right.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
28. If someone is suspected of treason or other serious crimes, he shouldn't be entitled to be let out on bail.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29. Few people really know what is in their own best interest in the long run.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30. I would object if a member of my family wanted to bring a Negro friend home to dinner.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31. A book that contains wrong political views cannot be a good book and does not deserve to be published.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32. Regardless of what some people say, there are certain races in the world that just won't mix with Americans.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33. The laws of this country are supposed to benefit all of us equally, but the fact is that they're almost all "rich-man's laws."	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34. You can't really be sure whether an opinion is true or not unless people are free to argue against it.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35. Labor does not get its fair share of what it produces.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. When you see the Confederate flag displayed do you think it means (check one or more)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Approval of the Ku Klux Klan				
<input type="checkbox"/>	Pro-Southern feeling				
<input type="checkbox"/>	Anti-Northern feeling				
<input type="checkbox"/>	School spirit				
<input type="checkbox"/>	Just something to do				
<input type="checkbox"/>	Anti-Negro feeling				
<input type="checkbox"/>	Pro-Confederacy feeling				
<input type="checkbox"/>	Anti-federal government feeling				
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify) _____				

More on the next page!

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
37. Freedom does not give anyone the right to teach foreign ideas in our schools.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. Most politicians can be trusted to do what they think is best for the country.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39. White students and Negro students should go to the same schools.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40. There is practically no connection between what a politician says and what he will do once he gets elected.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41. We have to teach children that all men are created equal but almost everyone knows that some are better than others.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42. The people who really "run" the country do not even get known to the voters.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
44. I am in favor of playing Dixie at athletic events.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45. No matter what a person's political beliefs are, he is entitled to the same legal rights and protections as anyone else.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
46. When it comes to the things that count most, all races are certainly not equal.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
47. I believe in free speech for all no matter what their views might be.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
48. There should be laws against marriage between Negroes and whites.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
49. A man oughtn't be allowed to speak if he doesn't know what he's talking about.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
50. Just as is true of fine race horses, some breeds of people are just naturally better than others.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
51. We might as well make up our minds that in order to make the world better a lot of innocent people will have to suffer.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Page 5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
52. Negroes in general are probably offended by the use of "Dixie."	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
53. Negroes have a right to feel offended by the use of "Dixie."	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

PERSONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

It will help us interpret the results of the statistical analysis of the data if you would supply the following information:

1. Age

Under 18   
 18-20   
 21-24   
 25-29   
 30-over

2. Marital Status

Single   
 Married   
 Widowed,  
 Separated, or  
 Divorced

3. Sex

Male   
 Female

4. Race

White   
 Negro   
 Other

5. Political Party Preference

	Strong	Moderate	Weak
Democrat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Republican	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (What?)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
No preference	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Religion

Protestant   
 Catholic   
 Jewish   
 Other

7. Military Veteran

Yes   
 No

8. Location of Home Town

North Carolina   
 Other Southern State   
 Northeast   
 Midwest   
 Far West   
 Foreign

9. Now regarding the place where you were brought up (i.e., spent the majority of your life up to the age of 12 years) would you describe it as:

	(If applicable)
Rural <input type="checkbox"/>	Mountain <input type="checkbox"/>
Small town <input type="checkbox"/>	Piedmont <input type="checkbox"/>
Suburb <input type="checkbox"/>	Coastal <input type="checkbox"/>
City <input type="checkbox"/>	

More on the next page!



10. University Level

Freshman   
 Sophomore   
 Junior   
 Senior

11. Cumulative GPA to Date

Lower than 1.00  2.50-2.99   
 1.00-1.49  3.00-3.49   
 1.50-1.99  3.50-4.00   
 2.00-2.49

12. What is your major or proposed major? (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

13. PARENTSA. Occupation (at the time you left high school)

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Professional	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Managerial	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
White Collar/Clerical	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Skilled	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Semi-Unskilled	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farmer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Armed Forces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sales	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Housewife	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. Education (the highest level)

	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Primary school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Some high school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
High school graduate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Technical college	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
trade certificate (or equivalent)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Some college	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
College graduate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

C. Approximate Income of Parents, before taxes

\$ 3,000 or less   
 3,000 - 4,999   
 5,000 - 6,999   
 7,000 - 8,999   
 9,000 -10,999   
 11,000 -12,999   
 13,000 -14,999   
 15,000 -19,999   
 20,000 -24,999   
 25,000 & over

D. Parents' Political Party Preference:

	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Moderate</u>	<u>Weak</u>
<u>Mother</u>			
Democrat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Republican	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (What?)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
No preference	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>		
<u>Father</u>			
Democrat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Republican	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (What?)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
No preference	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>		

## APPENDIX B

### Write-In Opinions As to What Respondents Thought the Song "Dixie" Expressed When They Heard It Played

#### Enjoyable Song

- "Strictly an enjoyable song - no racial overtone"
- "A damn good song"
- "Catchy"
- "Catchy inspirational tune"
- "Good music"
- "A Good old Song!!"

#### Historical and Regional Pride

- "I'm Proud to be from the South"
- "Respect for American and Southern Heritage"
- "part of my heritage"
- "Regional Pride and Unity"
- "Southern song"
- "'Pride' in the past"
- "tradition"
- "expresses feeling of people who are proud of the are (sic)  
they come from!"
- "enjoyment for a traditional song & way of life"
- "tradition"
- "pride"
- "historical feeling of importance"

"Southern heritage"

"The south shall rise again!"

"Pride in our Southern heritage"

"Proud of my history & ancestors"

"Pride in being from the south - no racism"

"A History of a proud Heritage that is a Part of America's past"

"My true Heritage"

"A pride in a section of the country not necessarily pertaining to the Civil War"

"Sectional pride"

"More pride than anything else"

"Happy living in the South"

"Honoring Southern heretige (sic)"

"tradition"

"traditional"

#### References to Slavery or Race

"It has all the above I have checked but also carries the stigma of reminding us of a troubled time in our history and when one group of our society was slaves therefore it is potentially offensive"

"I had never thought, seriously at least, about anti-Negro feelings in relation to the song until it was mentioned in the Appalachian this year"

"It in no way is meant to be disrespectful to blacks"

"Music from history. A struggle of hundreds of people"

"Undertones of racism felt even if school spirit is the objective"

"I do feel that some use it in a flagrant manner to antagonize others"

Other

"A rebellious attitude of the past"

"irrelevant to the functioning of the university"

"longing for the old days"

"Last resort to raise school spirit because of liveness (sic)"

"Pride and regret. It is a reminder of the good and not so good"

"I do not see this song as expressing anything, pro or anti"

"states' rights anti-minority sectionalistic jingoistic pro-Southern"

"Combination of tradition and lively tune"

"Pride for my country"

"People who can't forget"



## APPENDIX C

### Write-In Opinions As to What Respondents Thought the Confederate Flag Expressed When They Saw It Displayed

#### Ignorance, Rowdyism, and Playfulness

"Stupidity, & ignorance"

"Red-necks & trouble"

"ignorence (sic)"

"Raise Hell mood"

"kids are showing off"

"Southern mascot symbol"

"Beach"

"fad"

#### Historical and Regional Pride

"A southern rally point; is symbolic - just as a columned mansion, magnolia trees & mint julep"

"tradition"

"Pride of being from the South"

"Pride in ancestors & history"

"A History of a Proud Heritage of a Part of America's Past"

"Historical Pride (Not Hysterical)"

"Pride in being Southern"

"A flag symbolizing a section of the country, not necessarily a feeling"

"Sectional pride"

"That I am a southerner and love the South"

"A symbol of the South just as the American flag is a symbol of the United States"

"tradition"

"part of heritage; few people are hung on 'The South will rise again'"

"Heritage"

"Regionalism; Pride in ones (sic) homeland"

"a symbol for the Southern States as an American flag is a symbol for the United States!"

"feeling for a past way of life"

"Once again, pride in the past"

"tradition"

"Almost the same as the state flag!"

#### References to the Civil War

"The courage related by our Confederate troops"

"Reminds me of the civil war and before"

"A tradition, a remembrance of part of the past that should be forgotten"

"Please note that the Confederate War was not fought entirely for negroes"

"Symbol of the south - a defeated Union but still something to respect"

"Recognizing milestone in history"

"It is a memoir or relic of a useless war which did much damage to our country"

### Reference to the Nation

"Pride in the whole country as well as the South"

"History of this nation"

"Part of America's past history"

"Just part of our history as a country"

### Southern Defensiveness

"One less freedom has been taken away from the south"

"The North sucks"

"deeply ingrained anti-'Yankee' deep south bias"

"the heritage of a rebellious attitude of the past"

### Other

"Freedom of expression"

"no feeling one way or the other"

"Some pro-southern, some school spirit - it depends entirely on the person"

"Now it seems like a child's toy!"