

BERKELEY JOURNAL of SOCIOLOGY

SPRING 1962

Volume VII, No.

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PUBLISHED BY THE GRADUATE SOCIOLOGY CLUB OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

STATUS INSECURITY AND THE NEGRO INTELLECTUAL

by

Gary Trade Marx

The patterns of behavior, self definition, and values of the Negro intellectual are very much opposed to those of the great majority of his race. As a result of these differences he has been spared many of the consequences of minority group status which have befallen his fellows, such as low educational and socioeconomic status, and disproportionately high representation in statistics of marital dissolution, crime, and unemployment. Nevertheless he is still a Negro, and being defined by others as such, is subject to prejudice and discrimination. He carries with him, no matter what his achievements, nor who his associates, an identifiable difference. This difference has been judged significant by most members of the dominant group, as well as most members of his own group. Major consequences of his minority group status remain; however, because of his different position in the social structure these are expressed differently. It is the purpose of this paper to examine some of these consequences for one segment of the group of Negro intellectuals the college professors.

Since the time of Max Weber, social class has come to be viewed as a multi-dimensional hierarchy. That is, a number of vertical hierarchies, such as occupation, education, income and ethnicity are seen to compose an individual's class position. In some cases these hierarchies may be extremely imperfect in their correlation with one another. The wealthy businessman who has little education, a person with a college education but low economic or occupational position, and people who have experienced very marked social mobility, either up or down, may serve as examples. These people who show marked discrepancy on the several dimensions of status may be said to be in positions of status discontinuity, discrepancy, disequilibrium, incongruity, or to have a low degree of status crystallization.¹ The Negro college professor is also in such a position of status discontinuity. He is "high" on the occupational and educational dimensions of status, but "low" on the ethnic or racial dimension.

The individual who is in this position of status discontinuity may be subjected to pressures by the social order which are not experienced to the same extent by individuals not in such a position.² Many students have suggested that as a consequence of an insecure status position, and the resultant dissatisfaction and frustration, such individuals have a greater predisposition for extremist politics and are more likely to be attracted to radical social movements. Viewing the social structure as the source of his frustration he may seek to change it more readily than the individual not so frustrated. Literature dealing with politics contains many suggestions that status discontinuities predispose individuals or groups to accept extremist political views. For example the French bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century developed its revolutionary zeal when it was denied recognition and social prestige by

the old French aristocracy.³

Several recent studies have also suggested that status discrepancies and the resultant status insecurity and frustration contribute to greater support for extremist politics. In The New American Right,⁴ the authors analyze the support for the late Senator McCarthy and suggest that it can predominantly from: members of ethnic groups who had been upwardly mobile; the "nouveau riche"; individuals whose social status did not match their high income and occupational status; individuals of old American families who had high social status but were experiencing a reduction in their economic and power positions. In another study, Lenski found that "imperfect status correlation per se is related to political liberalism" and that "certain types of status inconsistency are more closely related to political liberalism than others. For example relative low ethnic status in combination with high income, occupation, or education was more closely correlated with political liberalism than the reverse."⁵ Lenski suggests that his findings hint at a more basic relationship between social structure and social change, and that the leaders of revolutionary movements will more frequently be people in positions of status discontinuity. However, when observing those individuals with a low ethnic-high education, occupation, and income status, Lenski combined all those with low ethnic status, Jews, Negroes, etc., into the same group. Thus what holds for the total group of "low" ethnic people in positions of status discontinuity may not hold for any given ethnic group.

When attempting to apply this view to the middle class⁶ Negro certain difficulties are encountered. Rather than being noted for their radical politics as is the case of other groups in positions of status discontinuity, the middle class Negro is more likely to be moderate. Descriptive studies of middle class Negroes indicate this,⁷ as do surveys dealing with voting behavior.⁸ In addition the evidence from the failure of the Communist Party to gain appreciable Negro support,⁹ the moderation of an NAACP dominated by the middle class Negro,¹⁰ and the failure of the Black Muslim movement to gain support from this group may be cited.

It is suggested in this paper that in the case of the Negro college professor, the fact that he is in a position of status discontinuity may impose limits on the extent to which he holds dissenting beliefs and is willing to take radical or unpopular action, rather than facilitating such beliefs and actions. Rather than viewing the Negro college professor as being extreme or radical in his demands for social reform, I see him as likely to overconform to the dominant political values currently held by the majority of the society and hence to avoid controversial attitudes and actions. This is inferred from the studies cited above and from examination of the behavior of the middle class Negro in areas other than the political. Thus, rather than status discontinuity serving to make the Negro radical, it may serve to inhibit him in thought and action.

Studies of the child rearing practices, personality, and behavior of the middle and upper class Negro have all stressed the strong internalization of middle class values and behavior patterns among this group.¹¹ The Negro families' strong insistence that their children be well-mannered, obedient, clean, neat, staying out of trouble, and avoiding situations which might cause embarrassment to the family all indicate this. In addition, their overconcern with impressions made upon others, the rigid upbringing of the child with strict cleanliness and masturbation training, careful limitations on play-mates and activities, emphasis on thriftiness and deferred gratification all attest to this. One observer has termed this group of Negroes the "black

puritans".¹² The rigid adherence to these patterns among middle and upper class Negro families may be taken to the point of overconformity. The Negro middle class is probably much more "middle class" than is the white middle class which it is imitating.

It seems logical that this overconformity and excessive concern with one's impact on others might be carried over into the realm of political values as well. A Negro radical is much more vulnerable to criticism than is a white radical. The Negro radical is forced to add the consequences of being red or pink to those of being black. Thus rather than being attracted to radical ideas and activities, as is the case of the white intellectual¹³ and other groups of people in positions of status discrepancy, the Negro professor may be less receptive to them. It is specifically hypothesized that the Negro college professor will have a lower tolerance for dissent and will be less likely to take radical or unpopular action than will white college professors.

METHOD

In order to test the Negro's receptivity to radical ideas and action, I performed secondary analysis on a sub-sample of data collected for The Academic Mind,¹⁴ a recent study of American professors of social science. I constructed indices of tolerance for dissent and for expressed willingness to act in controversial situations.

The original sample consisted of 2451 American professors of social science. Colleges were organized into clusters based on size, a random sample of colleges was selected, and from these colleges a random sample of professors was selected. In the current study, all of the seventy-four Negroes were used, in addition to five hundred selected whites. After whites teaching in Catholic schools were removed, five hundred whites were selected by means of a systematic sample with a random start.¹⁵ All the Negroes were teaching in Negro colleges.

From the following three questions an index of tolerance for dissent was created:

- 1) If there are students who want to join it, do you think a Young Communist League ought to be allowed on this Campus or not? ALLOW;¹⁶ not allow; DEPENDS; don't know.
- 2) Some claim there hardly exists an area in the social sciences which does not lend itself to value judgments, that is, differences of opinion. Now in general, toward which emphasis do you lean? SUCH CONTROVERSIAL MATTERS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED FREQUENTLY; one should answer such questions when they come up but not seek out discussion; in times like these it is better to avoid discussion on controversial matters as much as possible.
- 3) Do you think there is a definite advantage in having a teacher with radical or non-conformist views on the social science faculty, or do you think this is a luxury at best, which this faculty cannot afford? DEFINITE ADVANTAGE, luxury, can't afford; can't decide.

Response categories for each item in the index were dichotomized; the positive responses (those capitalized and indicative of a high tolerance for dissent) were scored one, and the negative were scored zero. Those with a

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score of two or three were labeled "high tolerance for dissent", those with scores of one and zero "low tolerance for dissent". There was a small percentage of "don't knows" and "can't decides" and in most cases these did not involve the same individuals and it was possible to classify them by their responses to the other two questions which were generally consistent.¹⁷ The remaining cases were classified after scoring the response to a fourth question which showed in cross tabulation a strong relation to the original dissent classification.

Turning now to the data, in the following table we see the relationship between tolerance for dissent and race.

TABLE 1

Tolerance for Dissent by Race

	Whites	Negroes
high tolerance for dissent	65% (496)	38% (74)

Whites have a higher tolerance for dissent. Of the white college professors 65% have a high tolerance for dissent, while among the Negroes, only 38% have a high tolerance for dissent. This is consistent with the hypothesis offered. In this case the Negro college professor may be more conservative and demonstrate a higher conformity of belief to traditional ideas and values. He thus does not welcome dissent and questioning of these ideas as frequently as does the white college professor. This relation between race and dissent is maintained when the two groups are compared for age, sex, amount of education, type of school (public or private), quality of school and mobility.

Many studies have been done on the effect of mobility on political attitudes. In *Political Man*, Lipset suggests in summarizing these studies that the most important effect of mobility on politics is that the bulk of the social mobile become more conservative.¹⁸ In the next table the effect of mobility on tolerance for dissent is observed for both whites and Negroes.

TABLE 2

Tolerance for Dissent by Race, with Social Mobility

	WHITES		NEGROES	
	Non-Mobile	Upwardly ¹⁹ Mobile	Non-Mobile	Upwardly Mobile
high tolerance for dissent	68% (361)	58% (131)	54% (28)	26% (38)

In this table we see that the relationship is maintained and in both the non-mobile and upwardly mobile group, white college professors have a higher tolerance for dissent than Negroes. Observing the whites and Negroes separately we see that the effect of mobility on tolerance is much greater for Negroes than for whites. Among the Negroes we see that of those whose parents were also in high status positions (non-mobile group) 54% have a high tolerance for dissent, while the corresponding figure for those Negroes who have only recently risen to a high status position is only 26%. The figures for the white professors are 68% and 58%, respectively.

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This data shows that both whites and Negroes who have been upwardly mobile have a lower tolerance for dissent. This is consistent with the studies done relating mobility to an increase in conservatism.²⁰ It is also consistent with Stouffer's finding that people from lower socio-economic backgrounds are the least tolerant of civil liberties.²¹ What is to be accounted for is why mobility has a significantly greater effect on the tolerance for dissent of Negroes than whites.

This greater effect may partially be accounted for by the initial discussion of reasons for the white-Negro difference. This difference can be due to the greater tendency of the Negro college professors to overconform as a result of status insecurity. Furthermore this same tendency may be true for the upwardly mobile Negro compared to the non-mobile Negro. In Children of Bondage²² the most rigid middle class behavior patterns were noted, not in those Negroes who had been upper class for a long period of time, but among those who had recently arrived or were currently upwardly mobile. This may not be true to the same extent for upwardly mobile whites. In the case of the Negro, we see a shift in the referent of status discontinuity from the total society to the Negro society. Thus whereas both the non-mobile and the mobile college professor (Negro) are in a position of status discontinuity when compared to the total society, the mobile Negro is in a position of status discontinuity in relation to the Negro society.

Another reason why mobility has less effect on the dissent score of whites than Negroes is that whites who were upwardly mobile could more easily overcome economic and social disadvantages and could receive higher quality and quantity education than could Negroes who were upwardly mobile. Upwardly mobile whites had the Ph.D. degree and had high achievement (production of scholarly articles, books, etc.) more frequently than did upwardly mobile Negroes. Education and scholarly achievement are both positively related to tolerance for dissent.

The relationship between tolerance for dissent and race can be further understood when we consider an additional variable, the quality of school at which an individual is teaching. Schools of higher quality are likely to have a more tolerant and permissive atmosphere. Generally, better quality schools attract professors who have had more education and a higher degree of achievement. The atmosphere of the college an individual is in may have an effect on his tolerance for dissent. The following table gives evidence that the quality of school one is teaching at is related to one's tolerance for dissent.

TABLE 3
Tolerance for Dissent by Race, with Quality School²³

	High Quality School		Low Quality School	
	Whites	Negroes	Whites	Negroes
tolerance for dissent	70% (341)	55% (17)	45% (145)	35% (54)

In this table, while the relationship between dissent and race is maintained, it is reduced. There are several factors responsible for the reduction of the original relationship. As stated, better quality schools have better resources and working conditions and can attract more distinguished and productive teachers, and high achievement and education are positively related to tolerance for dissent. In addition an atmosphere of tolerance exists in high quality

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schools which does not exist in schools of low quality. This atmosphere affects the attitudes of the professor in question. As a result of discrimination, Negroes receive less education and are lower in achievement, and even when high in achievement are forced to teach in lower quality schools.²⁴

Thus we see that the relationship between dissent and race is partially understood through considering mobility and quality of school at which an individual is teaching. Upwardly mobile people, as well as people teaching in poorer quality schools, have a lower tolerance for dissent. A much higher percentage of Negroes than whites have been upwardly mobile and are teaching in low quality schools.²⁵ However, within these categories whites still showed a higher tolerance for dissent.

WILLINGNESS TO TAKE RADICAL OR CONTROVERSIAL ACTION

The above discussion has been concerned with tolerance for dissent. It will be recalled that the hypothesis of this paper was also concerned with willingness to take radical or controversial action. In order to test this part of the hypothesis, a three question index, similar in form to that used to measure tolerance for dissent, was constructed. The index measures expressed willingness to act in situations which might be considered controversial or in which the individual might later expect to be criticized. The following three questions were used:

- 1) In teaching subjects which might require questioning of traditional values, which of these two approaches do you personally feel is a better educational policy for teachers to follow?
AFTER PROPER DISCUSSION TO ARGUE IN A MEASURED WAY FOR YOUR OWN POINT OF VIEW: to give all sides of a question impartially without revealing your own point of view; hard to decide.
- 2) Suppose you were a faculty adviser to the debating team and the president told you he wouldn't allow the team to debate the admission of Red China, would you: PROTEST VIGOROUSLY; just say you disagree and leave it; not say anything; don't know?
- 3) Do you find in your recommendations of reference materials that you are more careful today not to recommend something that might later be criticized for being too controversial? yes; NO; don't know.

The same procedure was used as in the construction of the index of dissent. Positive responses are capitalized and were scored one, negative answers zero.²⁶ Those with a score of two and three were labeled "activists" and those with a score of one and zero "non-activists". "Action" in the following tables refers to expressed willingness to act.

Turning now to the following table we see the relationship between action and race.

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TABLE 4

Willingness to Act in Situations Which Might Be Controversial, by Race

	Whites	Negroes
activists:	74% (496)	42% (74)

Here we see that in addition to having a lower tolerance for dissent, Negroes are also more inhibited in action. Among the white college professors 74% were classified as activists, while among the Negroes this figure drops to 42%. This relationship was maintained even after comparing the two groups by region of the country, age, sex, amount of education, type of school, quality of school, and mobility. In each of these instances Negroes are less likely to engage in activity of a controversial nature for which they might later be criticized. The data in this table supports the hypothesis offered.

When this relationship is considered with mobility we have the following table.

TABLE 5

Willingness to Act in Situations Which Might Be Controversial,
by Race, with Social Mobility

	WHITES		NEGROES	
	Non-Mobile	Upwardly Mobile	Non-Mobile	Upwardly Mobile
activists:	69% (362)	65% (131)	57% (28)	33% (42)

Again we see that the relationship is maintained and in both the non-mobile and upwardly mobile group, white college professors are activists a greater proportion of the time than are Negroes. Among the Negroes it may be noted that of those whose parents were also in high status positions (non-mobile group) 57% are activists, while the corresponding figure for those Negroes who have been upwardly mobile drops to 33%. The figures for the white professors are 69% and 65% respectively. Thus as in the case of tolerance for dissent, the effect of mobility on willingness to take controversial action is much greater among Negroes than among whites. As suggested earlier this may partially be accounted for by the factors accounting for the original white-Negro difference and partially by the fact that upwardly mobile whites receive a higher quantity and quality education than upwardly mobile Negroes. A finding similar to that of tolerance for dissent was also found when this relationship was examined by quality of school.

In the following tables further validation of the hypothesis that Negroes are less likely to engage in controversial or radical activities than whites is offered. Table six shows response to a question dealing with whether or not accusations of UnAmerican activities had been made on the campuses.

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TABLE 6

Accusations of UnAmerican Activities,
by Type of College Individual is Teaching In

	White Colleges	Negro Colleges
reporting accusations made:	51% (495)	24% (72)

Here we see that accusations of UnAmerican activities are made more frequently on the campuses of white colleges than Negro. Among the white professors 51% report such accusations while among the Negroes only 24% do.

In the next table we see responses to a question dealing with whether or not an individual has had conversations with an FBI agent in the past year.

TABLE 7

Conversations with FBI Agents, by Race

	Whites	Negroes
reporting conversations:	62% (499)	40% (72)

In this table we see that 62% of the whites report conversations with FBI agents while among Negroes 40% do. In this table and the previous one it is assumed that where there is smoke there is more likely to be fire. Accusations of UnAmerican activities and FBI investigations will be found more frequently where people are engaged in controversial and "subversive" activities. The above tables suggest that controversial activities take place at white colleges more frequently than at Negro colleges. It is possible, although doubtful, that Negroes may be just as radical and engage in controversial activities just as much, but cover them up better, or that the FBI and people who make accusations are not as concerned with Negro colleges. However, the frequently noted attempt in the South to identify any agitation for civil rights and equality of opportunity as communist inspired would not suggest this.

In addition to appearing as activists less often in the hypothetical situations of the index questions, Negroes have in fact demonstrated by their past actions that they actually have acted the way they say they would, as the following two tables confirm. The first deals with membership in controversial organizations and the second with refraining from taking part in an activity in order not to embarrass those in charge of the college.

TABLE 8

Membership in Organizations Advocating Unpopular or
Controversial Programs, by Race

	Whites	Negroes
belonged to such organizations:	33% (497)	19% (74)

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Whites participate in controversial organizations more frequently than do Negroes. Among the whites 33% have belonged to such organizations, while among the Negroes the figure drops to 19%. Whites in their overt activities open themselves up to criticism more often than do Negroes. This table may be more significant than it appears since Negroes may have included in their responses organizations such as the NAACP which is notoriously controversial and unpopular in the South.

TABLE 9

Refraining From Taking Part in an Activity in Order Not
to Embarrass the Regents or Administration, by Race

	Whites	Negroes
those who have refrained:	22% (498)	35% (69)

Negroes refrain from activities which might embarrass those in control of their schools more frequently than do whites. This serves as an excellent example of inhibition in action. Not only do Negroes have less desire to take part in controversial activities, when they do desire to take part in such activities they refrain more frequently than do whites. In these cases the less tolerant atmosphere that the Negro is in serves to inhibit him.²⁷

DISSENT AND ACTION COMBINED

Combining the indices of tolerance for dissent and expressed willingness to act we have a more general measure for each individual. In the following typology the action and dissent classification for each professor are observed together.

TABLE 10

Combined Dissent-Action Indices, by Race

	White (N: 494)	Negro (N: 74)
High Dissent-Activists	55%	21%
High Dissent-Non-Activists	10	17
Low Dissent-Activists	17	10
Low Dissent-Non-Activists	<u>18</u>	<u>51</u>
	100%	100%

In the first row we see that more than half of the white college professors have a high tolerance for dissent and are activists, while only one-fifth of the Negroes have a high tolerance for dissent and are activists. Considering the fourth row we see these figures are reversed, that is, more than half the Negroes have a low dissent score and are non-activists while only one-fifth of the whites show this pattern. Thus the majority of the white college professors have both a high tolerance for dissent and are activists, while the majority of

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guilty of being a "dirty Jew" or Negro. In this instance the Negro intellectual may go out of his way to demonstrate that he is "normal" and he may consequently be prone to overconform to the dominant society's attitude towards dissenting opinions and radical action, just as he may be prone to overconform to its moral standards. By having a lower tolerance for dissent and taking radical action less often, the Negro is reinforcing the impression that he believes that the traditions and values of society are indisputable.

Two additional facts may help explain the observed relationship. First, the supposed lack of radicalism among the Negro college professor may stem partially from the fact that his reference group is the Negro community and that in this community he has upper class status. The general economic and political conservatism of these Negro professors may stem from their upper class position in the Negro community rather than from their economic position in American life.³⁰ Having upper class status in the Negro group, he may be correspondingly more moderate in his ideas. On the other hand the white college professor's reference group is the white community within which he is middle class or upper middle class. Therefore he would tend to be more liberal.

A second factor is that a much higher percentage of Negroes than whites have been upwardly mobile and are teaching in poor quality schools which may have less tolerant and permissive atmospheres, and both of these factors have shown to be related to having a low tolerance for dissent. Related to this is the fact that most of the Negroes studied here are employed in the South in segregated colleges, dependent for their existence on the good will of white state legislatures and philanthropic organizations. This may result in there being an even less tolerant and permissive atmosphere than at poor quality white colleges.³¹ The Negro minister, on the other hand, dependent for his support on the Negro masses, rather than a white state legislature, is more frequently the leader of movements of protest.³²

Thus for one American ethnic group, the Negro, the hypothesis suggesting that status discontinuity may result in political extremism, does not appear supported. The Negro college professor's political behavior is inconsistent with that of many other persons in positions of status discontinuity in that he seldom supports movements of political extremism. This more conservative behavior may be a result of his rigid upbringing, conformity and concern for the impression others hold of him, his upper class status within his social sub-culture and his dependence on the good will of a white legislature for his job. There appears to be an opposition in the fact that status discontinuity can result in both a desire to change a frustrating and dissatisfying social position, and a desire to be accepted by the dominant group which may lead to overconformity in the moral as well as political spheres of life. In the case of the Negro the latter tendency has apparently been the stronger.

Further research should be concerned with Negro professors teaching in non-Negro colleges,³³ as well as other segments of the Negro intelligentsia such as writers and artists. It also remains to be seen if the same is true of other groups composing the Negro upper class: big businessmen, physicians, etc. Given the frequently noted tendency of the intellectuals in the United States to be much more liberal and radical vis-à-vis the rest of the population, we may expect that the tendencies noted in this paper may be even more pronounced in the non-intellectual segment of the Negro upper class.

To the college professor, be he Negro or white, freedom of thought and action are vital in his role performance; this is particularly true of professors in the social sciences whose function it is to be sensitive to innovation and

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to help society adjust to new conditions. In addition, as a teacher and as a result of having a lower tolerance for dissent the Negro may be less likely to present controversial and challenging material. Furthermore, intellectual creativity as well as full participation in a democratic society requires freedom of thought and action. The right to dissent and to question traditional modes of thought, the right to take action on one's dissenting opinions are prerequisites for intellectual innovation, as they are for meaningful participation in a democratic society. It is suggested that the white college professor is in a better position here than the Negro. He is not under the same compulsion to conform and avoid negative criticism and hence is freer to adapt to the natural atmosphere of the intellectual and democratic communities. He is freer to survey the issues, form his opinions, and act upon them without suffering the consequences of an insecure status position.

The data presented here serve to document further some negative consequences of minority group status for the Negro. Great damage may be done because the Negro college professor is forced to be concerned with adjusting and adapting to an insecure status position, instead of being free to create and criticize.

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Notes

1. The term status crystallization is suggested by G. Lenski in his article, "Status Crystallization: A Non-vertical Dimension of Social Status", American Sociological Review, 19 (1954): 405-13.
2. E. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status", American Journal of Sociology, 50(1944): 353-359. Hughes discusses the problems faced by the Negro professional, as exemplified by the Negro doctor.
3. Discussed in S.M. Lipset and R. Bendix Social Mobility In Industrial Society, (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1958), p. 268.
4. Daniel Bell, ed., The New American Right (New York: Criterion Books, 1955).
5. G. Lenski, op. cit., p. 411.
6. Middle class here refers to standards of the dominant society, whereas within the Negro sub-culture, college professors would be of the upper class.
7. A. Davis and J. Dollard, Children of Bondage, (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940), p. 99-207. E. Frazier, The Negro in the United States, (New York: Macmillan, 1949), pp. 289-302. These refer to moderation in other areas of life, as well as the political.
8. With respect to the behavior of Negro leaders, James Wilson in Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), p. 230 suggests that those leaders whose political style is "moderate" are much more in evidence than those whose style is "militant." T. P. Monahan and E. Monahan, "Some characteristics of American Negro Leaders", American Sociological Review, 21 (1956): pp. 589-596, find that in the North, Republicans outnumber the Democrats 3 to 2, while in the South, Republicans are outnumbered 2 to 1. E.H. Litchfield, "A Case Study of Negro Political Behavior", Public Opinion Quarterly, 5(1941) suggests a greater preference for the Republican Party among upper income Negroes. Studying a group which most readily corresponds to the one here, H. Greene, Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes, (Boston: Meadow Publishing Co., 1946) found that the majority were Republicans and that very few held radical or extreme beliefs. These individuals also avoided participating in organizations which were vehement in their demands for social innovation. A third party vote is frequently a sign of protest and radical action. In this instance it is interesting to note that Negroes have shown less support for third parties than have whites. Litchfield found that since 1930 Negroes have shown less than average interest in third party voting. In like manner it is noted "the intensive campaign which the communists waged to transfer the Negro's allegiance to the Progressive Party in 1948 was a failure. Of the two million votes received by Wallace and Taylor, considerably less than 10% came from Negroes." W. Record., The Negro and the Communist Party, (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), pp. 282-3.
9. The following books have suggested the notable failure of the Communist and Socialist Parties to gain Negro support, W. Record, op. cit., Gosnell, Negro Politicians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 322, Glazier, The Social Basis of American Communism (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1961), G. Simpson, and M. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), pp. 472-478.
10. In relation to the moderation of the NAACP, it is interesting to note a remark made by Dr. John Morisell, an executive of the NAACP. In an address on the Berkeley campus Dr. Morisell commented that he was surprised to find that on many campuses more whites than Negroes belonged to campus chapters of the NAACP and that many of the Negroes stayed away for fear of being identified with an organization as "radical" as the NAACP.
11. Davis and Dollard, op. cit., Frazier, op. cit., also in Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States, (New York: Macmillan, 1949).
12. E. Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States.
13. S. M. Lipset, Political Man, (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960), pp. 311-342, summarizes a number of studies which all suggest intellectuals have a greater predisposition for radical beliefs and activities.
14. P. Lazarsfeld and W. Thielens, The Academic Mind (Illinois: Free Press, 1958).
15. Cards were placed in serial order and after selecting the first case randomly from the first four cards, I chose each successive fourth card. I feel that this procedure is valid, because the serialization was such that it did not result in cyclical order.
16. Capitalized responses indicate a high tolerance for dissent.

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17. The coefficient of reproducibility of the index was 80% for whites, and 86% for Negroes. Negroes were more consistent in their responses than were whites. These percentages offer internal validation of the supposed unidimensionality of the phenomenon in question. The relation between an individual's dissent score and his response to a fourth question which it was felt also measured tolerance for dissent gives further validation. The question was, "should an admitted communist be allowed to teach?" Only 5% of those with low dissent scores answered affirmatively, while 65% of those with high dissent scores answered affirmatively.
18. S. M. Lipset, op. cit., p. 257, also Social Mobility in Industrial Society, pp. 66-71.
19. Those whose fathers were manual and clerical workers were considered to have been upwardly mobile, while those whose fathers were professionals, teachers, businessmen, salesmen, and semi-professionals were considered to be non-mobile. The small number of Negroes prevented a more refined analysis of mobility, as well as more elaborate multi-variate analysis.
20. Although what is measured here is not the same thing as conservatism, it may approximate one dimension of the liberal-conservative concepts, that of attitude towards civil liberties.
21. S. Stouffer; Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties: A Cross Section of the Nation Speaks Its Mind (Garden City: Doubleday, 1955).
22. A. Davis and J. Dollard, op. cit.
23. This refers to the quality of the school relative to others of its size, using the scale developed in the Academic Mind. The scale was constructed from responses to questions such as size of library, number of books per student, proportion of Ph.D.'s on the faculty and production of scholars.
24. Among white professors with the Ph.D., 71% (377) were teaching in high quality schools, while among Negroes with the Ph.D., the figure teaching in high quality schools drops to 27% (33).
25. With respect to mobility only 26% (492) of the whites were upwardly mobile, while among Negroes, 60% (70) were upwardly mobile. The figures are more striking when we consider quality school an individual is teaching in. Only 30% (486) of the whites were teaching in low quality schools, while among Negroes 76% (71) were in low quality schools.
26. The coefficient of reproducibility of the index was 83% for whites and 90% for Negroes. Negroes were again more consistent in their responses. The relation between an individual's action score and his response to a fourth question which it was felt also measured an individual's willingness to act, gives further validation. The question referred to signing a loyalty oath. It is felt that an individual who would refuse to sign a loyalty oath is not one to avoid activity for which he might later be criticized. Only 2% of those classified as "non-activists" would refuse to sign, while 17% of those classified as "activists" would refuse to sign.
27. The findings here contrasting white and Negro college professors are consistent with the report of the wife of a white professor who served on the faculty of a Negro college for several years. A Former Faculty Wife, "A Note on Intergroup Conditioning and Conflict Among an Interracial Faculty at a Negro College," Social Forces XXVII (1949), pp. 430-433. In this article it is suggested that the white professors and their wives found it difficult to associate freely with their colored associates because the latter had a different style of life and a different set of values. The whites were pacifists, interested in co-operatives, and committed to internationalism. The Negroes were more conservative, against pacifism, and had less interest in social questions than the whites. The Negroes were more concerned with social activities such as playing cards, movies, and parties and were less concerned with books and discussions than were the whites. The Negro college professor is seen to have much more in common with the rising white middle class than the white liberal.
28. This is an example of the "avoidance" response of people in positions of status discrepancy or insecure status positions. Discussed in Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., pp. 231-239, Lenski, op. cit., p. 412, and in Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, (N.Y.: Harpers & Brothers, 1943), p. 261.
29. Jean-Paul Sartre, Anti-Semite and Jew (New York: Grove Press, 1961).
30. Economic and political conservatism of the Negro upper class is discussed briefly in Frazier, op. cit., p. 299. Frazier also discusses the conservatism, as well as the opportunism, of this group in his book, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957).
31. Frazier discusses the inhibiting effect of Northern philanthropic organizations on the attitudes of the Negro intellectual in Black Bourgeoisie, op. cit., p. 96. Two additional points that Frazier makes are relevant here. First he suggests that many Negro teachers look upon teaching primarily as a source of income and social status and that they, as many Negro professionals, take their recreation more seriously than their profession. This is seen to result from the strong emphasis on "social life" and the very great struggle for status in the

Negro community among the black bourgeoisie. This is consistent with the article by the faculty wife discussed earlier. A second point may be seen in his statement, "When the opportunity has presented itself, the black bourgeoisie has exploited the Negro masses as ruthlessly as have whites. As the intellectual leaders of the Negro masses in the Negro community, they have never dared think beyond a narrow opportunistic philosophy that provided a rationalization for their own advantages." (p. 236) Their emphasis on social life and view of the teaching profession as instrumental, rather than an end in itself, and their opportunism may help explain the lack of radicalism among these professors. According to Frazier they are not particularly concerned with the broader issues facing the modern world, and when they do show an interest it is more frequently in a conservative direction as a result of their opportunism and profiting from the status quo. While I think Frazier adopts an unduly polemical position in order to make his view of the black bourgeoisie more salient, it still has relevance here.

32. Although in one study cited earlier it was found that members of the clergy were Republican more frequently than were college professors, T. Monohan, op. cit.
33. It may be that the findings here would not apply to a Negro with a Ph.D., who is a productive scholar, teaching in a high quality, non-Negro college with a permissive and tolerant atmosphere. However, if this were found to be true it would not mean that the data presented here are invalid. In this instance the very meaning of the social configuration "Negro" has almost been destroyed for it has been stripped of all the essential social accompaniments generally associated with the word.