The political socialization of black secondary students from two all-black towns

Lester Newman

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THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF BLACK SECONDARY STUDENTS FROM TWO ALL-BLACK TOWNS

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

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Atlanta, Georgia
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THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF BLACK SECONDARY STUDENTS FROM TWO ALL-BLACK TOWNS

Introduction

The term "political socialization" is a relatively new one in the discipline of political science. However, in the last two decades or so, many political scientists have expressed an interest in the process by which one learns about the political culture in which he lives. It has indeed emerged as a new specialization within the field of political science. This is not to say that past political scientists and political philosophers did not have an interest in, or did not speculate about the training of their citizens or about ways in which the political system can be maintained. However, only recently has there been any empirical research done to transform these early speculations and ideas into more concrete knowledge of the elements involved in the political socialization process. It was not until after Herbert Hyman's pioneering work, Political Socialization, that there was any great concern over or any enlightening research in this area. As noted in his opening comments, the book is an inventory of the nature of the study of political socialization. Hyman states:

Even in the ancient writings of political theory, doctrines about the nature of man figure, and eloquent appeals for a revival of psychology in politics are found among the classics of political theory written in the first decades of this century.
All this attests to the vitality of a psychological approach to politics—not as an exclusive approach, but certainly an essential adjunct to political science. In the service of making psychology most useful in the current study of politics, it seemed desirable to have an inventory of the accumulated knowledge that psychology has already provided of politics.¹

Also from these comments, one can see that political socialization had its beginning in the study of the behavior of man. Political socialization involves the shaping and transmitting of ideas and values to the people in a society in order to produce a certain behavior from these people. It also involves the ideas that people have toward government, their values, their aspirations, and the modes of behavior that flow from the values and aspirations.²

There are many definitions of political socialization. These definitions speak to the many problems found in socialization research. Edward S. Greenberg defines political socialization as the process by which the individual acquires attitudes, beliefs, and values relating to the political system of which he is a member and to his own role as a citizen within that political system.³ This definition given by Greenberg is a general one. A general definition of this nature includes a wide scope of theories and approaches without a commitment to anyone in

particular. Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, in their book *Political Socialization*, define the term as the method by which a nation's political culture is transmitted to succeeding generations and to new members; it shapes and transmits a nation's political culture. Dawson and Prewitt saw political socialization as performing three main functions. They saw it as maintaining a nation's culture by transmitting it from old to new, transforming the political culture insofar as the people viewed the culture differently than they had and creating a culture where none had existed before.

These three terms—'maintaining,' 'transforming,' and 'creating'—summarize the variety of tasks political socialization performs for the political culture.

David Easton and Jack Dennis define the term as those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior.

The list of definitions is almost endless. There seems to be a new definition attached to each study in this area. Despite the many definitions and studies that are done in the field of political socialization


5 Ibid., p. 27.

6 Ibid.

there are very few that deal with the socialization of black children, or more specifically, there is little focus on black children from an all-black community, and furthermore, there has been very little written on all black towns.

Most major political socialization studies have almost exclusively focused on white middle class children. As an outgrowth of this, most political scientists are bound by definitions that lead them to research results that are supportive of the status quo. This is done without taking into consideration certain factors that may make one group's ideas and behavior different from another. On the basis of these studies, generalizations have been made about the entire populace. Therefore, it is important for black people to become involved in analyzing and evaluating the socialization process of blacks from a black perspective in order for solutions to be found to black problems.

My working assumption is that the educational system in the United States does not serve in the best interest of black people. This is to say that black children are socialized to accept a political system and to give their allegiance to a country that is repressive, not only to black folks in the United States, but to black folks everywhere. In other words, the purpose of the educational system in the United States is to socialize its citizens in the interest of maintaining the present political system. Crucial to this maintenance function is the necessity of indoctrinating young people within the nation that the current
political system is, if not perfect, then much superior to other political systems. The emphasis on the maintenance function is, by its very existence, inimical to change. This preference for the status-quo is precisely what makes the usual process of socialization a disaster for black children. The effectiveness of the maintenance function of political socialization can be seen by the amount of criticism one receives when he rejects totally the American values and begins to speak out against them. He is looked upon with great disdain, and is considered to be deviant, not only by whites but by blacks as well. It is my feeling that black people should develop schools that critically analyze the political and economic institutions in this country and determine precisely their relationship to these institutions. After this is done, the next step will be to determine the necessary skills that are needed to deal with this situation. Finally, black schools should set out to teach black students whatever is necessary to make them better prepared to deal with the real world.

Like all children from all environments, black children acquire the attitudes, values, and behaviors of the environment in which they grow up. Black people must begin to study this process and give it a direction that will be of benefit to black people everywhere. They must begin to develop approaches to the socialization of black children. The only logical place to begin is where blacks control their immediate surroundings—namely all-black towns.
This brings us to the problem at hand--the political socialization of black secondary students from all-black towns. Since these towns are the closest black people have to the complete control of the community in which they live, these towns should be a good place to study the political development of black children.

Statement of Problems

The purpose of this study is to determine to what degree black children from all-black towns are socialized into the American political system. Another concern will be to see what role the black teacher plays as a disseminator of political values in the classroom. Here we will be mainly concerned with their views about the conditions of black people and their philosophy of teaching. One problem of this study is to determine whether politically relevant learning which is taking place in all-black towns is any different from other towns which have already been studied in the various published research. Another problem is to determine the impact of the educational process in these towns on the political development of the students.

A study of this kind is important, in that it will give us an insight into how the educational process works in these environments. Hopefully, it will allow us to anticipate the possible actions of black people in such environment. With the growing number of black majority cities and the rise of black elected officials, a study of these towns will
allow black people to see what has been done on a smaller scale which may have utility for the big cities. Hopefully, black people can learn something from these experiences. However, since this study is only concerned with the political socialization of the students, the knowledge we hope to gain concerning what is happening in all-black towns will be limited to the educational process.

Review of the Literature

As already mentioned most political socialization studies are about white middle class children. From these studies generalizations have been made about everyone in the society. These studies offer little insight into the political socialization of black children, and none of them focus on children from all-black towns. However, there are a few studies that may be useful to the development of this study.

One important study that is relevant to my concerns is reported in a Masters thesis called, "The Political Socialization of Black Children: An Analysis of Four Black Pre-Elementary Schools" by Sanders Anderson. He was concerned with four black pre-schools in Atlanta. Two of the schools were of the traditional setting and the other two were non-traditional schools. In the two non-traditional schools emphasis is placed on the African heritage of the students. In the study, Anderson wanted to answer the following five questions:
(1) Is politically relevant learning taking place within the schools?

(2) Is what is learned at the traditional schools different from that which is learned at the non-traditional schools?

(3) If there are differences, are those differences significant enough to lead to the development of different kinds of political beings in the different student bodies?

(4) What about basic learning skills, are the schools performing this task?

(5) What are the likely consequences of the different patterns of socialization?

Anderson concluded that politically relevant learning is taking place and the political learning in the traditional schools is different from that which is learned at the non-traditional schools. He also points out that the kind of socialization that is carried on at the two non-traditional schools is significant enough that the students that come from these schools will have a different view of life. He goes on to state that, "the likely consequences may not be felt for years to come and those consequences are subject to competing processes put forth by American political indoctrination."

Edward S. Greenberg made a study of the attitudes of minority groups in the United States that relates to my research. In this article,

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9Ibid., p. 51.
10Ibid., pp. 51-52.
"Children and the Political Community," Greenberg points out three basic patterns of political socialization research. The three approaches were: (1) Early Attachment, (2) Gradual Appreciation, and (3) Central Periphery. The early attachment deals with the aspect whereby children develop attitudes early and continue with them. Gradual appreciation deals with socialization as a continual process, and that newer things are learned in time. The central periphery approach states that a child's cognitive ideas develop in stages from neighborhood, city, state, and country.

Greenberg concludes that the black child experiences an erosion of early positive support for most of the elements of the political system. 11

Fred I. Greenstein, in his book Children and Politics, conducted a study of 659 students in New Haven, Connecticut. He questioned children from various socio-economic backgrounds. His questions were designed to try to gain knowledge on how children feel about authority. He wanted to find out how great the support was and how political loyalties were developed. Greenstein concluded that children of low socio-economic backgrounds showed a lack of willingness to participate in the system. 12


In their book *Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy*, David Easton and Jack Dennis set out to lay the groundwork for a theory of political socialization. They also set out to establish grounds for studying political support. The children were tested from grades two through eight. They were from the greater Chicago metropolitan area. Just like most studies, the findings could only apply to the urban white middle class. They state:

"Testing of children from the Black or other major distinctive ethnic groups, such as the Spanish-American, would have required special instruments and different testers. Economy and feasibility, therefore, also dictated that we restrict our study to white English-speaking school children."^13

Dwaine Marvick's study, "The Political Socialization of the American Negro," was concerned with the political socialization of black adults, or rather the re-socialization of black adults. In his opening comments, Marvick states the following:

... the political socialization of the American Negro is rapidly and drastically changing. In part, the trends involve and reflect a massive migration from the rural South into Northern metropolitan slums. In part the trends are embodied in the perspectives of successive generations--those under forty today, whose awareness of American political life is therefore exclusively post-World War II, and their elders, who grew up in a prewar or wartime climate of opinion.

These key dimensions--migration and generation--will be repeatedly considered as we sift the findings available from research into how people are inducted into their political culture, which is what we mean by the phrase 'political socialization.' And because change is the

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^13David Easton and Jack Dennis, p. 422.
outstanding feature in considering both dimensions, the findings raise questions about 'resocialization' quite different from those involved in teaching civics to children in other ways giving young people a 'feel for politics.' Protest, alienation, reconciliation, reintegration: these are all relevant terms when we examine how Negroes adjust to the rules and arrangements of American politics.\textsuperscript{14}

This lengthy quote sets the stage for the study. Marvick wanted to find out what effects "migration" and "generation" have on black people. He was also concerned with the aspect of "change" in the lives of black people. How do certain changes create different behavior in blacks? In other words, what brings about the new black man or woman?

In dealing with this problem, Marvick analyzed certain surveys that represented a cross-section of the citizenry. One such survey took place in the spring of 1960. The National Opinion Research Center (NORC) undertook a national survey of the United States as part of a five-nation study of contemporary patterns of political socialization.\textsuperscript{15} Many problems of political socialization were touched upon in this survey. One problem area was concerned with blacks' past and potential induction into politics. In order to find an answer to this problem, a comparison was made between blacks in the survey and their white counterpart.


\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 115.
Marvick concluded that blacks tend to be less trusting of the American political system than whites. Blacks tend to relate differently to the political system and show a far greater sense of personal alienation than whites who are similarly located. However, he seems to have misinterpreted the history of black people's struggle when he stated the following:

... if Negroes had internalized the American dream and seriously wanted it for themselves, it is hard to believe they would not long since have been radically disenchanted and militantly alienated.\(^{16}\)

He seems to have overlooked the fact that the main goal of the majority of black people in this country has been to enter into the mainstream of the American political system and not to change the system. It was not that black folks had not internalized the American dream, but a matter of this dream being crushed whenever they tried to realize it. In the past this was done more overtly by such anti-black groups as the Klu Klux Klan, but today it is done by other means of discrimination which the system condones.

Another study that adds to the knowledge of the political socialization of black children was the "Political Orientation of Black High School Seniors In a Southern Community: Preliminary Reporting," by Jewel L. Prestage. Prestage set out to discover to what extent are black students in the South committed to the traditional assumptions and ways.

\(^{16}\)Ibid., p. 125.
of political action generally associated with the American system.  

Her stated purpose was, "to examine political orientations of Black high school seniors in a Southern urban community regarding nine specific notions or commitments about politics which seem to be characteristic of American society." The nine notions are:

1. "Government by the people"
2. "What government does is beneficial to citizens"
3. "Americans are proud of their government and what it does"
4. "America is a democracy"
5. "Actions against one's country are more grave transgressions than actions against other social institutions or norms"
6. "One's primary duty is to his country"
7. "Most citizens are oriented toward participant roles in the political area"
8. "Identification with a political party is a normal, natural action, influenced by certain social and economic factors"
9. "Citizenship education courses in schools are effective agents of political socialization"  

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18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.
The community from which the data for this study was collected is the East Baton Rouge Parish in Louisiana. Prestage administered questionnaires to 237 high school seniors attending three black schools in the area. The three black high schools in the study included one urban working class public school, one rural working class public school and one middle class non-public school affiliated with a university and serving students from all sections of the parish. 20

Prestage concluded that most of the respondents tend to think of the government in impersonal terms, and to be less convinced than their white counterparts of the beneficial impact of government on themselves and their families. 21 She also stated that, "In each of the cases the highest level of disaffection was found among the middle class children." 22

The study entitled "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," by Herbert McClosky was helpful in the development of the methodology for the study we are undertaking. McClosky was concerned with the problem of whether there was a consensus of all American people about certain basic notions of the political system or did only a certain segment of the society share these beliefs. He divides the population in his study into two groups: (1) the political influentials--

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20 Ibid., p. 5.
21 Ibid., p. 14.
22 Ibid., p. 15.
those who occupy themselves with public affairs to an unusual degree, such as government officials, elected office holders, active party members, publicists, officers of voluntary associations, and opinion leaders; and (2) the general electorate.  

McClosky concluded that the political influentials manifest by comparison with ordinary voters a more developed sense of ideology and a firmer grasp of its essentials. Concerning this observation, he stated the following:

This is evidenced in their stronger approval of democratic ideas, their greater tolerance and regard for proper procedures and citizen rights, their superior understanding and acceptance of the 'rules of the game,' and their more affirmative attitudes toward the political system in general. The electorate displays a substantial measure of unity chiefly in its support of freedom in the abstract; on most other features of democratic belief and practice it is sharply divided.

Another study that was helpful in the development of the methodology for this one was "Personality and Conformity: The Learning of Political Attitudes," by Giuseppe Di Palma and Herbert McClosky. The purpose of this study was to explore the psychological--and to some extent the social and political--meaning of conformity and deviation as

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24 Ibid., p. 373.

25 Ibid.
reflected in citizen responses to political beliefs. They were also concerned with the acceptance or rejection of the dominant political and social values of society.

Di Palma and McClosky attempted to prove four hypotheses. They state, "that the tendency to conform to, or deviate from, a society's prevailing attitudes is a function of a complex set of influences." The most significant of which are the following:

1. Social and geographic location, which affect one's opportunity to encounter the beliefs that circulate in the society, and to have them reinforced.

2. Cognitive abilities which govern one's capacity to comprehend those beliefs.

3. Personality characteristics, which influence the clarity, accuracy, and posture with which one perceives and assimilates communications on public questions.

4. Social-psychological factors, which affect social adaptability, including the ability to interact effectively with others, to be aware of the demands of the social environment, etc.

They concluded that conformity and deviation—defined operationally as agreement or disagreement with prevailing American beliefs on diverse social and political subjects—is significantly related to

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27 Ibid., p. 1060.

28 Ibid.
personality factors. Those who preponderantly conform to majority attitudes are by substantial margins better adapted socially and psychologically than those who preponderantly reject them.\(^{29}\)

In their concluding sections of this study, Di Palma and McClosky seemed to have made an extra effort to point out that when you conform to majority attitudes and beliefs you are more intellectually oriented, more politically aware, and more proficient in cognitive skills. On the other hand, to be deviant, you are on the other end of the spectrum. In other words, to conform is good, and to deviate is bad. They fail to point out that maybe one deviates because one is more politically aware and is smart enough to see the fallacies in many of the so-called American values and norms.

The book, *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children*, by Robert D. Hess and Judith Torney deals with the political socialization of young school children. The book was based on a study of 12,000 elementary school children from eight metropolitan areas in the United States. The purpose of the study was to trace the development of children's attitudes in various grades to see if there was a change in orientations. They concluded that the school reinforces the early attachment of the child to the nation.\(^{30}\)

\(^{29}\)Ibid., p. 1068.

Roberta S. Sigel did a study called the "Image of a President: Some Insights Into The Political Views of School Children." The purpose of this study was to find out what was the reaction of school children to the death of President Kennedy. The study was based on a survey of 1,349 primary and secondary school children in metropolitan Detroit. The children were in grades four through twelve and represented a cross-section of the city's school population, including all social classes and ethnic and religious groups.  

Sigel concluded that the school children were by no means ignorant of their political environment; they seemed to have known the centrally important issues of their time and what transpired during the President's term. She also pointed out that both black and white children saw him as the defender of the Negro cause and the champion of equal treatment for all men.  

Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings did a study called "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States." The study explored the relationship between the civics  

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32 Ibid., p. 226.

33 Ibid., p. 225.
curriculum and political attitudes and behavior in American high schools. The data for the study came from research conducted by the Survey Research Center for The University of Michigan in 1965. They divided their student sample along racial lines in order to make a comparison between black and white students in regards to what effect high school civic courses had on them.

Langton and Jennings concluded that there is little evidence that the civics curriculum has a significant effect on the political orientations of the great majority of American high school students. However, concerning the black students in the survey, they stated that, "In virtually all instances the Negro students were much more affected by taking such courses than were the whites, regardless of whether the results were positive or negative." 

The study, "The Political Socialization of Ghetto Children: Efficacy and Cynicism," by Schley R. Lyons deals with the political socialization of black children. This study is important because it takes into consideration the aspect of environment as an agent of political socialization. The data for this study were obtained from questionnaires administered to 2,868 fifth-through-twelfth-grade students attending

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36 Ibid.
classes in the Toledo, Ohio, City Public School System from October to December 1968. The student population was divided into inner-city and non-inner city groupings with the inner-city sample consisting of 78 percent black and the non-inner-city sample consisting of 91 percent white.

Lyons set out to answer the following two questions:

(1) What is the effect of such early life experiences (poverty, racial discrimination, etc.) on the slum child's sense of efficacy?

(2) Do children who grow up in the deprived milieu of the inner city develop more cynical feelings about government than children who grow up elsewhere?

He concluded that being black is a much stronger predictor of low sense of efficacy and feelings of cynicism than milieu, and that they were cynical and felt less efficacious than their white counterparts regardless of where they lived.

Edward S. Greensberg did another study dealing with the political socialization of black and white children called "Orientations of Black and White Children to Political Authority Figures." The purpose of this study was to compare the political socialization patterns of black and white children.

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38 Ibid., p. 290.

39 Ibid., p. 301.
white children with respect to authority figures. The study was conducted in Philadelphia in 1968. There were 980 children involved in the study and they were from grades three, five, seven, and nine. Greenberg was concerned with the children's response to the President and the policeman.

Greenberg found that both black children and lower class children feel more vulnerable than do other children and tend to more readily idealize political authority. He also found that older black children demonstrate a rather high respect for the President, but their regards for the policeman erodes as the child grows older.

Another study by Greenberg is called "Black Children and the Political System." In this study, he wanted to find the answer to two questions: (1) "Are black and white children being socialized to a set of political orientations and expectations which diverge significantly? (2) Do children of the two races diverge significantly in the extent to which they support American political arrangements?" The study was conducted in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. He concludes as he does in the above study that the black child becomes less supportive of the political system as he gets older. He also states that, "the study suggests


that black children are socialized to political orientation different from those of the members of the majority culture."\(^{42}\)

Charles E. Billings conducted a study entitled "Black Activists and the Schools." This study is different from most political socialization studies in that it does not view so-called black militants as deviants. That is, it does not see black students as being deviant or bad when they oppose the beliefs of the majority. Billings states, "The main purpose of the overall study was to describe the black activists' political attitudes and behaviors."\(^{43}\) In order to do this, he attempted to answer the following questions:

1. How congruent are the concepts of black high school students activism to the concept of black nationalism?
2. How congruent are the concepts of black high school activism to the concept of radical political philosophy?
3. Do black activists have different views of self from non-activists?\(^{44}\)

The data for the study were collected from a group of black high school students, some of whom belonged to organized high school civil rights groups and some of whom did not. They were separated into activists and non-activists on the basis of their membership in these groups. A number of measures were applied to determine whether the

\(^{42}\)Ibid., p. 345.
\(^{44}\)Ibid.
relationship between membership in a group and some set of "militant" attitudes and behaviors would hold.\(^{45}\) His findings show that militant students have more pride and faith in the ability of black people to solve their own problems than non-activists. Also, they are more willing to engage in political activities that bring them into conflict with authority than non-activists.

The study, "The Political Socialization of Black Inner-City Children" was done by Eugene Green. He compared his findings to those of earlier studies by Robert Hess and Judith V. Torney and Fred I. Greenstein, in order to see if there are any differences between black children and white children in childhood political learning. This study consisted of the responses of 148 black children in the fourth-through-eighth-grade. The study took place in Chicago.

Green's findings showed that black inner-city children, in contrast to white middle-class children, are at least as likely to perceive political roles as being important, and place little emphasis on the benevolence of political leaders.\(^{46}\) He also concluded that black children have

\(^{45}\)Ibid.

little sense of political efficacy, and that they believe that government is not responsive to their wishes.\footnote{Ibid.}

Richard L. Engstrom did a study called "Race and Compliance: Differential Political Socialization."\footnote{Richard L. Engstrom, "Race and Compliance: Differential Political Socialization." \textit{Polity} 3 (Fall 1970): 103.} He wanted to find out the reaction of black and white children to political authorities. In this case, the policeman represented the authority figure. Data were collected by administering a paper and pencil questionnaire to 288 public school children, grades four through eight in Lexington, Kentucky.\footnote{Ibid., p. 110.} They were asked questions about the policeman to see whether they would comply to him as a person of authority. Engstrom concluded that the children incorporated the compliance norm no matter what their race. However, it was found that a benevolent basis for compliance was lacking in the black children.\footnote{Joan E. Laurence, "White Socialization: Black Reality," \textit{Psychiatry} 33 (May 1970): 176.}

In the study, "White Socialization: Black Reality," Joan Laurence deals with the differences in the political socialization process of black and white children. She states, "Despite any changes in race relations in recent years, black and white still occupy different positions in this society..."\footnote{Joan E. Laurence, "White Socialization: Black Reality," \textit{Psychiatry} 33 (May 1970): 176.} She hypothesized that (1) these differences occur
because of selective socialization; and (2) socialization of black and white children differs because they occupy different positions in society and different political attitudes correspond with or are relevant to these positions. Laurence's findings show that there is significant difference between the attitudes of black and white children, and these differences in attitudes are greater between the older groups.

Most of the studies cited in this review of the literature dealt in some way with the political socialization of black children. However, they represent only a small portion of the many studies that have been done in the last twenty years or so. Also of the studies cited, the ones by Anderson, Prestage, Billings, and Laurence were the only studies done by black scholars. This adds greater strength to an earlier statement, that blacks should become involved in analyzing and evaluating the socialization process of blacks, in order that they can see precisely their relationship to the structure of political life here in the United States. The research that is done by white scholars usually views blacks as deviants when they oppose the dominant views of the society. This is done without taking into consideration other factors that may be involved in their socialization process. Until blacks seriously engage themselves in the study of black people, such studies will continue to dominate the field of political science.

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51 Ibid.
52 Ibid., p. 192.
Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are made concerning the political socialization of black children in all-black towns.

(1) Politically relevant learning that is taking place in the schools of all-black towns is not significantly different from that which is taking place in other places.

(2) Both students and teachers show a high degree of support for the political and economic values held as ideal by the majority of the American people.

Methodology and Analysis of Data

This study is concerned with the political socialization of black students from two all-black towns in the American South. The focus will be on high school seniors in both towns. The reason the study is directed to this group is because at this age one is perhaps more settled as to what role he should play in the society.

The two towns involved in this study are Mound Bayou, Mississippi, and Grambling, Louisiana. These towns were chosen because of the type of community each represents. Mound Bayou is located in a rural section of Mississippi. Agriculture plays an important role in the life of the people. Grambling is also located in a rural section of Louisiana, but life there is centered around a university—Grambling State University. Grambling represents a more middle-class community than Mound Bayou; therefore, one would expect to see a difference in the response of the students from the two towns.
Data for this study were obtained from two sets of questionnaires given to the students and teachers in the two towns. The questionnaire that was given to the students was divided into three parts. In the first part of each questionnaire the students and teachers were asked questions concerning their personal and family background. The teachers were also asked questions about their professional background. The second section of the teachers' questionnaire was designed to see how they view their role as teachers; their reasons for teaching; why they live in an all-black town; and how they see the role and condition of blacks here in the United States. The last section of each set of questionnaires is a modified version of the one used by Herbert McClosky in his study "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics" and by Giuseppe Di Palma and Herbert McClosky in their study, "Personality and Conformity: The learning of Political Attitudes."

The last section was concerned with the students' and teachers' political and economical beliefs, values, and attitudes toward the American political system. Each item in the questionnaire is related to the prevailing or dominant thought in the American society in terms of whether or not the students agreed with the answers given by the majority of the people in the McClosky and the Di Palma-McClosky studies. There were also items on the questionnaires that reflected the opinion of this researcher as the prevailing views in American society.
We assigned each respondent a score reflecting the sum of his answers to these questions. Whenever the student or teacher answered an item in a manner consistent with the views of the American society, he was given a score of two. Whenever he rejected the majority's view, he was given a score of zero. Whenever a respondent failed to answer an item, he was given a score of one. Our index is based on the sum of scores for each item in the questionnaire. The lower the score of a respondent, the more radical he is considered. The respondents fell into one of four categories on the basis of their scores. The categories used are: (1) radically opposed to the majority's belief, (2) moderately opposed, (3) moderate conformers, and (4) extreme conformers. This categorization was designed to reflect the degree to which the students and teachers are socialized into the American political system.
CHAPTER II

ALL-BLACK TOWNS: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Before we can begin our discussion on the political socializa-
tion of students from all-black towns, we will briefly look at their his-
torical development in order to put them in perspective. All-black
towns in the United States have received remarkably little attention
from past and present writers. Most of the major work that has been
done on black communities deals with the inner-city or the so-called
ghetto of large urban areas.¹ This lack of comment on these towns is
difficult to understand in view of the fact that there are many towns in
the United States, as small as some may be, which are inhabited and
governed exclusively by black people. However, when talking about
all-black towns, one has to place them in a more general context of

¹For a discussion of blacks in urban areas, see such publica-
tions as George Groh, The Black Migration (New York: Weybright and
Talley, 1972); Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities
(Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965); and St. Clair Drake and
Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a
Northern City, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1962); Kenneth
Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York: Harper and Row, 1962); Charles Keil,
blacks towns. The traditional all-black town is only one dimension of what can be called black towns.

During World War I blacks began to leave the rural section of the country in great numbers moving into urban areas. They have mainly concentrated in the central city. Today, large numbers of blacks are not only concentrated in urban centers in the north, but in the south as well. As blacks moved into the central city, in some instances, whites have moved into the suburbs, hereby leaving blacks with the majority of the population in the cities. As a result of this, blacks have been able to make some gains in the political arena, and in some cities, they have been able to elect black mayors and acquire dominant positions on aldermanic councils and school boards. However, these majority black cities are usually in an economic strain when blacks take over the political reins. In many instances, they are confronted by hostile whites who put forth political and economic restraints that hinder black officials from tilting the distribution of resources to service the needs of the citizens that reside in the city. The problem of economics and race-relations is shared by both, the new majority black towns and the traditional all-black towns. However, it is the absence of the daily confrontations with whites on the local level and the small population that make the traditional all-black towns different from what we can call the modern majority black city.
It is felt that by doing a study on all-black towns one may open up a whole "new world" in studying black people. This "new world" may provide insight into the behavior of blacks which is not available from an examination of blacks in a multi-ethnic community. An example of this is pointed out by William E. Bittle and Gilbert L. Geis in the following statement:

... such social phenomena as class structure, attitudes toward mobility, color distinctions, criminality, and political activity in the all-Negro community are quite unpredictable from a knowledge of similar behavior in bi-racial areas.²

Bittle and Geis pointed out that almost all of the information on blacks in the United States is based upon research in communities in which black people find themselves in daily, face-to-face contact with a superordinate group, and in most instances, the attitudes and values of that group function to reinforce that behavior of blacks which conforms most closely to white expectations.³ One would think that because of the lack of this intensive and routine reinforcement, the behavior of blacks in these all-black towns would deviate from the normal expectations of white. If this is true, one would expect to see this development taking place within the schools. This is one of the major


³Ibid.
reasons for doing this study; that is, to see if there is a difference in
the learning process that is taking place in all-black towns. However,
it should be pointed out that because of the "long arms" of the media,
and because to some extent blacks in these towns shop and recreate
in integrated towns, they are not completely isolated from the influence
of whites, and thus from the effort at reinforcement. It was observed
by this researcher that blacks in the two towns in this study, Mound
Bayou and Grambling, to a great extent worked within the town. The
majority of the people in Grambling worked at Grambling State Uni-
versity or at the various local shops. On the other hand, it was observed
that a great deal of the people in Mound Bayou worked at the two hos-
pitals, the three schools in the town, or had their own farms.

When talking about all-black towns, one of the most important
tasks is to give a clear definition of them. As stated in the "definition
of concepts," the term applies to all places with a population of 1,000 or
more of whom more than ninety-five percent are of African descent.
This definition has several limitations. It eliminates many places that
are inhabited by blacks which many people consider to be towns. Many
hamlets and villages are excluded by this definition. An example of
this is the community of Boley, Oklahoma. Boley, at one time, stood out
as a showcase for all-black towns. It had become a thriving community
with a population over 5,000 within a five mile radius. Today, Boley is a long forgotten dream. There are now only a few hundred people living in the surrounding area. The percentage level of ninety-five also eliminates many of the larger towns which could be considered by some as all-black towns. The population level of one thousand was used because it was the lowest figure that could be easily identified on the census map; and the ninety-five percent level was used because at this level and above blacks in these towns had complete control of the government. Chart I gives the listing of all-black towns.

The date of the emergence of the first all-black town has not been determined. However, one can trace the black separatist movement back to the day when the first blacks entered into this country. This struggle has taken on many forms. One such form has been that of racial separation. This may seem a bit ironic, especially to those who fought in the sixties and are still fighting for the integration of the races. Nevertheless, the separation of blacks from whites has been the goal of many blacks, beginning with the first separatist movement sponsored by Paul Cuffe as early as 1808 to the establishment of the more recent Republic of New Africa.

This movement has had several dimensions. There have been those who thought that going back to Africa would be the answer to the

### Chart I

**List of All-Black Towns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage of Blacks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt City, Alabama</td>
<td>3,663</td>
<td>98.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobson City, Alabama</td>
<td>1,124</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eatonville, Florida</td>
<td>2,2024</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Chicago Heights, Ill.</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>97.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbins, Illinois</td>
<td>9,641</td>
<td>97.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pembroke, Illinois</td>
<td>4,351</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn, Illinois</td>
<td>1,702</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond, Louisiana</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grambling, Louisiana</td>
<td>4,407</td>
<td>98.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairmont Heights, Md.</td>
<td>1,972</td>
<td>98.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mound Bayou, Miss.</td>
<td>2,134</td>
<td>98.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayti Heights, Mo.</td>
<td>1,232</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinloch, Mo.</td>
<td>5,629</td>
<td>98.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln Heights, Ohio</td>
<td>6,099</td>
<td>98.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie View, Tex.</td>
<td>3,589</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1970, *Number of Inhabitants*, (PC(1)-A1 and General Population Characteristics, PC(1)-B1, final reports, United States Summaries.)
problem; others looked for the answer in the "Western frontier," which resulted in the establishment of several all-black towns in Oklahoma and Kansas; and there are some who seek the South as the place where a separate nation or state should be. The establishment of many all-black towns has been the results of the efforts of blacks to elevate themselves from the service positions they occupy here in the United States.\(^5\) It should be pointed out, however, that many of these black towns, especially those on the fringes of large cities, are not a result of blacks looking for self-government, but as a result of being forced there by the lack of housing in the city and of other discriminatory practices.

As it was stated earlier, there has not been very much written on all-black towns.\(^6\) Most of the work that has been done on them deal with a single town, focusing primarily on the towns in Oklahoma. One study that identifies the universe of all-black towns is called "The


All-Negro Town: Its Evolution and Function" by Harold M. Rose. He identified nineteen places as all-black towns. However, some of the places he identified as towns are not really towns but are unincorporated communities. In a recent article in Ebony magazine, it was pointed out that there are fifty-four communities with ninety percent-plus black population. However, many of these towns are below the one thousand population level which is used as the starting point in this study. Also there are some that are below the ninety-five percent level of black population.

From the limited information on black towns, we can pinpoint at least four periods of development. These four periods are: (1) the pre-Civil War period; (2) the post-Civil War period, including the movement to the West—the immediate West; (3) the period of the "Great Migration" during and after World War I; and (4) the post-World War II period.

All of the pre-Civil War towns were located in the North. The development of these towns came about as a result of the abolition movement. Many slaves were able to escape from the South by means of the Underground Railroad. The first of these towns to evolve was Brooklyn.


9Harold Rose, p. 365.
Illinois, on the American Bottoms across the river from St. Louis.\(^1^0\) Another one to evolve was Lawnside, New Jersey, which is located across the Delaware River from Philadelphia. The land for this town was purchased for blacks by Quaker abolitionists in 1840. It began as a station on the Underground Railroad.\(^1^1\) Rose points out that one of the main reasons for the development of these towns outside of the larger cities is that norther whites were afraid that blacks coming from the South would threaten their political power; therefore, they were willing to give them land on the outside of town.

The next period of development was the post-Civil War era. The two towns in this study came about during this period, with Mound Bayou being the oldest and Grambling the youngest. Many towns in Oklahoma and Kansas were established at this time. According to Bittle and Geis, this western territory represented the last opportunity for blacks seeking racial self-fulfillment.\(^1^2\) It is reported that at one time the State of Oklahoma had twenty-seven all-blacks towns.\(^1^3\) The two most famous of these towns are Boley and Langston, the home of

\(^{10}\)Ibid., pp. 366-67.

\(^{11}\)Ibid.


\(^{13}\)Arthur L. Tolson, p. 20.
Langston University. Many of these towns in the western territory are now nothing more than remnants of once viable communities. 14

During World War I and after, the attention of blacks moved from the West to the urban centers in the North. They moved there with hopes of bettering their economic situation. The migration of blacks from the South to the North resulted in the development of four black towns during this period. The four towns are: Fairmount Heights, Maryland; Lincoln Heights, Ohio; Glenarden, Maryland; and Robbins, Illinois. Each of these towns developed on the fringe of a major metropolitan complex—the District of Columbia, Cincinnati, and Chicago.

The last period of development is the post-World War II era. These towns were largely determined by housing directors producing for a black market. 15 One such town is Richmond Heights, Florida. According to Harold Rose, the town evolved out of a recognized need for the expansion of housing for blacks. 16 Another town that is in the process of being developed by a black person is Floyd McKissick's "Soul City" in North Carolina. We will have to wait in order to see whether or not Soul City will ever make it as a town.

14 Harold Rose, p. 369.
15 Ibid., p. 370.
16 Ibid., p. 376.
There are many unanswered questions concerning all-black towns. The purpose of this section was to give a brief overview of their development and to suggest reasons for their being. We have attempted to place all-black towns in their historical perspective in order to get a better understanding of them. As it has already been stated, the purpose of this study is to look at only one aspect of the all-black town—that is the educational system. We are concerned with the type of learning that is taking place and the degree to which the students are socialized into the American political system. Before we begin our discussion, it is necessary to take a look at the two towns involved in order to get a better understanding of the two communities. For further information on the two towns, see Appendix-E.
Mound Bayou, Mississippi

Mound Bayou, Mississippi is located halfway between Memphis, Tennessee, and Vicksburg, Mississippi. It is located in what is literally the heart of the nation's poorest region—that is the Mississippi Delta. Mount Bayou lies in the cotton lands of Bolivar County which is the South's largest cotton-producing country. 17

According to the sign as you enter into the town, there are twenty-five hundred persons who reside within the corporate limits of the municipality. However, the community of Mound Bayou encompasses some 6,000 black persons from the surrounding farm area. The town had a 57.6% increase in the population during the 1960 to 1970 decade. 18 When a worker at the town's City Hall was asked about the reason for this increase, she stated that, "many blacks in the surrounding area realized that Mound Bayou could provide them with the same services as the other towns. Also, blacks have a chance to grow and develop themselves here." 19 In accordance with this statement, Rose points out that blacks own almost forty thousand acres of farmland in the vicinity and they are moving from a mono-culture to a

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19 From a conversation with an employee at the Town Hall of Mound Bayou.
more diversified farm economy.²⁰ That is, they have begun to grow more crops than the "almighty cotton."

In terms of the services that Mound Bayou provides its citizens and those in the surrounding area, the town can be considered as a second-order town.²¹ That is, the town provides the region with many of its basic services. Mound Bayou is the region's medical headquarters. The town's two health facilities, the Mound Bayou Community Hospital and the Delta Health Center, an outpatient clinic, provide services to over 100,000 low income blacks from four surrounding counties.²² In terms of education, the town has one high school, the John F. Kennedy High School, and two elementary schools, Isaiah T. Montgomery and the Saint Gabriel's Catholic Mission School. The public schools are controlled by the local school board. Such services as water, sewage, fire and public safety are also rendered by the town. From these services, one can see that Mound Bayou has made an effort to fulfill the needs of its citizens, and that blacks can survive through providing minimum services in an all-black community. Concerning this point, Earl Lucas, the mayor of Mound Bayou, states the following:

"Mound Bayou represents an affirmation of the concept of self-management among people. Our goal is to promote

²⁰Harold Rose, p. 376.
²¹Fact Sheet, p. 2.
²²Ibid., p. 1.
a territorial expression of the notion that blacks can develop a viable community dedicated to the self-realization of man."

A Brief History of the Town

The town of Mound Bayou was founded in 1887, by Isaiah T. Montgomery and Benjamin Green. They were former slaves and body servants of Jefferson Davis, who was President of the Confederacy in 1860. They thought that the only way blacks could escape from the abuse that had been heaped on them during slavery was to develop an all-black community.

The original name and site of this all-black community were Davis Bend, which was located on the Mississippi River South of Vicksburg. This land had been sold to Montgomery's father, Benjamin T. Montgomery, who had been the slave and plantation manager of Joe Davis, for $2,447.09. Because of the town's low position on the Mississippi, it was plagued by frequent floods and had to be abandoned. However, because of the persistance of Isaiah Montgomery a new site was developed further north in a part of the delta that was

23Ibid., p. 1.

24Harold Rose, p. 376.


26Harold Rose, p. 367.
little more than wilderness. Most of the original residents of Davis Bend willingly moved to the new site. Thus the idea of an all-black town had become a reality.

Grambling, Louisiana

The beginning of Grambling as a community actually goes back to the establishment of Lincoln Parish in 1873. The town is located in the Northern Central section of the state. Unlike Mound Bayou, Grambling was first established as the site of a saw mill by Paul G. Grambling, a white man. This community grew as a result of the Vicksburg, Shreveport and Pacific Railroad establishing a branch line and way-station there to serve the timber business.

The mill operated for over twenty-five years, which was until the amount of timber remaining no longer justified its existence. However, during the operation of the mill, the community had begun to grow. Several small businesses had been established. In 1895 a group of 1,500 persons from Lincoln and the five neighboring Parishes organized the North Louisiana Negro Farmers' Relief Association. Later,

27 Town of Grambling (Grambling, Louisiana, 1971) p. 18.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
the Association set out to establish an industrial school. With the help of Charles P. Adams, a recent graduate of Tuskegee Institute, the Colored Industrial and Agricultural School of Lincoln Parish was established. The name of this school was later changed to Grambling College. The history of the town has been linked almost inseparably with the development of the College. That is, the college has been the main reason for the growth of the town.

It was not until April 3, 1953 that the Village of Grambling was incorporated. The first officials were a Mayor, Board of three Aldermen, and a Town Marshall. They were appointed by the Governor of the State of Louisiana. In 1959 the Village was declared a town. By that time it had reached a population of over 3,000.

Today with a population of about 5,000 including students, Grambling is a growing community. The town now has a full time Mayor; Secretary-Clerk and Tax Collector; Chief Marshall, and three assistants; Water Superintendent and Sanitation Superintendent, with other part time help hired when necessary. The town council consists of the Mayor, five Aldermen, the Clerk, Street Commissioner, and the General Utility Inspector. These officials work together to render

31Ibid.
32Town of Grambling, p. 19.
33Ibid.
34Ibid.
citizens services such as water and sewage, fire and public safety protection, a recreation park, and even a golf course. In contrast to Mound Bayou, Grambling represents a middle-class community.
CHAPTER III

PERSONAL AND FAMILY BACKGROUND
OF THE STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

In the first part of this chapter, we are concerned with the results of Part I of the questionnaire that was given to the students. The questionnaire was given to a total of ninety students in Mound Bayou and Grambling. The survey consisted of all high school seniors who were present on the day the questionnaire was administered. In Mound Bayou, there were thirty-six students present out of a total of forty-two enrolled or eighty-six percent present out of the total enrollment. In Grambling, there were fifty-six students present out of a total of sixty enrolled or ninety-three percent present out of the total enrollment.

The questionnaire was administered in March of 1975. The students in Grambling were given the questionnaire by their social science teacher. The students in Mound Bayou were allowed to take their questionnaire home overnight because the principal of the school insisted that the parents of the students be allowed to see it before the students answered the questions. This was done despite the objection of this researcher and after having explained that there were no right or wrong answers and that no names would be used in the study. The
principal's reason for doing this was that it was against the law for minors to answer any questions without the knowledge of their parents or legal guardian.¹ There was no way of finding out whether or not the presence of the parents had any influence on the students' response to the questions (See Appendix F).

The questionnaire was divided into two parts: Part I of the questionnaire was designed to obtain personal and family background of the students. Hopefully, this profile will help one to understand the type of students involved in the study. Part II was designed to see whether or not the students agreed with the responses given by the majority of the American people. According to their total score on this section, the students were placed in one of the following categories: (1) radically opposed, (2) moderately opposed; (3) moderate conformers, and (4) extreme conformers. This was done to determine the degree to which the students in these two towns were socialized into the American political system.

Sexual Composition

The sexual composition of the students is important in determining whether there is a difference in the socialization process of

¹After talking to several persons in Mississippi who thought that there was such a law but did not know the name and citation of it, I finally talked to someone in the State Attorney General's office who told me that no such law existed. He informed me that the people were probably confusing this with the law concerning the signatures of minors on documents without parental consent.
males and females. This is also important in determining to what degree males and females in the two towns are socialized into the American political system. With this information, we can then see if one sex is more radical than the other. An examination of the sexual composition of the students shows that our sample of Mound Bayou consisted of 44 percent males and 56 percent females. In Grambling, the percentage of males to females was just the opposite of Mound Bayou; there were 56 percent males and 44 percent females. Table 3-1 shows the sexual composition of the two towns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Male %</th>
<th>Female %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mound Bayou</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grambling</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Family Income**

This category is concerned with the income of the student's family. The case has been made by John Patrick and others that one's socio-economic status plays an important role in the socialization
Jewel Prestage also noted the impact of one's socio-economic status in her study when she states, "that the highest level of disaffection towards the American government was found among middle class children." If it is true that one's socio-economic status plays an important role in the political socialization process, then we can expect to see a significant difference in the response of the two towns.

Our sample of Mound Bayou shows that 44.4 percent of the families had an income less than $4,000 a year. Only 16.6 percent had incomes of $10,000 and above. A further look at the data shows that 30.6 percent had incomes between $4,000 and $10,000 a year. In looking at the family income in Grambling, we found that only 22.2 percent had incomes falling below $4,000 a year. We also found that 38.9 percent of the families had incomes of $10,000 and above, and only 22.2 percent falling between $4,000 and $10,000 a year. 


were 16.7 percent of the students in Grambling who did not know their family income as compared to only 8.3 percent in Mound Bayou. Table 3-2 shows the level of income for the two towns.

### TABLE 3-2

**THE RANGE OF FAMILY INCOME OF THE STUDENTS IN MOUND BAYOU AND GRAMBLING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Mound Bayou %</th>
<th>Grambling %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$0 - 3,999</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000 - 9,999</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 - 14,999</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,000 - Above</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100.0 (Total)</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0 (Total)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Current Study.

**Education of Parents**

As we had expected, Grambling students had a higher percentage of college educated parents than Mound Bayou. This might be related to fact that a college is located in the town and that a great many of the parents teach at the school. We found in Mound Bayou that 16.7 percent of the mothers and 19.4 percent of the fathers had less than a high school education; only 13 percent of the mothers and 13 percent of the fathers in Grambling had less than a high school education. Of those who had had some education between ninth and twelfth grades, we
found that 61.1 percent of the mothers and 50 percent of the fathers in Mound Bayou fell in this category; 18.5 percent of the mothers and 35 percent of the fathers in Grambling had some education between the ninth and twelfth grades. Only 13.9 percent of the mothers and 13.9 percent of the fathers in Mound Bayou had gone to college. In contrast to these low percentages in Mound Bayou, we found in Grambling that 59.2 percent of the mothers and 26 percent of the fathers had some college background. In a further look at those who had gone to college, our data show that of the mothers in Mound Bayou only 13.9 percent had some college background; of these, 2.8 percent had gone to college but did not get a degree; 8.3 percent had a college degree; and 2.8 had gone to graduate school but did not get a degree. Of the fathers in Mound Bayou, 11.1 percent had some college background and of these, only 2.8 percent had a college degree. Data on Grambling show that 24.1 percent of the mothers had some college background but did not have a degree; 3.7 had college degrees; 16.6 percent had gone to graduate school but did not get a degree; and 14.8 percent had graduate degrees. Data on the fathers in Grambling show that 3.7 percent had some college background but no degree; 1.8 percent had a college degree; 1.8 percent had gone to graduate school but did not have a degree; but 20.4 percent had a graduate degree. The low percentage of college educated fathers in Grambling may be attributed to the fact that 24 percent of students did not know the education level
of their fathers. Figure 1 on the following page shows the educational level of the students' parents.

**Future Plans**

In order to get some idea as to what direction the students in these two towns are going, we asked them about their plans after graduating from high school. According to our sample, the majority of the students expressed the desire to attend college after graduation. There were 47.2 percent of the students in Mound Bayou who said they would like to attend college after graduation but an overwhelming 83.3 percent of the students in Grambling expressed the desire to attend college. The location of a college in the town of Grambling and the high educational level of the parents are probably important factors in shaping the attitudes and aspirations of the students. It should also be pointed out that the high school in Grambling is affiliated with the College which may also be a factor. The next highest category expressed by the students was that of the armed services; 25 percent of the students in Mound Bayou fell into this category and only 9.3 percent of the students in Grambling expressed this desire. Table 3-3 shows the future plans as expressed by the students in the two towns.
FIGURE I.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF PARENTS
(STUDENTS' RESPONSE)

Scale:
- Mothers - Mound Bayou
- Mothers - Grambling
- Fathers - Mound Bayou
- Fathers - Grambling

Level of Education
Percentage
### TABLE 3-3
**FUTURE PLANS OF THE STUDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plans After Graduation</th>
<th>Mound Bayou Percent</th>
<th>Grambling Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Services</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade School</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play Sports</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Identification of Race

We asked the students how they saw themselves as a people here in the United States. We wanted to see to what extent the students identified with America. We asked the students the following:

I consider myself:

- a. An American  
- b. Black  
- c. Black American  
- d. An Afro-American  
- e. An African

Only 5.6 percent of the students in Mound Bayou saw themselves as American and 9.3 percent of the students in Grambling fell into this
category; 47.2 percent of the students in Mound Bayou saw themselves as black Americans and 42.6 percent in Grambling saw themselves as black Americans. There were 16.6 percent of the students in Mound Bayou and 31.4 percent of the students in Grambling who wanted to be called black. Of those who wanted to be called Afro-American, there were 30.6 percent in Mound Bayou and only 7.4 percent in Grambling. There was no one in Mound Bayou who wanted to be called an African, and only one person in Grambling stated this desire. Our sample shows that an overwhelming majority of the students saw themselves as a distinct group here in the United States. On a broader scale, however, they saw themselves as being Americans. See Table 3-4 for a breakdown of the students' responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification of Race</th>
<th>% Students in Mound Bayou</th>
<th>% Students in Grambling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black American</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-American</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We also wanted to know how the students felt about living in an all-black community. Although a majority of them viewed themselves as a distinct group here in America, they did not want to live in an all-black environment. To our amazement, we found that 75 percent of the students in Mound Bayou did not want to spend the rest of their life in an all-black town, and an overwhelming 79.6 percent of the students in Grambling expressing the same desire. When asked to explain their answer, the majority of the students expressed similar feelings. Most of them thought that there was a need to meet white people and learn to communicate with them in order for the two races to get along. However, there were some who cited the limited resources and opportunities of their town as reasons for not wanting to live in an all-black town for the rest of their life. There were some who gave no reason for not wanting to live in an all-black community.

This finding is the complete opposite of what Charles S. Johnson found in his study in 1941 of blacks in the rural South. He found a great deal of racial pride and respect in the black community. He also found that in most instances those who lived in all-black communities enjoyed the freedom they had from white people. In his book, a fourteen year old boy from Mound Bayou stated the following:

I like it here. I like it because it's an all-colored town. You don't have to be around white people. You

---

can laugh if you want to here. Down in Marigold or some place like that the white folks would be saying, 'Nigger do this and do that,' but here you can play ball right out here in the street and nobody will run you away.5

The expression of freedom from white people by the fourteen year old boy was similar to the answer given by those in our survey who wanted to stay in an all-black town. The most frequent answer given by the students was that they enjoyed not being around white people and that they could communicate better with their black sisters and brothers. There were even a few who stated that they hated white people.

Party Affiliation

As we had expected, an overwhelming majority of the students considered themselves Democrats. Our sample shows that 75 percent of the students in Mound Bayou and 68.5 percent of the students in Grambling considered themselves Democrats. Only 8.3 percent in Mound Bayou and 11.1 percent in Grambling identified with the Republican party. Of those considering themselves independents, 8.3 percent in Mound Bayou and 9.3 percent in Grambling fell into this category. One may infer from this strong preference for one of the major political parties, in this case the Democratic party, that the students still have faith in the political process in America. Table 3-5 shows the party preference of the students.

5Ibid., p. 250.
TABLE 3-5

PARTY PREFERENCE OF THE STUDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Democrat Percent</th>
<th>Republican Percent</th>
<th>Independent Percent</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mound Bayou</td>
<td>75.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grambling</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Community Participation

In order to get some idea about the level of political participation of the students, we asked them about their involvement in community politics. The three questions we asked the students:

(1) Have you ever worked for a political organization?
(2) Have you ever worked for a political candidate?
(3) Have you ever participated in any kind of protest?

In the first two questions, the students were told to include any volunteer work that they have done whether or not it was only passing out leaflets or working in an office. They were also told that for the first question they may include such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The third question included any type of demonstrations such as boycotts and marches.
In response to these questions, we found that the vast majority of the students are not active participants in community politics. In Mound Bayou 88.9 percent of the students had never worked for a political organization; 91.6 percent had not worked for a political candidate; and 86 percent had not participated in any form of protest. The response of the students from Grambling was similar to that of Mound Bayou with 83.3 percent stating that they had not worked for any political organizations; 85 percent had not worked for a political candidate; and 81.2 percent had not participated in any form of protest (see Table 3-6).

TABLE 3-6
PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY POLITICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Participation</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Yes Percent</th>
<th>No Percent</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worked for a political organization</td>
<td>Grambling</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mound Bayou</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked for a political candidate</td>
<td>Grambling</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>85.1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mound Bayou</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in any form of protest</td>
<td>Grambling</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mound Bayou</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Agents of Political Socialization

One cannot talk about political socialization without mentioning the agents of socialization. Most political socialization literature identify four main agents of socialization: the family, school, media, and peer group. It should be understood, however, that political socialization is a continuous process that takes place at every stage of one's life and that other factors are also involved in this process.

We attempted to determine which socialization agent the students thought played a major role in influencing and shaping their political ideas. We asked the students: "Which of the following do you feel has played a major role in influencing your political ideas?"

a. Family
b. Friends
c. School
d. The Media
e. Other (please specify)

We found that 50 percent of the students in Mound Bayou and Grambling felt that the family was the most influential agent of political socialization; 22.2 percent of the students in Mound Bayou and only 7.4 percent of the students in Grambling thought the school was the most influential agent. Our data show that the media should also be recognized as an influential agent of political socialization with 11.1 percent in Mound Bayou and 22.2 percent in Grambling recognizing the importance of the media. As shown in Table 3-7, the students in the two towns did not see their friends as a major factor in the political socialization process.
TABLE 3-7
AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Family Percent</th>
<th>School Percent</th>
<th>Media Percent</th>
<th>Friends Percent</th>
<th>Other Percent</th>
<th>Total Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mound Bayou</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grambling</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Media Use

An overwhelming number of the students read the newspaper with 97.2 percent in both towns stating that they read the newspaper. A further breakdown of this shows that 22.2 percent in Mound Bayou and 27.9 percent in Grambling read the newspaper daily; 47.2 percent in Mound Bayou and 31.4 percent in Grambling read the newspaper almost every day; and 27.8 percent in Mound Bayou and 31.4 percent in Grambling read the newspaper only sometimes (see Table 3-8).

Our sample also shows that the students read other periodicals in great portions. We found that 72.2 percent in Mound Bayou and 74.1 percent in Grambling read other periodicals. The majority of the students named Jet and Ebony as the most frequently read magazines. The next most frequently read periodical was Newsweek.

Our final category on the use of the media was that of television. The students were asked to name their favorite television program. Most
of the students' favorite programs came under the heading of black situation comedy; 38.8 percent of the responses from Mound Bayou and 63 percent of those from Grambling came under this heading. The most popular black shows were "Good Times" and "That's My Mama." The next most popular programs in Mound Bayou came under the heading of police stories with 36 percent of the students naming a variety of police and detective stories. The students in Grambling did not seem to care for such programs; only 7.4 percent of them named such television programs. The other responses of the students were divided among various other programs.

TABLE 3-8
MEDIA USE

FAVORITE TELEVISION PROGRAMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Mound Bayou</th>
<th>Grambling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Comedies</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Stories</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varieties</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap Opera</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specials</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answers</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100.0          100.0
Do You Read Newspapers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Yes Percent</th>
<th>No Percent</th>
<th>Daily Percent</th>
<th>Almost Every Day Percent</th>
<th>Only Sometimes Percent</th>
<th>No Response Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mound Bayou</td>
<td>97.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grambling</td>
<td>97.2</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Do You Read Other Periodicals?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Yes Percent</th>
<th>No Percent</th>
<th>No Response Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mound Bayou</td>
<td>72.2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grambling</td>
<td>74.1</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Teachers

In this section, we are concerned with the background characteristics of the teachers. To our disappointment, the teachers in Grambling refused to fill out the questionnaire. They claimed that the questions were too personal. This claim was made in spite of the fact that they were told that no names should be written on the questionnaires. Also, this researcher
got the feeling from talking to the principal of the school in Grambling that he was at odds with some of the questions that were asked and did not care for the study. This may have been the real reason why the teachers refused to answer the questions. This may also speak to the competence of the teachers and the confidence that they have in themselves as black teachers. Therefore, any comparison that is made between the students and teachers will be made between the two groups in Mound Bayou.

Because of the refusal of the teachers in Grambling to answer the questionnaire, we will only report the information we received on the background of the teachers in Mound Bayou without the benefit of any tables or charts to illustrate the significance of their response to certain questions. However, we hope that this section will give us some idea as to the type of persons that are teaching black children in an all-black town.

Our sample of the teachers in Mound Bayou consisted of three males and three females. Each of them were twelfth grade instructors. On the most part one can consider them to be young teachers with five coming between the ages of twenty and thirty, and one between the ages of thirty-one and forty. All except one had gone beyond the Bachelor's degree. Three of the teachers had accumulated credit leading to the Master's degree; one had already obtained a Master's degree; and one had gone beyond the Master's program. Concerning their college degree, we wanted to know where they did their undergraduate work. We found that each of them had
gone to a black college for their undergraduate degree. As far as graduate school was concerned, three of them had gone to black universities and the other three to white universities.

In order to get a better look as to the type of teachers that are teaching in Mound Bayou, we asked them about the type of literature that they read. This was based on an assumption that reading helps one to form opinions and make judgments about the world. It also helps one to identify major problems in the society, including those concerning black people depending on the type of literature one reads. One of the main reasons for asking this question was to see how this relates to their philosophy of teaching and their views of the conditions of black people in America.

We divided the list of literature into three categories: the categories were newspapers, magazines, and journals. We found that most of the teachers read the Memphis Commercial Appeal and the Jackson Daily along with the local newspaper, the Delta Democrat Times. The most frequently read magazines were Ebony, Time, and Newsweek. This is also similar to the answers given by the students. Our final category was that of journals. Each of the teachers named educational journals that were related to their particular field.

From this, we can say that on a whole the teachers did a great deal of reading. There was only one exception. There was one teacher who only
read *Ebony Magazine*. We can also say that the type of literature was very general.

We wanted to know how the teachers viewed themselves as a people here in the United States. We wanted to know to what extent did they identify with America. Our sample shows that four of the teachers preferred to be called black. The other two saw themselves as black Americans. None of them identified themselves with the Continent of Africa.

We also wanted to know whether the teachers associated themselves with one of the major political parties. Just like the students, the teachers identified with the Democratic Party. We can also infer as we did with the students, that this strong preference for one of the major political parties by the teachers shows that they still have faith in the American political process. Although the teachers showed a strong preference for the Democratic party, they were not very active in the political process. Only one of the teachers had ever worked for a political organization; most of them, however, had worked for a political candidate, with four teachers stating such; and only one had participated in a protest. The one who had participated in a protest was a student at Jackson State University during the 1970 disturbance.

It was felt that one could get a better understanding of the political outlook of the teachers by knowing the persons that they identify as black leaders. We asked them to name two black leaders that they admired and
to name the black political organization that they felt was doing the most for black people. The response to the first question showed that Julian Bond was the most admired black leader with Jesse Jackson being the second most admired black person. Other persons named were Martin L. King, Jr., Booker T. Washington, Ralph Abernathy, and Aaron Henry. One teacher stated that she did not admire any of the so-called black leaders. The teachers' response to the question concerning the political organization that is doing the most for black people revealed that four of the teachers thought that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was the most effective organization. The other two organizations named were People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

From this brief look into the background of the teachers in Mound Bayou, we can now make some general comments about the teachers in this town. From our data and from our observation of the rest of the faculty, we can say that on a whole the teachers were young; that the teachers read a great deal and that they read literature pertaining to their particular fields. Other information on the teachers revealed that they have not rejected the American political system. This can be seen through their strong preference for one of the major political parties and also through their preference for black leaders and organizations that place a high priority on working within the political system.
In this chapter, we have been concerned with the background characteristics of the students and teachers. Hopefully, this information will give us some idea about the people who are living in all-black towns. We also hope that this will help us to understand their views concerning the American political system. This brings us to our next task—that is to determine the degree to which the students are socialized into the political system.
CHAPTER IV

THE RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

We now turn our attention to the main purpose of this paper—that is to determine to what degree black students in all-black towns are socialized into the American political system. Once this has been done, we can then answer other major concerns of the paper. We will then be able to answer such questions as: (1) Is the political learning that is taking place in all-black towns any different from traditional learning?; and (2) What is the impact of the educational process on the political development of black students? In the second section of this chapter, our concern will be with the teachers in Mound Bayou. Our focus will be upon the role of the teacher as a disseminator of political values in the classroom. Here we will be mainly concerned with their views about the conditions of black people and their philosophy of teaching.

In order to determine to what degree black students are socialized into the American political system, we asked them questions about their economic and political beliefs. The majority of the questions were a modified version of the ones asked by Herbert McClosky in his study "Consensus
and ideology in American Politics" and by Giuseppe Di Palma and McClosky in their study "Personality and Conformity: The Learning of Political Attitudes." The remainder of the questions were ones that this researcher felt represented the basis views of the American society (See Appendix G).

We assigned each student a score reflecting the sum of his answers to the questions. Whenever a student answered an item that was considered to be representative of the dominant view of the society, a score of two was assigned. Whenever the student rejected the majority's view, a score of zero was assigned. Whenever a student failed to respond to a question, he was assigned a score of one. The students fell into one of our categories on the basis of their scores. The four categories were: (1) radically opposed to the majority's belief, (2) moderately opposed, (3) moderate conformers, and (4) extreme conformers. On the basis of these categories, we can then determine to what degree are the students socialized into the American political system. See the following list for the range of scores for each category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range of Scores</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radically Opposed</td>
<td>0     -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate Opposed</td>
<td>13    -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate Conformer</td>
<td>27    -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme Conformer</td>
<td>41    -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data on the students revealed the following information.

We found that no student in either town could be considered as a radical. This means that on the basis of their total score no student was radically opposed to the views of the majority. In moving to the opposite end of the spectrum, we found that no students fell into the category of extreme conformers. In other words, there was no one who was completely satisfied with the present political system. However, our data revealed that there was a high number of moderate conformers in the two towns. This shows that they were satisfied with the political system but will occasionally deviate from the norm. We also found that there was a high number of students who were moderately opposed to the system. These students saw the need for certain changes but were willing to accept gradual changes. In comparing the two towns, the students in Grambling showed more disaffection with the system than the students in Mound Bayou. This was also found to be true in the study by Jewel Prestage. Table 4-1 shows the results of the students' score.

**TABLE 4-1**

**THE DEGREE OF SOCIALIZATION OF THE STUDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Towns</th>
<th>Radically Opposed %</th>
<th>Moderate Opposed %</th>
<th>Moderate Conformers</th>
<th>Extreme Conformers</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mound Bayou</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grambling</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This data indicate that on a whole the students were socialized to a high degree into the American political system. Although the students in Grambling were slightly more opposed to the political system, they still showed a high degree of acceptance for the views held by a majority of the American people. In order to see exactly how these students felt about the dominant views of the American society, we will look at their response to some of the basic items in the questionnaire. From this, we can then tell whether or not the political learning that is taking place in these towns is any different from the learning reported to be taking place in the traditional setting. We asked the students to respond to the following:

Views About Capitalism

1. Our freedom depends on the free enterprise system.
2. The capitalist system may not be perfect, but it is the best system we know of today.
3. Capitalism is better than Socialism because it gives one a chance to make a lot of money.
4. There is nothing wrong with a man trying to make as much money as he can.

Views about the Condition of Black People in America

1. America has overcome its racism.
2. Things are not much better for Blacks than they were ten years ago.
3. Black people will never be free under our present form of government.
4. The only way Blacks will be completely free in the United States is to use some means of force.

Views about Democracy and the Electoral Process

1. When people do not like what is going on, they should try to change things by voting instead of force.

2. Democracy works in the United States because the people have a voice in the government through voting.

3. It does not matter whether or not I vote in an election because things will go on pretty much the same.

4. I feel political leaders hardly care what people like myself thing or want.

Views about Public Welfare

1. The public welfare system needs to be stopped because it makes able-bodied men too lazy to work.

2. Everyone should have a good house, even if the government has to build it for him.

Our first goal was to find out how the students felt about the American capitalist system. It is the feeling of this researcher that if black people are to make any changes in their position here in America, they must first understand the dynamics of the capitalist system and also their relationship to the system. In our first question concerning capitalism, we asked the students whether or not our freedom depends upon the free enterprise system. The students' response to this item showed that 58.3 percent of the students in Mound Bayou and 50.0 percent of the students in Grambling agreed to the statement that our freedom depends upon
the free enterprise system. In a further look at the students' feelings about the capitalist system, we found that 55.6 percent of the students in Mound Bayou and 61.1 percent of the students in Grambling agreed with the statement that the capitalist system may not be perfect, but it is the best system we know of today; 11.1 percent of the students in Mound Bayou and 7.4 percent in Grambling did not respond to this item.

In the next item on the questionnaire concerning the capitalist system, we wanted to know how the students felt about capitalism in relation to socialism. The response of the students showed that 50.0 percent in Mound Bayou and 53.7 percent in Grambling felt that capitalism is better than socialism because it gives one a chance to make a lot of money; 8.3 percent in Mound Bayou and 7.4 percent in Grambling did not respond to this item. In the last item, we wanted to know how the students felt about making money. It is generally assumed that this is one of the basic elements of the capitalist system—that is making money at the expense of others. An overwhelming 83.3 percent in Mound Bayou and 77.8 percent in Grambling felt that it is nothing wrong with a person trying to make as much money as possible. From these responses, we can say that on a whole that the students in these two towns will pose no threat to the capitalist system. They have accepted the basic elements of capitalism.

Another major concern was to find out how the students felt about the conditions of black people in America. The response of the students in Mound Bayou showed that 77.8 percent disagreed with the statement that
America has overcome its racism. A high number of the students in Grambling also felt the same, with 85.2 percent disagreeing with the statement. However, while the students realized that racism still existed in America, the majority of them felt that things are much better for blacks now than they were ten years ago. Fifty percent of the students in Mound Bayou felt that things are now better for black people; 8.3 percent in Mound Bayou did not respond to this item. In Grambling, 59.3 percent of the students felt that things are now better for black people. To the statement that black people will never be completely free under our present form of government, the majority of the students in Mound Bayou agreed, with 66.7 percent stating such. On the other hand, only 42.6 percent in Grambling agreed with this statement. To our surprise, 52.8 percent of the students felt that the only way blacks will ever be completely free here in the United States is to use some means of force. This seems to be inconsistent with their responses to other questions. However, in contrast to this high dissatisfaction with the present form of government by the students in Mound Bayou, only 31.5 percent in Grambling felt that the only way blacks will ever be free in the United States is to use some means of force.

There seems to be some contradiction on the part of the students in Mound Bayou when 72.2 percent agreed with the statement that when people don't like what is going on in the government, they should try to change things by voting instead of using force. On the basis of this
response and others, we can probably safely conclude that the students are willing to work within the political system rather than use force in order to make changes. The sample on Grambling showed that an overwhelming 92.6 percent of the students agreed with the statement. Further evidence of the students' willingness to work within the system can be seen in their response to the statement that democracy works in the United States because the people have a voice in the government through voting. The data show that 66.7 percent in Mound Bayou agreed with the statement while an overwhelming 85.2 percent in Grambling stated the same. Again the students showed that they felt that things could be changed through the electoral process when they disagreed with the statement that it does not matter whether or not I vote in an election because things will go on pretty much the same. Seventy-five percent in Mound Bayou and 77.8 percent in Grambling disagreed with the statement. Although the students displayed a strong will to participate in the electoral process, they did not have much confidence in political leaders. In Mound Bayou, 55.6 percent of the students felt that political leaders do not care what people like themselves want or think, while 74.1 percent in Grambling felt the same.

The last major area we will report on will be concerned with how the students felt about public welfare. Again, we see some contradictions in how they felt about welfare and their feelings towards the capitalist system. The reasons for this may be because of the high percentage of blacks in this country who are on some form of public assistance, and also
because of the high level of poverty in the black community. The students' response to the statement that the public welfare system needs to be stopped because it makes able-bodied men too lazy to work revealed that 52.8 percent in Mound Bayou and 64.8 percent in Grambling disagreed with this statement. To the statement that everyone should have a good house even if the government has to build it for him, we found that 86.1 percent in Mound Bayou and 83.3 percent in Grambling agreed with this statement.

Summary of Findings

Our findings suggest that the students in these towns are socialized to a high degree in the American political system. Although none of the students were completely satisfied with the political system, our findings show that they agree with a majority of the dominant views of the society. Our data also show that there were a sizable number of students who were moderately opposed to the system. However, as we have seen, they are still willing to participate in the American political process. The data show that there was somewhat of a contradiction between the students' strong support for the capitalist system and their support for a public welfare system. This seems to indicate that the students had not been taught about the dynamics of capitalism—that is, other than it is the best system operating today and that it allows one to make money. The conversations that this researcher had with the students also support this
finding. The data revealed that there was no apparent difference in the socialization process of females and males, with 54.5 percent of the girls and 52.2 percent of the boys being classified as moderate conformers. We also found that the students from the more middle class setting of Grambling on a whole showed slightly more disaffection toward the political system than the students from Mound Bayou. This finding is contrary to the belief of many who feel that the black middle class is one of the most, if not the most, reactionary sector in the society. One can speculate that because of their closeness to the mainstream of American life, they are in a better position to see the many contradictions in the society when compared to their less assimilated counterparts. One can also speculate that being in a university environment may be responsible for the attitudes of the students toward the political and economic systems. It should also be pointed out that the middle class in the Prestage study was connected with a university.

The Teachers

We now turn our attention towards the role that the teacher plays in the classroom. Once again because of the refusal of the teachers in

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Grambling to answer the questionnaire, we can only report on the teachers in Mound Bayou. The case has already been made by Richard Dawson, Kenneth Prewitt, and others about the role of the teacher in the classroom. Dawson and Prewitt point out that the teacher has considerable influence on the child's political orientations. For most children, the teacher represents the first contact with an authority figure outside of the family. This first contact is often a critical stage in shaping the child's outlook towards the school and the world. At this stage, the child learns that he must respect the teacher as an authority figure. As he continues in school the teacher remains an important factor in his life. The attitudes, values, and classroom styles of the teachers are important aspects of political socialization in the schools. All of these may work together to reinforce or to undercut the stated objectives of the formal program of political education. It is with this in mind that we asked the teachers questions concerning their role as an educator.

The first question that we asked the teachers was "What factors influenced your interest in education?" This question was asked in order to see why they chose teaching as their occupation. We recognize the fact that one is motivated by different factors; however, it was felt that by identifying these factors we could get a better understanding of the teacher's philosophy of teaching.

Each teacher cited several factors that influenced their decision to teach. These factors fell into three categories: parental pressure,
economic circumstances, and influential teachers. One teacher, however, stated that his reason for being a teacher was "to help others." A further look at the teachers' response revealed that two of them cited parental pressure as their reason for teaching; three of them cited their economic status as being an influential factor; and three of them named their high school teachers and the type of education they received in high school as their reasons for teaching. One teacher that named her high school teachers as an influential factor made this statement: "Once upon a time in my past days there were teachers that I admired and wanted to imitate someday. They helped me pursue the career I am in today. Therefore, my wish I had ten years ago has come true."

The teachers' response to the statement, "Describe briefly your 'philosophy of teaching'" was varied. However, most of the responses dealt with the need to teach the students skills that will be helpful to them after they leave high school. One teacher stated that his philosophy of teaching was "to encourage students to seek new aims and objectives for a changing world." Two of the teachers stated that their philosophy was "to learn from their students." Only one of the teachers' philosophy of teaching was related to his reasons for becoming a teacher which was "to help others."

Our next concern was to find out what influence did the teachers see themselves as having on their students. We asked the teachers, "What impact or influence do you see yourself having on the students you teach?"
The teachers' response to this question showed that all of them felt that they had a great deal of influence on the students and that this influence was "positive." They did not elaborate as to what this "positive" influence included. Two of them reported that the students looked to them for advice.

In our last question concerning the teachers' philosophy of teaching, we wanted to know how they felt about the educational system in the United States as it relates to black people. We wanted to know whether or not the teachers agreed or disagreed with the following statement: "It is said by some people today that the school system as a whole is detrimental to Black people and only serves to create a negative self-image for Black children." The teachers' response revealed that four of them disagreed with this statement. They did not see the educational system as being detrimental to black people. There were two teachers who saw the educational system as being detrimental to black people.

The next set of questions were designed to ascertain the teachers' views about the condition of black people in the United States and in the world. The questions concerning the condition of black people were: "Why did you select an all-black town to pursue your career?" "How do you view the conditions of Black people in the United States and in the world?" "What can you as a Black teacher do to aid or change these conditions?" "Do you think that the conditions of Black people in the United
States have any relationship to the conditions of people in other parts of the world?" The teachers were asked to explain their answer to this last question.

The first question was not directly concerned with the conditions of black people, but we wanted to know whether there was a special reason why the teachers selected an all-black town to pursue their career. A look at the teachers' responses revealed that three of them cited "job opportunity" as the reason for choosing an all-black town. One teacher pointed out that the town was his home town. Two of the teachers were more philosophical in their reasoning in that they wanted "to serve" black people and "to help improve the conditions" of black people.

All but one of the teachers saw the condition of black people in the United States and the world as being only "fair" because of discriminatory practices. However, they did feel that the condition of black people will improve in the future. One of them also felt that the condition of black people is partly blacks' own doing. She stated that "most black people have become dependent upon someone to give them something without trying to obtain first the hard way," There was one teacher who thought that the condition of black people was a state of mind. He states, "The condition of Black people is really a state of mind. Most Blacks don't gain social and economic status because they refuse to stop thinking deprivation."

When asked what they could do to aid or change the conditions of black people, most of them had similar responses—that is, to teach students
things that will be helpful to them in the future. This response was similar to most of the responses given by the teachers as their "philosophy of teaching." In looking at the answers given by the teachers, we found one teacher that stated that he tried "to inspire young blacks to pursue the many opportunities that may be open to them." Another one stated that he tried "to teach students to achieve not only in a business sense but in a moral and ethnic sense." There was one teacher who stated that he could aid or change the conditions of blacks by "voting in all local, state, and federal elections."

In our last question, we wanted to know if the teachers thought that the condition of black people in the United States had any relationship to the conditions of people in other parts of the world. We particularly wanted to know if they saw a relationship between black people in the United States and black people in Africa and other parts of the world. A look at the teachers' response to this question revealed that two of the teachers apparently did not rate the question important enough to respond to it. Three of the teachers felt that there was a relationship between black people here and people in other parts of the world. However, one of them did not give an explanation of his answer. There was one teacher who gave an explanation but did not answer the question. One teacher felt that there was a relationship because "blacks in other parts of the world try to copy our lifestyle. Another teacher felt the same because "we have tried to buy people rather than educate them." The teacher that gave
an explanation but no answer stated the following:

Although Black people in the United States would say they are in the worst country for living conditions, but they should stop to think about how well they are blessed if they were to compare themselves with China and other foreign countries. Blacks here are blessed to have opportunities to get an education, jobs of some type, food of their choice, most clothes of their choice, and all other needs and most wants. Actually, I don’t think our Black people are seeing it hard enough in life because if they were, our young people will think more serious about an education and what they really would accomplish if they accept these full opportunities in life.

Our next concern is to find out to what degree are the teachers socialized into the American political system. The same categories that were used to classify the students are used to identify the degree to which the teachers are socialized into the political system. Table 4-2 shows the results of the teachers' score.

**TABLE 4-2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Socialization</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Radically Opposed</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate Opposed</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate Conformers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme Conformers</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-2 shows that half of the teachers were moderately opposed to the American political system. This shows that they are willing to accept gradual changes in the system. Also, half of the teachers fell into the category of moderate conformers. This shows that they are satisfied with the political system but will occasionally deviate from the norm. Just like the students, there was no teacher who could be considered to be radically opposed to the political system. There was also no teacher who could be identified as an extreme conformer.

In order to see exactly how the teachers felt about the dominant views of the American society, we will look at their responses to some of the basic items in the questionnaire. These items are some of the same ones that were administered to the students.

The first set of items that will be discussed are concerned with the capitalist system. The teachers were asked to agree or disagree with the following statements: "Our freedom depends on the free enterprise system." "The capitalist system may not be perfect, but it is the best system we know of today." "Capitalism is better than socialism because it gives one a chance to make a lot of money." "There is nothing wrong with a man trying to make as much money as he can."

The response by the teachers to the first question concerning capitalism showed that five of them agreed with the statement that our freedom depends upon the free enterprise system. Only one teacher disagreed with the statement. In a further look at the teachers' feeling about the
capitalist system, we found that all of the teachers felt that the capitalist system may not be perfect, but it is the best system we know of today. In the next item, we wanted to know how the teachers felt about capitalism in relation to socialism. Their response showed that two of them agreed with the statement and four disagreed. In our last item concerning capitalism, we found that all of the teachers felt that there is nothing wrong with a man making as much money as he can.

The next set of items we will discuss is concerned with how the teachers felt about the conditions of black people in America. The items concerning the condition of blacks in America are: "America has overcome its racism." "Things are not much better for Blacks than they were ten years ago." "Black people will never be completely free under our present form of government." "The only way Blacks will be completely free in the United States is to use some means of force."

All except one of the teachers disagreed with the statement that America has overcome its racism. The teacher that agreed with the statement is the same one who stated that "blacks should stop to think about how well they are blessed if they were to compare themselves with China and other foreign countries." The response by the teachers to this statement corresponded with that given by the students in Mound Bayou. Over 75 percent of the students disagreed with the statement. Three of the teachers felt that things are much better for blacks now than they were ten years ago. Two of them agreed that things are not much better. One teacher did
not respond to the statement. To the statement that black people will never be completely free under our present form of government, all of the teachers disagreed with the statement. This response is in opposition to that of the majority of the students in which 66.7 percent of them agreed with the statement. A look at the last item shows that all except one of the teachers disagreed with the statement that the only way blacks will be completely free in the United States is to use some means of force. The teacher that agreed with the statement, however, had to qualify the concept "force" by substituting the word "unity." There was no explanation given for doing this.

The third set of items are concerned with how the teachers felt about the electoral process and democracy in the United States. The statements we will be concerned with are: "When people do not like what is doing on, they should try to change things by voting instead of using force." "Democracy works in the United States because the people have a voice in the government through voting." "It does not matter whether or not I vote in an election because things will go on pretty much the same." "I feel that political leaders hardly care what people like myself think or want."

Four of the teachers felt that when people do not like what is going on, they should try to change things by voting instead of using force. The other two disagreed with the statement. All except one of the teachers felt that democracy works in the United States because the people have a voice
in the government through voting. Again the teachers showed high regard for the electoral process when all of them disagreed with the statement that it does not matter whether or not I vote in an election because things will go on pretty much the same. In the last item concerning their feelings about voting, three of the teachers disagreed with the statement that I feel that political leaders hardly care what people like myself think or want. Two of them agreed with the statement. One teacher did not respond to the statement. The teacher that did not admire any black leaders, however, did feel that political leaders cared about what she thought or wanted.

The last set of items that will be discussed are concerned with how the teachers felt about the public welfare system. The statements are:
"The public welfare system needs to be stopped because it makes able-bodied men too lazy to work." "Everyone should have a good house, even if the government has to build it for him."

The response by the teachers revealed that two of them agreed that the welfare system needs to be stopped because it makes able-bodied men too lazy to work. Four of them disagreed with the statement. Response to the last question revealed that four of the teachers felt that everyone should have a good house, even if the government has to build it for him. There were two teachers that disagreed with the statement.
Summary of Findings

Our findings suggest, as it did with the students in Mound Bayou, that the teachers are socialized to a high degree in the American political system. None of the teachers were radically opposed to the views of the majority. There was also no teacher who fell into the category of extreme conformers. The data on the teachers show that they have high regard for the capitalist system. All of them felt that capitalism is the best system in the world today. We found, as we did with the students, contradictions in their strong preference for capitalism and their support for some form of welfare. However, on the question of public welfare, the teachers were a little more conservative than the students. The data also show that they have faith in the electoral process and that black people can make changes in the society by voting. The teachers' views about their "philosophy of teaching" and the conditions of black people in the United States reveal their confidence in the American political system. Concerning their views about the relationship of black people in this country and people elsewhere, the data show that the teachers held a superior attitude towards people abroad.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

A widely used quote defines political socialization as the process by which a person acquires attitudes, beliefs, and values relating to the political system of which he is a member. It also refers to the ideas that people have toward government, their values and aspirations, and the modes of behavior that flow from the values and aspirations. The study of political socialization is a relatively new one in the discipline of political science; however, the question of how a nation-state may train its citizens and of how the political system can be maintained is not new. Plato wrote about civic education and the training of citizens. No nation can maintain its existing political order without teaching its citizens to accept certain basic values and norms. If a political system is to survive, then, it must maintain support among its members.

Many institutions and factors are involved in the political socialization process. The most noted agents are the family, the school, the media, and the peer group. The institution that is the focal point of this thesis has been that of the school--particularly schools in a black environment. The school plays a crucial role in the political socialization process.
However, it is my belief that as a whole, the educational system in the United States as it is structured today does not serve the best interest of black people.

It is my opinion that the educational system as a whole is detrimental to black people, in that the students are not taught to be creative and independent thinkers and doers in order that they may find solutions to the problems of blacks, but are taught to be passive and seek solutions within the system. It is also my opinion that if the schools are to produce these creative and independent thinkers, then one of the first steps by black educators is to recognize the inadequacies of the present educational system. As stated in the beginning of the paper, black children are socialized to accept a political system and to give their allegiance to a country that is repressive. Black children are taught to believe certain myths and dreams in which they will never be able to realize. Therefore, blacks must begin to create their own institutions and values that will help them overcome the oppression placed upon them by the political system. This is an arduous task indeed, nevertheless, we must begin at some time and some place. I feel that the time is now, and the place is wherever black people have been able to attain some level of local autonomy. This would include those cities where blacks have been able to gain political control of the government and also the small traditional all-black towns. I agree wholeheartedly with Carter G. Woodson when he said:
The black man will never be able to show all of his originality as long as his efforts are directed from without by those who socially proscribe him. . . . The Negro leader must develop in the segregated group the power with which they can evaluate themselves.¹

It is with this point in mind that my attention turned towards two all-black towns—Mound Bayou and Grambling. My major concern was to find out how the students in these towns felt about certain values and myths that are perpetrated by the American political system. It is felt that by believing in these myths, black people as a whole will never be able to grow and develop their full potentials. Although it is felt that black people can develop approaches to the problem, it is also felt that they have moved far too slow in doing so. With this in mind, two hypotheses were made concerning the political socialization of the students in the two towns.

The first hypothesis was:

(1) Politically relevant learning that is taking place in the schools of all-black towns is not significantly different from that which is taking place in other places.

From observation of the classroom and the data collected on the students, it can be said that politically relevant learning is taking place within the schools; however, it is not significantly different from that which is taking place in other places. By this, it is meant that the

political ideas that the students are being taught in the schools are not significantly different from those in which the American political system is based. These ideas prevail throughout the country. Sanders Anderson in his thesis pointed out that political things can be learned which will give the students a different view of life.\footnote{Sanders Anderson, "The Political Socialization of Black Children: An Analysis of Four Black Pre-Elementary Schools" (Master's Thesis, Atlanta University, 1973), p. 51.} Although Anderson was concerned with the learning that is taking place at pre-school level, I feel that this type of learning is necessary on a broader scale. Evidence of a different approach to education was not found in the schools. In the two towns, it was found that the students and teachers had high regards for the capitalist system and the American democratic process. I doubt whether black people will ever make any changes in the political and economic system by believing in those things that are used to oppress them.

The second hypothesis was:

(2) Both students and teachers show a high degree of support for the political and economic values held as ideal by the majority of the American people.

Evidence of this can be seen through the total score of the students and teachers. On the basis of their total score, no student or teacher could be considered as radically opposed to the views held as ideal by the majority of the American people. The data revealed that there were a high number of people who were moderately opposed to the majority views; however,
when taking into consideration their total score, one can see that they agreed with a great number of the basic views held as ideal by the people in the McClosky and Di Palma-McClosky studies.

It is my feeling that educators should put forth a concerted effort to raise the level of awareness of black students. From the results of this study, there should also be an effort made to raise the conscious level of those who are teaching black children. If we have people teaching children who believe that the only interrelationship with black people elsewhere is that they try "to copy our lifestyle" or that blacks should "stop to think about how well they are blessed if they were to compare themselves with China and other countries," then we can hardly expect much political clarity. With this type of thinking, blacks will never make any progress towards total liberation. Black people should begin now to develop institutions that critically analyze the political and economic system in this country and also determine their relationship to the system. I feel that this is a necessary step before blacks can move forward.
APPENDIX-A

Definition of Concepts

There are certain basic concepts that should be defined in order to give some clarity to this study. They are as follows:

**Political Socialization:** Refers to the ideas that people have toward government, their values, their aspirations, and the modes of behavior that flow from the values and aspirations. It also refers to the process by which a person acquires attitudes, beliefs, and values relating to the political system of which he is a member.

**All-Black Town:** The term "all-black town" as it is used in this study applies to all places with a population of 1,000 or more of whom more than ninety-five percent are of African descent. Another characteristic of these towns is that they are politically controlled by blacks.

**Politically Relevant Learning:** This refers to learning that can later be transformed into identification with a political system. That is, as one grows older, certain attachments are made to a particular system because of early learning.

**Beliefs and Values of American People:** Those ideas and values held by at least seventy percent of the people in the McClosky and Di Palma-McClosky studies.

**Radically Opposed:** Those who are opposed to the present political system. They reject the beliefs and values that are thought to be held by the majority of the American people. They see the system as being oppressive to African people, and are more inclined to favor revolutionary changes.

**Moderately Opposed:** Those who see the need for change in the present political system but are willing to accept gradual changes.

**Moderate Conformers:** Those who are satisfied with the present political system but will occasionally deviate from the norm.

**Extreme Conformers:** Those who are satisfied with the present political system. They see no need for change.
APPENDIX-B

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

PART I. Here are questions about you and your family background. Please write in the answer or check the answer that closely describes you and your family background. Please answer all questions.

1. How many are in your family?
   a. 0 - 3
   b. 4 - 6
   c. 6 or more

2. In what range does your family income fall?
   a. 0 - $3,999
   b. $4,000 - $9,999
   c. $10,000 - $14,000
   d. $15,000 and above

3. How far did your parents go in school?
   Mother:
   a. 0-8 years
   b. 9-12 years
   c. Some college
   d. College degree
   e. Some graduate school
   f. Graduate degree
   g. Don't know

   Father:
   a. 0-8 years
   b. 9-12 years
   c. Some college
   d. College degree
   e. Some graduate school
   f. Graduate degree
   g. Don't know

4. Sex a. male
   b. female

5. What are your plans after graduation?
6. What is your favorite television program? (You may include T.V. specials and the news).

7. What television programs do you feel present the following images of Blacks:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most positive</th>
<th>Most negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

8. Do you read newspapers?  
   a. yes       b. no

If yes, how often?  
   a. daily       b. almost every day  
   c. only sometimes

9. Do you read any other periodicals?  
   a. yes       b. no

If yes, please name one

10. These are questions about your participation in the community. Have you:

1. Worked for any political organization? (e.g.)  
   a. yes       b. no

2. Worked for a political candidate?  
   a. yes       b. no

3. Participated in any form of protest?  
   a. yes       b. no

11. Which of the following political affiliations do you identify with?  
   a. Republican       d. Other (please specify)  
   b. Democrat         e. An African
   c. Independent      

12. I consider myself:  
   a. An American       d. An Afro-American  
   b. Black           e. An African
   c. Black American  
13. Which of the following do you feel has played a major role in influencing your political ideas. Rank them 1, 2, 3, in terms of influence.

a. Family
b. Friends
c. School
d. The Media
e. Other (please specify)

14. Would you like to spend the rest of your life in an all-black town?

a. yes
b. no

14a. Why?
**PART II.** For each of the following questions Circle the letter A if you agree with the statement and D if you disagree with the statement. Make only one selection. Please answer all questions.

1. Our freedom depends on the free enterprise system.  
   \(\text{A} \quad \text{D}\)

2. Foreign investment in our country by the Arabs will eventually lead to their control over America's industries.  
   \(\text{A} \quad \text{D}\)

3. The capitalist system may not be perfect, but it is the best system we know of today.  
   \(\text{A} \quad \text{D}\)

4. United States should continue to give aid (i.e., money) to other countries because it helps them to develop.  
   \(\text{A} \quad \text{D}\)

5. There is nothing wrong with a man trying to make as much money as he can.  
   \(\text{A} \quad \text{D}\)

6. Democracy works in the United States because the people have a voice in the government through voting.  
   \(\text{A} \quad \text{D}\)

7. There is a time when it almost seems better for the people to take law into their own hands rather than wait for the machinery of the government to act.  
   \(\text{A} \quad \text{D}\)

8. If the governments of South Vietnam and Cambodia fall, it will be detrimental to democracy.  
   \(\text{A} \quad \text{D}\)

9. The oil boycott by the Arab countries was a blow directly at U.S. industries.  
   \(\text{A} \quad \text{D}\)

10. Capital punishment may be a little harsh, but it is the only answer we have to serious crimes.  
    \(\text{A} \quad \text{D}\)
11. The war in Vietnam was a legal and just war because we were fighting against Communism.
   A   D

12. Capitalism is better than Socialism because it gives one a chance to make a lot of money.
   A   D

13. A book that contains wrong political views should not be used in the classroom.
   A   D

14. It does not matter whether or not I vote in an election because things will go on pretty much the same.
   A   D

15. America has overcome its racism.
   A   D

16. Things are not much better for Blacks than they were ten years ago.
   A   D

17. I feel that political leaders hardly care what people like myself think or want.
   A   D

18. When people don't like what is going on, they should try to change things by voting instead of using force.
   A   D

19. The President of the United States does not rule this country.
   A   D

20. The owners of major industries rule this country.
   A   D

21. Everyone should have a good house, even if the government has to build it for him.
   A   D

22. The public welfare system needs to be stopped because it makes able-bodied men too lazy to work.
   A   D
23. There should be a redistribution of wealth in this country so that everyone can have an equal amount.
   A   D

24. School desegregation is the only way Blacks will be able to get a quality education.
   A   D

25. People who do not believe in the American democracy should move to another country.
   A   D

26. Black people will never be completely free under our present form of government.
   A   D

27. The only way Blacks will be completely free in the U. S. is to use some means of force.
   A   D
TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

PART I: Here are questions about your background. Please write in the correct answer or check the answer that closely describes your background.

1. Sex  Male ------  Female ------

2. Age  
   a. 20-30 ------  
   b. 31-40 ------  
   c. 41-50 ------  
   d. 51 and above ------

3. Degree(s) earned  
   a. BA ------  
   b. BA plus graduate hours ------  
   c. MA ------  
   d. MA plus graduate hours ------
   e. Ph.D. ------

4. What undergraduate college did you attend?

5. What graduate school did you attend?

6. In what field do you have your degree?  
   Elementary Education  
   Social Studies ------  
   Political Science ------  
   Science ------  
   Physical Education ------  
   Other (Please specify) ------  

   Secondary Education  
   Social Studies ------  
   Political Science ------  
   Science ------  
   Physical Education ------  
   Other (Please specify) ------

7. What subjects do you teach?  
   a. Social Studies ------  
   b. Science ------  
   c. Art ------  
   d. Other (Please specify) ------

8. What is your original hometown?
9. List the newspapers, magazines, and journals that you read most often.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Magazines</th>
<th>Journals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

10. List two television programs that you watch frequently.

<p>| | |</p>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
</table>

11. What television programs do you feel present the following images?
   a. Most positive------
   b. Most negative------

12. Are you a member of a professional organization?

   Yes ------
   No ------

13. If yes, name the organization (i.e., teacher's organizations)

   ____________________________

14. What do you prefer to be called.

   a. American ------
   b. Black ------
   c. Black American------
   d. Afro-American------
   e. African------

15. Rank the following in terms of prevailing influence on your political ideas. Rank them 1, 2, 3 accordingly.

   a. family ------
   b. friends ------
   c. school ------
   d. media ------
   e. Other (Please specify) ------

16. Have you ever:

   a. Worked for a political organization? (i.e., NAACP, Voters League)
      Yes ------
      No ------

   b. Worked for a political candidate?
      Yes ------
      No ------
17. Which of the following political affiliations do you identify with?

   a. Republican ------
   b. Democrats ------
   c. Independent ------
   d. Other (Please specify) ------

18. List two Black leaders that you admire.

   -------------------------  -------------------------

19. Name the Black political organization that you feel is doing the most for black people.

   -----------------------------------------------
PART II: Please answer all of the following questions.

20. What factors influenced your interest in Education?

21. Why did you select an all-Black town to pursue your career?

22. Describe briefly your philosophy of teaching?

23. It is said by some people today that the school system as a whole is detrimental to Black people and only serve to create a negative self-image for Black children.

   Agree ------   Disagree ------

24. How do you view the conditions of Black people? In the United States? In the world?

25. What can you as a Black teacher do to aid or change these conditions?

26. What impact or influence do you see yourself having on the students you teach?

27. Do you think that the conditions of Black people in the U.S. have any relationship to people in other parts of the world? Explain
APPENDIX-D

The Majority's Answer to the Questionnaire

This scale shows the response of the majority of the people in the McClosky and Di Palma-McClosky studies. This was used in order to assign the students a score in Part II of the questionnaire and the teachers a score in Part III.

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<td>15</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Methodological Note

Due to the fact that the population in Mound Bayou is below 2,500, which is the cut-off level of the Bureau of Census for reporting social and economic data on towns, I cannot make a comparison of the economic characteristics of the two towns. However, I will report on the available data on Grambling. I will also report on the data for Lincoln Parish and Boliver County.

According to the 1970 Census Report, the per capita income for Grambling is $1,559; the per capital income for Lincoln Parish where Grambling is located is $2,119; and for Boliver County where Mound Bayou is located, the per capita income is $1,505. From this information, we can see that although Grambling is considered to be a black middle class community when compared to the parish as a whole, the per capita income is $560 less than the parish. In Boliver, which is considered to be located in one of the nation's poorest regions, the per capita income is only $54 less than Grambling. In looking at the data on blacks in Lincoln and Bolivar, I found that the per capita income for Lincoln Parish is $1,288, and in Bolivar County it is $759. The per capita income of blacks in Grambling is $251 more than blacks in the parish of Lincoln and $800 more than blacks in the County of Bolivar. One suggestion as to why the per capita income of Grambling is less than the parish is that the students at the university are included in the population figure.
The next category is that of occupation. The total number of people employed in Grambling in 1970 was 1,338; the total number employed in Lincoln was 11,371; the total employment in Bolivar was 13,942. The total black employment in Lincoln was 4,027 or 35.4 percent; the total black employment in Bolivar was 6,263 or 44.9 percent. Chart II shows the selected occupations of those employed in Grambling, Lincoln Parish, and Bolivar County. Based on the data from this chart, we can substantiate our claim that life in Grambling is centered around the university. It can also be pointed out that no economic development is taking place in the town. Over 70 percent of the black professional and technical workers, 55 percent of the black teachers, and 82 percent of the black clerical workers in Lincoln Parish are employed in Grambling. We can also see that farming and manufacturing do play important roles in the economy of the town and parish. In Bolivar County, farming and manufacturing are more important to the economy than in Lincoln Parish. Blacks in the county make up 72 percent of the farm labor but only own or manage 19 percent of the farms. Blacks only make up 40 percent of the total employed in manufacturing. These figures are astounding when one considers the fact that blacks represent over 60 percent of total population and 51 percent of the work force. One consolation is that 62 percent of the teachers in the county are black.
**CHART II**

THE SELECTED OCCUPATION OF THOSE EMPLOYED IN GRAMBLING, LINCOLN PARISH, AND BOLIVAR COUNTY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>No. Employed Grambling</th>
<th>No. of Black Employed Lincoln Parish</th>
<th>Total Employed Lincoln Parish</th>
<th>No. of Black Employed Bolivar County</th>
<th>Total Employed Bolivar County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical, and kindred workers</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>2,398</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>1,971</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health workers</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers, elementary and secondary</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers and administrators</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and kindred workers</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>1,837</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>1,566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing Industries</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>1,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers, except farm</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations</td>
<td>No. Employed Grambling</td>
<td>No. of Black Employed Lincoln Parish</td>
<td>Total Employed Lincoln Parish</td>
<td>No. of Black Employed Bolivar County</td>
<td>Total Employed Bolivar County</td>
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<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm laborers and farm foremen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>1,038</td>
<td>1,435</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farms and farm managers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>640</td>
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<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>1,701</td>
<td>1,140</td>
<td>1,649</td>
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</table>

The Rate of the Students' Response

As stated in the paper, the students in Mound Bayou were allowed to carry their questionnaire home in order for their parents to view it. There was no way to determine whether the presence of the parents had any influence on the students' response. A look at the response of the students in the two towns shows that there was not much difference in the response of the two groups. However, the rate was slightly higher on more items for the students in Mound Bayou on Part I, while the students in Grambling had a higher rate on Part II.

Part I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mound Bayou %</th>
<th>Grambling %</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 100.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 91.7</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.a 100.0</td>
<td>98.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 97.2</td>
<td>96.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 94.4</td>
<td>96.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 97.2</td>
<td>91.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. not totaled</td>
<td>not totaled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.a 100.0</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 97.2</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mound Bayou %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>97.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>91.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>91.7</td>
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</table>

9.a 94.4  
b. 66.6  
10.a. 97.2  
b. 97.2  
c. 97.2  
11. 91.7  
12. 100.0  
13. 100.0  
14. 100.0  

Part II
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>98.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX-G

Questions by this Researcher

The statements below were added to the questionnaire by this researcher. The rest of the statements were taken from the McClosky and Di Palmi-McClosky studies.

Foreign investment in our country by the Arabs will eventually lead to their control over American's industries.

United States should continue to give aid (i.e., money) to other countries because it helps them to develop.

If the governents of South Vietnam and Cambodia fall, it will be detrimental to democracy.

The oil boycott by Arab countries was a blow directly at U.S. industries.

The war in Vietnam was a legal and just war because we were fighting against Communism.

America has overcome its racism.

Things are not much better for Blacks than they were ten years ago.

The President of the United States does not rule this country.

The owners of major industries rule this country.

The public welfare systems needs to be stopped because it makes able-bodied men too lazy to work.

School desegregation is the only way Blacks will be able to get a quality education.

Black people will never be completely free under our present form of government.

The only way Blacks will be completely free in the U.S. is to use some means of force.
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Articles and Journals


Unpublished Papers


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Town of Grambling, Grambling, Louisiana, 1971. This is a pamphlet published by the town of Grambling.
