1973

Black Nationalism and Its Effect Upon Black Americans' Perception of Negritude.

Curlew O'Sullivan Thomas
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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BLACK NATIONALISM AND ITS EFFECT UPON BLACK AMERICANS' PERCEPTION OF NEGRITUDE

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in
the Department of Sociology

by
Curlew O'Sullivan Thomas
B.A., Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, 1965; M.S., Oklahoma State University, 1968 December, 1973
dedicated to....... 

MY WIFE AND SON: 
   Barbara and Constantine

and to....... 

MY PARENTS: 
   Martin Luther and 
   Meldora Matilda Thomas
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.  INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Problem</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the Study</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objectives of the Study</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.  REVIEW OF LITERATURE</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitutive Ideas of Black Nationalists</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movements</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Separatism</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Nationalism</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integral Nationalism</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Nationalism: The Nation of Islam</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Rights Movements: An Overview</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Nationalist Movements</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Occupation and Educational</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backgrounds of Black Nationalist Leaders</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluding Summary</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THEORETICAL FRAME AND CAUSAL MODEL</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Role of Black Americans in the Social Structure</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Deprivation</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linkage Variables:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiosity</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal Model</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal Ordering of Variables</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypotheses</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview Schedule</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operationalization of Variables</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction of Attitude Indices</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sample and Sampling Procedures</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistical Analysis:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor and Path Analyses</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vi
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor Loadings</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero-Order Correlations</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standardized Path Regression Coefficients</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Analysis</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of Findings</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem, Procedures, Theoretical Framework and Analysis</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Importance of Variables</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profile of Black Baton Rougeans Committed to Black Nationalism and Negritude</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for Further Research</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Alternative Model</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A: THE QUESTIONNAIRE</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B: 2x2 TABLES SHOWING THE COMMITMENT OF</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLACK BATON ROUGEANS TO BLACK NATIONALISM AND NEGRITUDE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table

9. Negritude for Males

11. Decomposition of Standardized Effects on
   Negritude for Females

12. Direct and Indirect Effects of Five Variables, on Negritude Via Black Nationalism

13. Direct and Indirect Effects of Four Variables, on Negritude Via Black Nationalism
   for the Male Sample

14. Direct and Indirect Effects of Four Variables, on Negritude Via Black Nationalism
   for the Female Sample

15. The Degree of Commitment to Black Nationalism by Sex

16. The Degree of Commitment to Negritude by Sex

17. The Degree of Commitment to Black Nationalism by Social Class Measured Through
    Educational Attainment

18. The Degree of Commitment to Negritude by Social Class Measured Through Educational
    Attainment
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure                                                                 Page

1. Path Diagram Relating the Five Exogeneous Variables to Black Nationalism and Negritude.............. 43
2. Path Diagram Showing Standardized Regression Coefficients for Total Sample........ 68
3. Path Diagram Showing Standardized Regression Coefficients for Male Sample........ 69
4. Path Diagram Showing Standardized Regression Coefficients for Female Sample...... 70
ABSTRACT

Although black nationalism has existed for an indeterminate span of time, to date, there is little systematic research on the relationship between black nationalism and negritude. In the contemporary Black community there is more than adequate impressionistic evidences that the Black masses are accepting their negritude. This is occurring concurrently with the re-emergence of black nationalism. Consequently, the present inquiry was an attempt to determine the extent to which the Black masses were committed to black nationalism and negritude respectively.

Most of the ideological writings together with the various dimensions of black nationalism was reviewed. Both showed trends toward political separatism, economic self-help, cultural, integral and religious nationalisms.

Theoretically, the subject matter was approached from the conceptual frameworks of relative deprivation and rising expectations from which relevant variables that link individuals and groups to the social structure were extracted. The variables selected were: [SEX], [SOCIAL CLASS], [RESIDENCE], [AGE] and [RELIGIOSITY]. These variables were considered as factors which generally lead Black Americans to either accept or reject black nationalism and negritude respectively.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM

The Black man's role in Western civilization and particularly in the United States, has been that of an instrument or tool (Williams 1944). At present Black Americans have made some progress by way of changing their caste-like status; however, the vast majority of Black Americans still remain as an economic underclass. Blauner (1972:24) states that most Black Americans are found in jobs that are demeaning and carry with it the minimum of economic reward. Clark (1965) has referred to black jobs as marginal, dead-end and without a future promise. In addition, many Black leaders have voiced the opinion that Blacks are the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

When one compiles the economic status of Blacks, it all adds up to a social handicap. Myrdal (1944) in his theory of cumulation, has expressed the opinion that segregation and discrimination of Black Americans have produced a cumulative social deficiency among them. As a consequence, this deficiency has provided a rationale for racial separation in American society. One facet of this rationale has been premised on the basis of color.
While color is an inadequate criterion for racial designation it has become the principal source for racial exclusion (Lincoln 1963:249). Negritude, a composite of broad nostrils, thick lips, kinky hair and black skin color comes to be identified with inferiority. In view of black negative stereotypes, Black Americans come to believe in their own inferiority, develop a sense of hatred for themselves and their inherent characteristics. In addition, they have developed a passionate attachment for the norm of whiteness (Clark 1940:602; Warner 1941; Frazier 1957).

Although Blacks are excluded structurally (Gordon 1964) from the inner life of America, they still envision a day when they will be structurally included as free coequal individuals. Udom (1962) states that most Black Americans favor assimilation as opposed to separation and Baldwin (1964) notes that Black Americans have seen black nationalism but have not listened to it. Notwithstanding, any other ideology advocated or followed by Black Americans has been branded pathological (Myrdal 1944), escapist (Morsell 1961:61) and extremist (Glazer 1963:78). In this view, one can understand why the efforts of Black Civil Rights movements of post World War II were mobilized toward the assimilation of Blacks into the American society.

The inclusion efforts are the inclination of most Black Americans; but what direction or what alternative is open to a group when their efforts for inclusion are thwarted by the
dominant group? When groups or individuals hope for change in the social order, they usually join collective enterprises, such as social movements in order to effect desired change. Black nationalist movements, then, are the mechanisms employed by Black Americans in an effort to effect changes in their underclass position. Because of this, Turner (1971) states that black nationalism is a movement in search of new values, norms and power. Lincoln (1969:72) states, it is a movement that seeks the glorification of the "Negro". In addition Lincoln further asserts that, it may be regarded as a movement for the transvaluation of the hated symbols of rejection. As a result, whiteness becomes a symbol of weakness, depravity, political and social decadence.

Historically, Blacks in American society on occasion have sought political separation in order to revive their own indigenous culture and to redefine themselves relative to others (Blake 1968). However, while these past efforts have been futile, the contemporary emergence of Black independent states of Africa and the West Indies have given Black Americans a new sense of direction and purpose (Drake 1967:33). Moreover, they proudly proclaim Africa as their distant homeland and have usually come in defense of her name (Kilson 1965:639). Also, they have re-defined themselves relative to the dominant group, and their existence has been raised to a new plateau. Black Americans
have now entered into the process of creating an identity as opposed to the transformation of a prior one (Singer 1962).

Some Black Americans are thus shedding their "Americanism", they want no more to be called Negro but instead to be called Blacks or Afro-Americans. Further, some do not wish to be assimilated but separated. In essence, some Blacks have refused to see themselves through the eyes of white America. But separation is a minority viewpoint (Udom 1962). Most Black Americans want to be assimilated into the dominant group.

The Problem. The problem concerns identifying American Blacks, who reside in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and who are committed to black nationalism and negritude. Although relevant literatures have doubted the possibility of an independent culture for Blacks, because they have no values and norms to guard and protect (Moynihan 1963), the fact still remains that a group can return to ethnic traditions for artistic creation and materials to inspire group life (Frazier 1968). Moynihan (1970) has indicated the retention of a vast amount of subterranean ethnic nationalism in American life. Since Black Americans are in the process of creating an identity (Singer 1962), it becomes apparent that they are finding the subterranean ethnic residues which are enhancing black nationalism and their fixation on negritude.

The significance of the study, therefore, lies in an attempt to understand the magnitude of black nationalism and negritude within the Black community. In contemporary Black
communities there are impressionistic evidence that Blacks are forging a new self image through black nationalism. Consequently, if one finds evidence of change with the rising tide of nationalism, one can not only identify the instrument through which it occurs but also the magnitude of its effect among Black Americans in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Therefore, the objectives of the study are:

1. To identify the social characteristics of Black Americans residing in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, who espouse black nationalism and an orientation toward negritude.

2. To show the relative importance of all variables within a causal model toward the explanation of black nationalism and negritude respectively.

3. To present a methodological technique for further analysis of problems regarding Black Americans.

The organization of the present inquiry may be broadly outlined as follows:

Introduction: The Problem

Review of Literature

The Theoretical Framework: Variables and A Simple Causal Model

Methodology: Techniques, Procedures and Derived Scores

The Data: Results and Interpretation

Summary, Conclusions and Implications
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

All social movements contain a thought system we may name by its constitutive ideas or ideology (Heberle 1952:26). Such constitutive ideas are usually concerned with three main problems: (1) the final goals or ends of the movement, (2) the ways and means by which the goal is to be attained, and (3) the reasons for the endeavors of the movement— that is, the justification of the movement or, as one might say, its social philosophy. In addition, there are found in most social movements ideas which are not essential and not generally agreed upon, although in some cases they may be derived from certain constitutive ideas. The review of literature set forth in this chapter concerns itself with the main constitutive ideas underlying black nationalist movements as they have occurred in American society.

The emergence of black nationalism among Black Americans may be related to the basic contradiction in American life; a gap between the American value ideal of equality and the practice of racial discrimination. In the past, attempts have been made to stifle protest and nationalistic activities. Nevertheless, Black Americans have generated the minimum strength and awareness to preserve a subterranean world of their values (Kilson 1965:639). Fanon (1968:149), although paraphrased, alludes to this
same notion that:

Without a Negro past, without a future, it would be impossible for Blacks to live their Negrohood. Not yet white, no longer wholly Black, we would be damned.

The ethnic dualism which has characterized Black Americans and served as an impetus to their nationalistic movement has best been articulated by DuBois (1970:6):

"One ever feels his twoness an American a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings. Two warring ideals in one dark body; whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face."

Black nationalism asserts Blake (1969:662) is the consequence of this duality, for Blacks as a people are identified by racial characteristics and are denied full participation in the society because of race, while at the same time, Blacks are expected to meet all of the responsibilities for citizenship. Notwithstanding that Africa was the basis for the Black man's status, it provided from the beginning a fragile source for identity which Blacks have never completely denied (Hill 1968:151).

The first distinctive form of black nationalism was predicated on the desire to separate from America. At first, the movement was loosely organized and its proponents argued for the establishment of a Black nation in Africa or some other
territory. Their views were based on the conviction that Blacks would never receive justice in America and the only hope for Blacks was to leave this country and establish a political entity for Black people (Blake 1969:662).

As early as 1787 the freed slaves of Newport, Rhode Island formed the Free African Society to promote group cohesion and repatriation to Africa. At the same time, African societies were formed in other parts of the Northeastern United States uniting their members on the basis of African heritage and previous conditions of servitude (Turner 1971:185).

Leaving aside the history of Southern slave insurrections, a number of Black writers prior to the Civil War advocated violent actions to be freed. In 1829 Walker's "Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World" called white Americans their natural enemies. This was followed a decade later by Garnet's "Address to the Slaves of the United States" and a sequel "Call to Rebellion." In 1852 Martin R. Delaney published his book, *The Condition Elevation Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States Politically Considered*. Delaney's work was a statement of black zionist doctrine later to be advocated and articulated by Marcus Garvey. The apex of this zionist doctrine came at the Emigration Convention of 1854, when three men were commissioned to investigate the possibilities of emigration of Blacks to Haiti, or to the Niger
valley of Africa (Turner 1971:185). However, the Civil War and the emancipation of the slaves brought black agitation to a halt; and Blacks devoted themselves to the task of becoming full pledged Americans. Notwithstanding, it was the Black man's nightmare.

The ramification of this Black man's nightmare can perhaps be explored by considering the period of Reconstruction and its subsequent consequences. Bronze (1964:9) writes that:

> Blacks had even less chance of developing self pride and maturity, for the debilitating caste system, carried over full force from slavery days, all but compelled Blacks to act like an "Uncle Tom."

Blacks were disenfranchised. Furthermore, they were lynched, regulated by Jim Crow laws and excluded from participating in both skilled trades and labor unions. In essence, this reflected a reenactment of slavery. Blacks' erstwhile allies, the white men had deserted them. Subsequently, Booker T. Washington became the consulting spokesman of Black Americans. Washington is regarded as the architect of contemporary Black nationalist movements. For his programs of self help, economic self sufficiency, social and symbiotic efforts in all things of mutual progress have constituted the fundamental tenets of contemporary black nationalist movements.

Washington's type of nationalism was an economic nationalism. Unlike political nationalism, economic nationalism reflects a desire for full participation in the larger society. However,
in the face of rejection by the dominant majority, the economic emphasis focuses on strengthening the internal community as part of an attack upon racial barriers (Blake 1969:663). Not only was Washington's period characterized by economic nationalism but also the emergence of cultural nationalism.

Hence, cultural nationalism was a response to the denigrating stereotypes of Black Americans. The essential belief of this form of nationalism was based on the contention that the study of Black people throughout the world and particularly in America will show that Blacks are the descendant from a noble and proud heritage and have made outstanding contributions to human progress. This premise, it is believed, would give Black Americans a positive self image, develop race pride and social cohesion. Moreover, this premise would show the dominant majority that Blacks are no better nor worse off than any other race.

The earlier trend of black nationalism was advocated by men who had earned exalted positions within the Black race and its appeal was therefore directed toward the "talented tenth." It was not until post World War I that black nationalism was advocated to the masses (Blake 1969:665).

In general, black nationalist ideologies have been weakest in periods when the Black man's status seemed to be improving, when there appeared to be hope for the achievement of equality in American society. Conversely, black nationalist ideologies have been strongest in periods of deteriorating conditions
(Meier 1970:6). Consequently, one finds an upsurge of nationalist feelings in the 1840's when the court ruled that Blacks were chattel property, at the close of the period of Reconstruction when white supremacy doctrine reached its zenith, at the close of World Wars I and II and when Blacks faced severe economic austerity programs and during the 1960's at the government's retreat on integration (Meier 1970).

Just after World War I, black nationalism found a receptive audience, the Black masses. Its timing was most optimal, because Black Americans had just helped fight a war to "make the world safe for democracy"; yet democracy was not practiced at home.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of a people is that they make relative comparisons about situations. The Black soldiers were accorded different treatment in Europe and thus came to realize that prevailing conditions in the United States relative to Blacks, were not inevitable. Out of this situation, a new "Negro" emerged. The new "Negro" writes Bronze (1964:11) "demand their rights more frequently and more forcefully than before, and many felt newly proud of being Black." Brown (1931:94) also asserts that:

"The new Negro" is no beggar, no humble Uncle Tom, but a self conscious personality aware of his own worth and dignity."
The effect of intensive race riots plus profound economic hardships on the part of Black Americans, created a vacuum for a leader who could articulate their yearnings. Marcus Garvey was just that leader.

Garvey, writes Cronon (1955:171-177), brought integral nationalism to a people who were looking for hope in what appeared to be a hopeless situation. Notwithstanding, the Garvey movement was the greatest mass movement among Black Americans; in fact, Garvey showed that the Black masses could be both reached and organized. In a short period of time, he collected more money and organized more people than any other black nationalist movements had ever done before (Davie 1949).

Garvey's integral form of black nationalism combined the separatist, economic and cultural forms previously advocated by Washington. However, Garvey deviated from Washington, because he advocated the expulsion of all whites from Africa and also the emigration of Blacks to Africa. He constantly expressed the slogan "Africa for the Africans at home and abroad". Drake (1957:752) states that "Garvey did not get many Blacks to Africa but he helped to destroy their inferiority and made them conscious of their power". Davie (1949:453) also asserts that "the Garvey movement was based on good psychology. It made the downtrodden lower class Blacks feel like somebody among white people who said that they were nobody".
The Garvey movement had a meteoric rise and abortive decline. At the imprisonment of Garvey, faithful followers still kept the faith of their master. As early as 1930, the Nation of Islam and the Black Jews of Harlem emerged to express the sentiments of Garvey.

Specifically, the Nation of Islam combines Garvey's integral form of nationalism with religious nationalism. The Holy Koran provides scriptural guidance and the "Messenger," Elijah Muhammed, provides everyday leadership, an eschatology, and a set of rituals which give the members a valuable shared experience. Its religiosity rejects Christianity as the Black man's religion, foretelling the destruction of the white race and the ultimate ascendancy of the Black man. The adherents of this faith, the Muslims, refuse to use the term "Negro" or their Christian family name which is assumed to be a token of the white man's "trickology". Furthermore, the mystic X is preferable as a name.

The Muslim newspaper, Muhammed Speaks, describe what the muslim wants. It emphasizes a separate territory for Black people. Unlike the Garvey movement, the Muslim has not specified whether that land should be on this continent or another, but they have consistently argued that since Black and white cannot live together in peace in the United States, it would be better for Blacks to leave and establish for themselves an independent nation. This new element of political
nationalism, emphasizing land rather than Africa has become a significant element of contemporary Black nationalist movements.

The two movements, Garvey and the Nation of Islam, have brought various threads of 19th century black nationalism together, and have woven them into a matrix out of which the more recent fabric of black nationalist thought have developed.

Contemporary black nationalist movements have been forged out of two sets of conditions; the government's retreat on civil rights (Meier 1970) at a time when black expectation is high and his tolerance is low (Banton 1968) and the emergence of Black independent African states (Drake 1967). Psychologically, these two sets of conditions have created not only bitter frustration and impatience on the part of the Black masses (Geschwender 1969), but also simultaneously, it has created a sense of pride and dignity in the accomplishment of their distant homeland (Kilson 1967).

For nearly the past two decades the Civil Rights movements were the major force that articulated the political interest of Black Americans. However, the composition and structure of the movements seriously restricted the range of interests that these movements articulated and the style in which they presented themselves to the larger community (Kilson 1972:161). The Black popular masses had little influence in the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP),
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and Urban League which constituted the Civil Rights movements.

These movements were oligarchic in structure. The Black elite usually defined the goals, tactics and methods of the movement to which the Black masses made some acquiescence (Udom 1967). The movement's leadership accepted the democratic promise of American society. For they realized that Blacks' minority and powerless positions in American society prohibit the waging of a revolution without a crushing defeat. Notwithstanding, they selected to work within the existing framework for the gradual inclusion of Blacks in American society.

The American system has a set of core values including the dignity of the individual, equality of opportunity, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness (Wilson 1949:513) within which the Civil Rights movement operate. Far from rejecting or challenging these values, these movements affirm them. Through the instruments of gradual legalism, economic boycott of white merchants and non-violent protests, the Civil Rights movements were able to bring the core values of the society into sharp focus and national attention. In doing so, it not only forced people to think of the basic societal tenets and how they are being realized but it also showed a great gap between value ideals and actualities. This dynamic way of presenting themselves plus the dedication that
the larger society gives to these values gave support for the implementation of these values and the legitimization of social protest (Himes 1966:7).

The process of inclusion which the Civil Rights movement sought has become but partial reality for Black Americans. Integration has given Blacks a taste of the good life, for which they realistically ask for more (Zanden 1966:414). But it is said that these gains were associated within the Black mind less with a sense of satisfaction than with the sharpening perception of the relative socio-economic gap separating Blacks from whites (Kilson 1972:102). Integration has increased the Black man's expectation and has decreased his tolerance for taking injustice. It is when a minority group notices that it is being denied certain rights which it shares with the dominant group that they clamor for emancipation (Wirth 1945).

Integration, for which the established movements fought, was no panacea to the social ills of Black Americans. Black children still attend inadequate schools and even if they attempted to enter a former all white school, they could not do so without facing white boycott and extremism. Blacks still cannot live in an all white neighborhood without encountering white extremism and exodus. This is best exemplified by the growing "whiteness" of the suburbs and the expanding "blackness" of the inner cities (Taub 1965). Moreover, the majority of
Black Americans is still to be found in marginal jobs that have a short life expectancy (Clark 1965; Blauner 1972).

The benefits of integration cannot be denied. Many Black Americans are now appearing in places where, heretofore, they have been excluded. However, the Black middle class has accrued more from integration than their lower class counterpart. In this vein, Meier (1970) has asserted that the Black masses, for whom integration was not a priority, have not yet tasted the first fruits of integration.

With the implementation of integration, the established Civil Rights movements were thrown into chaos. This chaotic condition can be partially attributed to the absence of alternative goals and objectives to further articulate the interest of Black Americans. Kilson (1972:102) contends that the absence of succeeding goals have made the movements sterile to the growing frustration of the Black masses who were susceptible to political radicalization. The failure of the established Civil Rights leadership to radicalize the Black masses can also be attributed partially to the financial dependence of Black leaders on white liberals. This, then, mitigated the forceful articulation of matters that appeared to be of a radical orientation. These events had resulting consequences: (1) the emergence of a political vacuum and (2) the creation of a new style of leadership called black nationalism (Kilson 1972:103).
This leadership was different from the established Civil Rights movements. For one thing, it was less dependent upon white allies for support and so could take an independent stand on issues directly affecting the Black community. The new leadership has been called the "new abolitionist" (Zinn 1964), for, like the old abolitionist, they seek to emancipate the Black man from white control. Occupationally and educationally, most of these men have played hustling roles within the ghetto such as pimp, narcotic pusher, small holdup men, and so forth. These hustling roles lent the leaders of these militant groups a special legitimacy, for some segments of the Black masses regarded them as culture heroes (Malcolm X 1966; Liebow 1967).

Socially and educationally, the majority of the new leaders are largely from lower class, working class and lower middle class backgrounds and are the first in their families ever to attend colleges (Kilson 1972:103). This gives them an added dimension for being able to skillfully articulate the yearning of the Black masses.

The rise of militant leaders represents a major change in the political relations of Black and white America. There is for the first time an ascendency of lower class criteria in the legitimatization of Black leadership. It means that the established leadership among Blacks can claim legitimacy only
to the degree that it comes to terms with new lower class black forces which now have an independent form and structure within the politics of the Negro subsystem and thus also the political relation of Black and white (Kilson 1972:105).

One set of leadership functions within the Nation of Islam, colloquially called the Black Muslims, which on the basis of apocalyptic doctrines sees the dethronement of the white men and the ultimate ascendancy of Black over white. Most important of these leaders within the Nation of Islam was Malcolm X who is sometimes referred to as Malik El-Shabazz. Blake (1969:667) states that:

Malik El-Shabazz gave new emphasis to the possibility of reform in America, an idea which was not contained in the view of either Marcus Garvey or Elijah Muhammed. In his "The Ballot or the Bullet" speech, he expressed the view that it was possible to produce a bloodless revolution in this country. His views were close to those of earlier nationalist who saw the development of the inner strengths of the Black community as a first step in attacking racial barriers.

Further Blake (1969:667) asserts:

Another key contribution was El-Shabazz's ability to appeal to both intellectuals and the masses and bring them together. El-Shabazz was widely read, and a brilliant and articulate spokesman. His knowledge and logic impressed Black intellectuals deeply. He was also an ex-convict and a man of the streets. Consequently, those who were most deprived could identify as strongly with him as could the intellectual. His dual appeal to intellectuals and the masses, along with his emphasis on racial solidarity, helped to bring those two
elements of the Black community into greater harmony.

Eldridge Cleaver (1968: 59) also depicts Malcolm X's appeal to Black Americans. Cleaver points out that:

It was not the Black Muslim movement itself that was irresistibly appealing to the true believers. It was the awakening into self-consciousness of twenty million Negroes which was so compelling. Malcolm X articulated their aspiration better than any man of our time. When he spoke under the banner of Elijah Muhammed, he was irresistible. If he had become a Quaker.....and if he had continued to give voice to the mute ambitions in the Black man's soul, his message would still have been triumphant: but what was great was not Malcolm X but the truth he uttered.

In his eulogy for Malcolm X, Ossie Davis (1965:7) acclaims Malcolm to be the greatest prince to come out of Ethiopia since Africa has stretched forth her hand.

Another set of leaders function as a part of the Civil Rights movement but has a more secular political orientation. These leaders appeared against the background of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a newly formed organization during the 1960's. Initially these leaders appeared in the South and functioned through secular channels within the Civil Rights movements. Exemplification of these new leaders are found in the persons of Stokley Carmichael, James Foreman and H. Rap Brown, all from working class and lower middle class backgrounds and the first in their families to attend college (Kilson 1972).
During the years 1964-66 (Kilson 1972), SNCC made efforts to expand its activities outside the arena of the urban South into the urban North. Subsequently, it began to differentiate itself from the older more established forms of "Negro" leadership forging a new ideology that was predicated on the doctrine of "Black Power", a militant and more political form of black nationalism. Outside the South, Blacks had experienced enough economic change in the 1950's to have acquired a sharpened sense of relative deprivation between them and whites thus, calling for them to articulate their grievances and to have them recognized. The demise of SNCC resulted from the revitalization and manifestation of black nationalism. Meier (1970) writes that:

...One nationalistic manifestation was the call for black leadership within the Civil Rights movement based upon the belief that Negroes could through their own power, bring about drastic changes in American society.

Consequently, with the demise of the SNCC, the banner of "Black Power" and black nationalism was passed on to other groups, mostly locally based. Representatives of the localized groups reflect a new style and form of leadership. Appearing after SNCC's demise and the decline of the pro-integration Civil Rights movement, there consequently emerged a general surge of community organizations--of spirit--of self help and racial solidarity, of uniting ghetto residents for concerted action.
Better known among these organizations was The Black Panthers founded in Oakland, California in 1966 and the Republic of New Africa (RNA) founded in the following year.

Exemplification of the Black Panthers leadership is found in the persons of Bobby Seale and Huey Newton. Their organizations are far more extreme and dramatic than their predecessors. Moreover, their Marxist orientation advocates forms of territorial separation (Meier 1970:3-26). Like most revolutionaries, the leaders of the Black Panthers did not come from the bottom of the economic ladder. Huey Newton could have escaped from the ghetto, if he had wanted. He attended an excellent integrated Berkeley High School and eventually spent a year in law school (Stern 1970:237). Furthermore, Newton attended the same college as Seale, Merritt College, a small, dilapidated two-year institution on the fringes of the Oakland ghettos (Stern 1970:237).

By any yardstick the Panther Organization is not yet very important or effective. Its political influence in the Black community remains marginal. The Panther voice is seen as a discordant one, full of the rhetoric of revolutionary violence, and seemingly out of place in affluent America where social change is usually thought to be derived through political legislation or by the process of gradualism. A revolutionary rhetoric is the new leadership style that has emerged
and represents a contrast between the Panthers and the traditional Civil Rights movements. In view of this, let us look at their ideologies.

Their position of independence allows them to forge an ideology that is threatening to the white position of dominance, as well as the glorification of the debased identity of Black Americans. It is no wonder, then, that the black nationalist movements have chosen "Black Power" as the ideology to articulate the needs and aspirations of Black Americans. Sumner (1906:13) called this point of view "ethnocentrism". In Sumner's view each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders. Accordingly, ethnocentrism leads people to exaggerate and intensify everything in their folkways which is peculiar and which differentiates them from others. On this basis, the black nationalist movements search for new values and norms that are a counter-contrast to Western values.

In this respect, black nationalism seeks to reorient Black Americans to values that are less oppressive. This new value orientation requires that they expunge from their thoughts the white psychological castration bestowed upon them by the dominant group (Ladner 1968:138). For it is when Blacks recognize why they are what they are that they can make an effort to change their existence. This concern was expressed by a group of Black women who ask whether the white oriented Black
magazine, *Ebony* was killing Black women? Evelyn Rodgers (1966:12-13) states that:

*Ebony* magazine stands today as a classical illustration of middle class negro /the small "n" is indicative of general scorn for the term as well as the behavior of the class of people being referred to/ attempts to assimilate themselves into the mainstream of white america /the small "a" is for symbolic de-emphasis/life. Under an article entitled, "Are Negro Girls Getting Prettier?" *Ebony* (February, 1966) cleverly selected and carefully screened a group of girls to represent what they claim is positive proof that "negro" girls are indeed getting prettier....The psychological effect on our people--that a publication as *Ebony*, with its skin bleaching cream and straight hair ads, is demoralizing and tends to reinforce the already evident inferiority and self-hatred complexes of the Black community. As a race we have been taught by whites that Black is ugly, for example to be "blacklisted", "blackmailed", or "blackballed" --everyday phrases--denotes exclusion or alienation. By the same token, the symbols used to extol the virtues of honesty, purity and truth are always white....The ideas, thoughtst, and deeds the oppressor wants us to see and react to are those ideas which strengthen, defend, or assert the goals of the established order. When a supposedly Black magazine comes forth with the same ideology as the oppressor, it indicates the extent to which the oppressor has used his symbols, through culture, to psychologically enslave Black people. It also indicates how successful the oppressor has been....Every race has its own standards of beauty. Every race maintains a loyalty to its cultural and historical roots.

Black nationalist refuses to look at themselves through the eyes of white America. There are Black Americans who do not want to fixate on the norm or whiteness. As a result, it
is not uncommon to find among the educated Black the use of lower class Black tendencies such as violence orientation, vulgar language and uncivil style (Kilson 1972:105). This idea of a Black identity was expressed by a young Black student. Warren (1965:173) asserts that:

The auditorium had been packed-mostly Negroes, but with a scattering of white people. A young girl with pale skin, dressed like any coed anywhere, in clothes for a public occasion, is on the rostrum. She is...speaking with a peculiar vibrance in a strange irregular rhythm, out of some inner excitement, some furious, taut elan, saying,..." and I tell you I have discovered a great truth. I have discovered a great joy. I have discovered that I am black. I am black! You out there--oh, yes, you may have black faces, but your hearts are white, your minds are white, you have been white-washed!"

Blacks are now witnessing what Erickson (1968:313) calls a totalistic rearrangement of images....an inner regrouping of imagery almost a negative conversion, by which erstwhile negative elements become totally dominant.

It is not unusual to find that Black people, particularly those in the larger urban ghettos, who previously refused to be identified with Africa, now are proudly proclaiming their blackness and developing an interest in African politics, art, poetry and literature. Among the younger Black people there is a certain reverence for the memory of such men as Lumumba, Nkrumah, Garvey, to name a few. These men are looked upon as culture heroes, idols and role models (Drake 1967:46). There is among Black
Americans a bit of Africa that has persisted through time (Kilson 1967:137). Black men and women heretofore dominated by the norm of whiteness presently are demonstrating vivid nationalist paraphenilia as Afro- hairstyle and dress and even ridding their medicine cabinet of bleaching cream and their vocabulary of such terms as "high yellow" and "good hair".

Nationalism is a form of culture renaissance (Blumer 1951:219), because it allows a subjugated group to recast its world and reevaluate what it has been made to feel inferior about. The culture which was abandoned, rejected and despised becomes one for passionate attachment (Fanon 1967:67; Blumer 1951:219). Hence, the passionate attachment for negridtude permits black nationalist's to reject integration and emphasized the tenets of self determination among Black Americans. Notwithstanding, the rejection of integration has been premised on the fact that past promises for true equality have not been fulfilled. Consequently, some black nationalist's have viewed integration as a white stratagem for further subjugating Blacks.

A survey of the literature indicates that there is some realism in the black nationalist's position on integration. For example, Gordon (1964) contends that structural integration is the rock on which the ship of Anglo-conformity foundered. In addition, Parsons (1967) suggests that:
differentiation in social structure is a fundamental process in American society, and that 'idealistic' postulation of complete color-blindness and integration is both historically and sociologically unrealistic and unnecessary....The healthiest line of development will be not only the preservation, but the actual building up, of the solidarity of the Negro community and the sense that being Negro has positive value....

It seems, then, that these assertions are in accord with the black nationalist's stance on integration.

Conversely, the black nationalist's stand on integration is not altogether one of separatism. Banton (1968) reports that most black nationalists have more interracial contact than non-nationalists. In addition, a congruence has been recognized between black nationalists and whites that are responsive to black nationalist ideologies. For example, one finds a coalition between black nationalists and whites of socialist orientations (Kilson 1972:112); in addition, one also finds more "Black Power" activism in formally all white institutions. What is concluded, then, is that ideological polarization does not altogether produce greater institutional polarization among Black and white Americans.

Let us summarize the more salient aspects of this chapter. All social movements operate within a set of constitutive ideas known as the movement's ideology. These ideas generally determine the objectives of the movement and the ways in which the
objectives are to be realized. In short, it is through the ideology that the general tenor of the movement is set forth.

Black nationalist movements' ideology focus on some basic contradictions in American life that affect Black Americans. These contradictions have been suggested to be the result of a disjunction between American ideals and practices.

The review of the literature on black nationalist movements suggests that initially these movements were loosely organized and that they were predicated on the desire to separate from America. Consequently, the movements advocated political separation rather than integration. The advocates of this point of view premised their ideology on the fact that Blacks would not receive justice in America. Consequently, the only alternative was for Blacks to emigrate to Africa. Although political nationalism persisted for a time, it did not stir the imagination of most Black Americans.

At the onset of emancipation, political nationalism waned. It was replaced by economic nationalism which to a large extent was advocated by Booker T. Washington, the alleged "spokesman" for the race. Concurrently, there appeared cultural nationalism which emphasized the idea that Black Americans are descendants of a proud and noble heritage and that they have made outstanding contributions to human progress.
During the close of World War I, the most virulent form of black nationalism ever to be advocated emerged. The chief proponent of this brand of nationalism was Marcus Garvey. He integrated the political, economic and cultural forms of nationalism into a matrix which Blake (1969:664) calls integral nationalism. This new brand of nationalism emphasized: political separation, economic independence and the glorification of negritude. Garvey's movement has been recognized as the greatest mass movement among Black Americans. Nevertheless, upon Garvey's imprisonment and subsequent deportation the movement was eclipsed and its membership was disoriented.

The ideas set forth by Marcus Garvey were incorporated into still another brand of black nationalism which added even broader dimensions to it—The Nation of Islam. The Nation of Islam emphasizes a form of religious nationalism whose doctrines are apocalyptic, in that, its ideology predicts the ascendancy of Blacks over whites and the ultimate destruction of the white race.

On the contemporary scene a more secular brand of black nationalism has emerged. The ideologies embraced in these movements reflect black nationalist orientations of the past. A purview of these ideologies indicate that they place emphasis on: (1) the slogan of "Black Power", (2) the glorification of
negritude, (3) Black self-determination and (4) autonomous control of the Black communities.

The ideologies of Black movements are instrumental behavior, since the main thrust is to effect social change in the social order. This idea of instrumental action is suggested by the fact that Black nationalist movements generally emerge during periods of deteriorating conditions as exemplified by the post emancipation period, post World Wars I and II and finally during the 1960's when the government retreated on Civil Rights (Geschwender 1968).

The literature also suggests that the majority of Black Americans prefer integration as opposed to separation (Udom 1962). Therefore, it would seem that separation is a minority viewpoint. The overriding question for this research, then, is to determine the extent to which there is mass commitment to black nationalism and negritude.
CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAME AND CAUSAL MODEL

The following paragraphs attempt to spell out the generally accepted sociological view of the American social structure and the place of a discriminated minority (Blacks) within it. The intention is to derive from the social structure variables which can be considered as catalysts that motivate Black Americans to accept or reject black nationalism and negritude.

Any analysis of a social structure implies a study of its divisions on the basis of race, religion, national origin, its social classes and the mechanisms that maintain its orderly functioning. Gordon (1964:30) defines the concept of social structure as:

A set of crystallized social relationships which its members have with each other which places them in groups....and which relates them to the major institutional activities of the society, such as economic and occupational life, religion, marriage and the family, education, government and recreation....

On the basis of these crystallized social relationships, Black Americans are a marginal group (Park 1950); a caste (Dollard 1957). These ideas have been suggested because the majority of Black Americans are restricted to a given sphere of activities which are explicitly seen in their occupational pursuits.

31
Clark (1965) and Blauner (1972) have indicated that most Blacks are restricted to menial jobs that offer little economic rewards. Furthermore, Anderson (1955), Siegel (1965:41-50) and Duncan (1969) report that Black Americans with comparable qualifications as white Americans do not receive the same economic rewards. On the other hand, Black parents appear to be much less capable than their white counterparts of passing on to their children any status advantages they may have obtained (Duncan 1972:55-56). It is plausible, then, to say that groups who receive the minimum economic rewards for their skill cannot enjoy life styles that are cherished by other groups.

Because Black Americans are restricted to a limited range of activities they do not share the same life chances as whites. Although the legal support of racial segregation is declining, it is still institutionalized to varying degrees in schools, churches and residential areas. Merton (1958:40) asserts that:

...It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common success-goals for the population at large while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population, that deviant behavior ensues on a large scale....
Thus, the formation of negativistic, non-utilitarian and fatalistic gangs among young Black Americans (Cohen 1955); and their participation in revolutionary movements have been suggested as typical responses to the denial of access to given cultural values.

While the social structure has made some concessions to Black Americans, disparities persist between Blacks and whites. The literature refers to these disparities as "relative deprivation." Some who have written on "relative deprivation" Sorokin (1924), Brinton (1938:53), Hoffer (1957:7), Davies (1967:19) and Geschwender (1968:87)—generally conclude that the failure to be equal with one's reference group results in frustrations. Perhaps, Sorokin best articulates these conclusions when he asserts that: as a group experiences an improvement in its condition of life, and simultaneously sees a second group experiencing a more rapid rate of improvement, it will become dissatisfied and rebel. Hence, one sees a linkage between relative deprivation and rising expectations.

Within this perspective, the Garvey movement of the 1920's, the emergence of the Nation of Islam and the contemporary black nationalist movements represent the inability of the social order to satisfy the demands for social mobility and higher standards of living for which Black Americans
realistically ask for more. In addition, the Civil Rights legislation, the war on poverty and other governmental actions have also precipitated rising levels of aspirations among Blacks. However, the failure of these measures to bring about significant improvement in the life style of many Blacks, especially the lower class, has resulted in both disillusionment and discontent. Thus, many attempt to find release mechanisms for their frustrations through affiliations with black nationalist's organizations and an identification with negritude.

However, the effect of relative deprivation should not be the same for all stratum of the Black community. Therefore, Black Americans must be conceptualized as a diverse group with respect to age-sex categories, social class membership, religious involvement and residential distribution patterns. Taking these diversities into consideration, it becomes apparent that a single ideology cannot appeal to nor solicit the support from all stratum on the status hierarchy of Black Americans.

Let us examine the social structure of American society in order to derive relevant variables which link Black Americans with black nationalism and negritude respectively.

It is generally known that universally, societies allocate social status on the basis of ascription or achievement. While American society favors the latter there is evidence
that its status allocation system has racial overtones owing to the categorical treatment of Black Americans. Hence, a category of individuals who share similar life styles and life chances constitute a social class (Weber 1946:180-195).

CLASS differences within the black ethnic minority should correlate with differences in their behavioral dispositions. Erbre (1964:198) suggests that class differences affect political attitudes and behavior; Hyman (1966:488) finds a dissimilar value system among social classes. Therefore, class differences within the Black community are assumed to be correlated with black nationalism and negritude respectively.

Lincoln (1962) finds that the Black middle class is ambivalent toward black nationalism. In addition, Lincoln reports that middle class Black Americans will coalesce with black nationalist organizations only for collective struggle against subordination. Albeit, they reject black identity and the quest for their cultural roots. The main appeal of all black nationalist movements, then, is to the Black lower class. Lincoln (1962:184-85) asserts that:

\[\text{Within the lower class}\ldots\text{The Negro's resentment is crystallized and open. He has long despained of the white man's justice and of the trustworthiness of the 'acceptable' Negro leaders who court the white man's favor. Moreover, he is already at the bottom of the ladder, so his economic and social position is not vulnerable.}\]
An indiscrete word, and admission of hostility or an identification with 'radical' or 'extremist' groups can cost him nothing. What has he to lose if the demagogues of black nationalism fan his resentment into hatred, openly expressed in defiance of all white men and their compliant Negro 'friends'? ...He is proud to rediscover himself as a Black man, linked to the great and venerable civilizations of the 'single black continent' of Africa....

These findings of Lincoln have been supported by Frazier (1939; 1958), Drake (1947) and Udom (1962).

American social structure accords differential treatment to the sexes. The Black female is not an exception to the norm. The perennial absence of a permanent male from the home gives her added responsibilities, which encompass the task of socializing children and acting as the principal role model.

Traditionally, the Black female has served as a sexual partner for white males (Epstein 1973). As a consequence, she has become a liaison between the Black and white communities. Thus, she not only internalizes the values of the white world but also transmits them to her female offsprings (Defleur 1972: 159-160).

Unlike the Black female, the Black male's perennial joblessness results in a loss of dignity, family responsibility—values that are highly treasured in American society (McCone 1965; Rainwater 1967: 160-199). Therefore, the inability
of some Black males to provide for their families according to cultural prescriptions should generate both insecurity and frustration on the part of the affected.

SEX differences, then, should be related to black nationalism and negritude. Males are more likely to be involved in the secular world and more likely to be exposed to values that reject the status quo than females (Marx 1964). Further, males are more likely to dislike control mechanisms and authority structures that place restrictions on their behavior than females (McKee 1969:338). Consequently, Black males should be the first to be alienated from the dominant culture and the first to become affiliated with black nationalist movements and overt expressions of negritude.

What Black Americans think and feel about the social order may also be a matter of age (Powdermaker 159:325). Powdermaker contends that age differentials influence the acceptance or rejection of the social order. In this view, older Black Americans are much more likely to express accommodative responses and are inclined to accept the white man's evaluation of their status. In addition, Powdermaker suggests that middle-aged Blacks are ambivalent toward the social order and have taken this position in order to avoid confrontations with whites. On the other hand, Powdermaker observes that younger Black Americans neither agree with the social order
nor act out accommodative behavior. This tendency for older persons to be more likely to accept their situation and for younger persons to oppose it is still found, although the whole curve has shifted to lower levels (Brunswick 1970:53-54; Marx 1967:185-86).

Hence, with respect to $\bar{\text{AGE}}$, it would seem that young Black Americans more readily embrace black nationalism and negritude than any other Black age groups. This contention finds support from Blauner (1972:150) who suggests that young Black Americans are at the forefront of the black cultural movements. Further support of this contention is found in McCone (1965) and Kerner (1968) when they assert that there is an overrepresentation of young Black Americans in most black nationalist's outbursts.

Where one lives either promotes or mitigates radical political activity. Traditionally, areas of low population density have tended to be both conservative and oriented toward the retention of traditional values. Thus, the converse seems to be true for high population density areas.

Black Americans have become highly urbanized and according to Tauber (1965) seventy three percent (73%) are urban dwellers. The major part of these urbanites may be found in occupations where the risk of unemployment is great (Clark 1965; Drake 1967). This risk persists because a majority of
urban Black Americans engage in marginal occupations. Consequently, their unemployment rates are staggeringly high and generate frustrations which must find some release.

It is, then, plausible to suggest that PLACE OF RESIDENCE is correlated with black nationalism and negritude. Most black nationalist's movements, as suggested by Record (1956), are endemic to urban areas and generally draw their support from the rank and file of recent unsophisticated rural migrants. Hence, urbanization should make it feasible for Blacks in similar life situations to find a likeminded audience that shares collectively their plight. Thus, cumulative frustrations should gravitate some Black Americans toward movements that emphasize black nationalism and negritude.

The migration of Black Americans to urban areas have had a marked effect upon their religious life. Traditionally, religion was used as a mechanism for the social control of Blacks. This trend was most evident during the era of slavery. Dollard (1957:248) reports that religion among the slaves was concocted in order to divert the slave's interest from the mundane world. This notion is in accord with Mays' (1938) statement that Black Americans ideas of God have kept them submissive, humble and obedient. Conversely, religion has been a mechanism through which radical protest activities have been motivated. Simpson and Yinger (1972:519) suggest that the "protest theme"
in religion is reflected in the lives of Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Fredrick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, John Brown and Martin Luther King, Jr. It seems, then, that the role of religion in protest activities is contradictive. However, since the submissive theme is more overwhelmingly cited in the literature, it is feasible to conclude that RELIGIOSITY stifles protest activities. Udom (1962) and Marx (1964) find that religion is negatively correlated with black nationalism and negritude.

The theoretical framework presented herein attempts to locate the place of Blacks in American society. The intention is to derive from the social structure relevant variables that are considered to be catalysts that motivate Black Americans to accept or reject black nationalism and negritude. These variables are: SEX, SOCIAL CLASS, PLACE OF RESIDENCE, AGE and RELIGIOSITY.

Let us now place these variables in a simple and plausible model so that hypotheses relating these variables to black nationalism and negritude can be posited and tested in subsequent chapters.

A Causal Model. The first step in the construction of a causal model is the logical ordering of the independent variables. This problem can be facilitated with longitudinal data or where a temporal sequence of the variables can be justified. Since there were no such data available for this study, it was
necessary to rely on plausible logical deduction for the temporal ordering of the variables.

A review of relevant literature (Powdermaker 1939; Frazier 1939, 1957, 1968; Johnson 1941; Drake 1946; Davies 1949; Alelerod 1956; Bell 1957; Lincoln 1961; Smith 1962; Udom 1962; Knupfer 1964; Turner 1964; Blauner 1972) finds the variables of SEX, SOCIAL CLASS, RESIDENCE, AGE, and RELIGIOSITY to be strongly correlated with BLACK NATIONALISM and NEGRITUDE. As a result of the problem of the study, [SEX], [SOCIAL CLASS], [RESIDENCE], [AGE] and [RELIGIOSITY] are treated as exogenous variables. On the other hand, [BLACK NATIONALISM] and [NEGRITUDE] are treated respectively as intervening and ultimate dependent variables.

Furthermore because of the priority of time and its institutional significance [SEX] is taken as an exogenous variable which has an asymmetrical causal effect on [BLACK NATIONALISM], which in turn affects [NEGRITUDE]. If the sexes are dichotomized in terms of male and female, then the causal influence of [SEX] on negritude should be greater for males in its direct and indirect effects.

In addition, an individual of a particular sex usually takes his place in life through the placement of his forebearers (Davis 1949). Since the literature indicates that there are differential behavioral correlates between social
classes, it was hypothesized that the causal effect of [SOCIAL CLASS] on [NEGRITUDE] should be greater through the effect of [BLACK NATIONALISM] and lesser in its direct effect on [NEGRITUDE].

Generally, social class members select the locality in which to live on the basis of occupational mobility aspirations and the ambitions one holds for his children. In addition, one's place of residence not only influences one's social participation but also one's social involvement. Consequently, the disillusionment that Blacks in high population density areas suffer, should lead them into membership affiliations with organizational movements that offer promise of hope for the future. Hence, it is posited that the causal effect of [RESIDENCE] on [NEGRITUDE] should be greater through the effect of [BLACK NATIONALISM]. In addition, there should be a lesser direct causal effect between [RESIDENCE] and [NEGRITUDE].

In addition, [AGE] follows [RESIDENCE] in temporal sequence. This is based on the fact that birth has residential location and age is recorded from the time of birth. In view of this, it is posited that the causal effect of [AGE] on [NEGRITUDE] should be greater via [BLACK NATIONALISM] and lesser in its direct causal effect on [NEGRITUDE].

[SEX], [SOCIAL CLASS], [RESIDENCE] and [AGE] are usually established before one is introduced to formal religion.
Consequently, \( \text{RELIGION} \) is taken to be the last in the causal sequence of the exogenous variables. Since the literature suggests that the role of the church stifles rather than promotes protest activities, it is, then, posited that the causal effect of \( \text{RELIGIOSITY} \) on \( \text{NEGRITUDE} \) should be greater via \( \text{BLACK NATIONALISM} \) and lesser in its direct effect on \( \text{NEGRITUDE} \).

The foregoing discussion can be partially summarized by a path diagram (see figure I below) relating the five exogenous variables to \( \text{BLACK NATIONALISM} \) and \( \text{NEGRITUDE} \).

![Figure I](image_url)

The variables are numbered as follows: \( X_1 \)-sex, \( X_2 \)-social class, \( X_3 \)-residence, \( X_4 \)-age, \( X_5 \)-religiosity, \( X_6 \)-black nationalism, \( X_7 \)-negritude.
In this figure, the curved lines represent the correlation among the exogenous variables in the model not hypothesized to be causally related. The direct straight lines represent the possible path from variable \( j \) to variable \( i \). The method of path coefficients is employed so that for each directed line there is a path coefficient \( P_{ij} \) measuring the effect of variable \( j \) on variable \( i \), independent of the effects of all other variables leading into variable \( i \).
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The discussion of the methodological procedures followed in this study is divided into five sections: The Interview Schedule, Operationalization of Concepts, Construction of Attitude Indices, The Sample and Sampling Procedure and the Statistical Analysis of the Data.

The Interview Schedule. As a part of the general study of black nationalism and its effect upon Black Americans' perception of negritude, personal interviews were conducted with one hundred and fifty (150) Black informants that represented a cross section (relative to age, sex and social class) of the Black community in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The interviews provided an understanding of how Black Americans themselves look at black nationalism and negritude and the factors they identified as being important. Items that recurred during these informal interviews were accepted as reliable, eliminating the need for pretesting of schedule items. On this basis, specific questions for the interview schedule utilized in the sample survey were formulated. The schedule consisted of fifty-three (53) items, sixteen (16) of which were related to negritude, twenty-four (24) to black nationalism and the remainder solicited background information on: sex, social class, residence, age and religion of each respondent.
Operationalization of Variables. The variables appearing in this study are operationalized as follows: The variable $X_1$ is self explanatory: male and female. The variable $X_2$ conceptually refers to those individuals who share similar life styles with respect to occupational and educational backgrounds in the social stratification hierarchy. However, it is perceived operationally in terms of education (see Drake 1947). The stimulus item to elicit this variable was as follows: How many grades have you completed in school? Responses to this item ranged from zero (0) to twenty-four (24). The variable $X_3$ was conceptually defined in terms of rural and urban. However, operationally, it was defined as the number of inhabitants in a given community. The stimulus item to ascertain this variable was as follows: In what city, town or other places have you spent the greater part of your life? The decennial census (1970) was used to find the actual population of those places designated. The variable $X_4$ is calculated from

\begin{footnote}
Drake indicates that the spread of occupations among Blacks is narrow and therefore becomes a faulty measurement for social classes among Blacks. Therefore, he points out that education is the best indicator to elicit class positions among Blacks.
\end{footnote}
the time of birth. However, within the scope of this study, operationally, it was defined as those individuals who range from twelve (12) years of age and above. The stimulus item to elicit this variable was stated as follows: How old were you on your last birthday? The variable RELIGIOSITY was defined as one's belief in God. Operationally, it was defined as the number of times one attended worship services within the last six (6) months. The stimulus item to elicit this response was as follows: how many times in the past six (6) months have you attended worship services: Responses to this item ranged from zero (0) to twenty-five (25). The variable of BLACK NATIONALISM conceptually is multi-dimensional. It refers to a patriotic devotion to the Black man's political, economic and social institutions. Operationally, it is a commitment to Black enterprises. The measurement of this variable and also that of NEGRITUDE are discussed under the subhead entitled indices. The variable NEGRITUDE conceptually was defined as an embodiment of thick lips, broad nostrils, dark skin and kinky hair. Operationally, it was defined as an accommodation to one's "blackness".

2The Kerner Report indicates that riot prone individuals were between fifteen (15) and thirty (30) years of age. Age twelve (12) appears to be a reasonable selection for the study.
Construction of Attitude Indices. To assess response sentiments toward \textbf{BLACK NATIONALISM} and \textbf{NEGRITUDE}, two measures of affect were developed based upon a wide range of attitudinal and behavioral questions.

Principal component factor analysis was performed on the variable sets for \textbf{BLACK NATIONALISM} and \textbf{NEGRITUDE} to ascertain the existence of unobserved or latent variables represented by the unrotated factor to form composite variables. Factor loadings that were greater than 0.40 were used to weigh the relative item importance within each scale.

In this study, index scores for each respondent were calculated by multiplying the response score--1, 2, 3, 4--by the factor loading weight of each variable in the index. The sum of these weights multiplied by data products for all the variables yielded an index score for each respondent.

The Sample. The sample for this study consisted of a stratified area sample drawn from twelve (12) residential areas in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Represented in the sample are three hundred and ninety-one (391) Black males and four hundred and nine (409) Black females ranging from twelve (12) to seventy-five (75) years of age and embracing all economic strata. The sample size of eight hundred (800) was decided upon the basis of Lazerwitz's (1968:285-6) formula. In addition, each stratum of the sample was determined by its proportionate representation.
in the Black community of Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The middle class comprised thirty percent (30%) of this sample. As Cothran (1964:139) estimated "not more than thirty percent (30%) of the Black population can be called middle class by any reasonable standards".

**Sampling Procedures.** Initially, the researcher along with knowledgeable Black informants delineated Black residential areas in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. A total of thirty-six (36) residential enclaves were identified, most of which could be conservatively classified as lower class areas. From these thirty-six (36) areas, twelve (12) were randomly selected for this study. Eight (8) represented small Black middle class areas and the remaining four (4) represented very large Black lower class areas.³

Trained Black interviewers were dispatched to the designated areas. They were instructed to proceed by selecting the first dwelling on the right side of the street, and thereafter every other two (2) dwellings on this side until the block was completed. This procedure was replicated on the other side of the street. Simultaneously, the interviewers randomly selected respondents, in dwellings, according to the specifications set-forth by Kish (1949:381-387). These specifications are: (1)

---

³ Eight (8) middle class areas were selected on the basis of their small size and also because they were few in number.
initially, the interviewer compiled a list of household members by age and sex; (2) interviewers assigned each respondent within each dwelling an interview number. First males were numbered in order of decreasing age followed by females in the same sequence; (3) finally, Kish's table of respondent's selection was utilized in order to ascertain the interviewee in a given household. The problem of call-backs and substitutes were few in number.

Statistical Analysis. Two statistical analysis techniques were employed in this study: factor and path analyses. Each technique was employed at different stages of the research in an attempt to determine the underlying factors which comprised a large number of interrelated items on the schedule. In factor analysis items that are highly intercorrelated with each other are considered as representing the same factor. Two variables included in this study, \( \sqrt{\text{BLACK NATIONALISM}} \) \( X_6 \) and \( \sqrt{\text{NEGRITUDE}} \) \( X_7 \) were factor analyzed. Their principal component factors were used as weights to construct factor indices for each respondent.

Path Analysis. Path Analysis attempts to determine the "efficiency" of a causal system of interrelated variables based on regression analysis. Turner (1959), Wright (1960), Duncan (1966), Blalock (1968) and Nygreen (1971) have concisely formulated the assumptions basic to this technique. These are indicated as follows:
1. Strong theoretical basis for positing variables prior to others;
2. interval scale measurement on all variables;
3. the effects between variables are linear and additive;
4. low multicollinearity assumption;
5. homoscedasticity assumption.

The calculated path coefficients measure "the fraction of the standard deviation of the endogenous variable for which the designated variable is directly responsible, in the sense of the fraction which would be found if this factor varies to the same extent as in the observed, while all other variables (including residual variables) are constant" (Land 1969:8-9; Wright 1934:162). The square of the path coefficients are standardized beta coefficients in a regression model.

It should also be noted that each dependent variable included in the multi-stage models is assumed to be explicitly and completely determined by variables in the hypothetical system. In addition, a residual term expressing the effects of measurement and random errors and also variables excluded from the system are taken to be uncorrelated with system variables (Featherman 1969:39). The path models, constructed in this study, are interpretational devices for causal analysis.

Wright (1960:444) indicates:
...Path analysis is an extension of the causal verbal interpretation of statistics, not of the statistics themselves. It is usually easy to give a plausible interpretation of any significant statistic taken by itself. The purpose of path analysis is to determine whether a proposed set of interpretations is consistent throughout.

Duncan (1966) also notes that:

The great merit of the path scheme, then, is that it makes the assumptions explicit and tends to force the discussion to be at least internally consistent, so that mutually incompatible assumptions are not introduced surreptitiously into different parts of an argument extended over scores of pages. With the causal scheme made explicit, moreover, it is in a form that enables criticism to be sharply focused and hence potentially relevant not only to the interpretation at hand but also, per chance, to the conduct of future inquiry.

Furthermore, path analysis permits one to note the implausibility of some theoretical arguments by revealing impossible or contradictory empirical effects. An example is when one finds negative empirical relationships when positive theoretical predictions are posited (Featherman, 1969:42).

The discussion in this chapter about the indicators, measures and index scores of the variables examined in the present investigation, completes the prefatory materials needed for the discussion of the results of the analysis of the data.

In the next chapter, the results of the analysis will be presented, according to the hypotheses formulated and operationalized in the preceding chapters.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

The preceding chapters set forth the framework for the presentation of the results of the present inquiry. In this chapter the specific findings obtained in the analysis will be discussed, coupled with their significant implications relevant to other research findings.

The presentation will flow sequentially from the following sub-heads: Calculated Factor Loadings for the two attitudinal variables, /BLACK NATIONALISM/ and /NEGRITUDE/, with their means and standard deviations; Zero-order Correlations between the seven (7) variables; and the Calculated Paths for Figure I, given in chapter III is presented along with specified hypotheses.

Factor Loadings. In order to arrive at an appropriate level of measurement for the application of path analysis, the items that constituted the attitudinal scales for black nationalism and negritude were subjected to an unrotated factor analysis (principal component). Items with low factor loadings were eliminated and the remaining items again were subjected to an unrotated factor analysis. This procedure was repeated until every item composing an index had a factor loading of 0.40000 or greater. This value is arbitrarily chosen, however,
it has been utilized by other researchers as an appropriate critical value in determining whether or not to include a given item in an index (Rummel 1967).

The items that are included in the index for black nationalism and negritude respectively are shown in Tables 1 and 2 with their factor loadings, means and standard deviations. The index on black nationalism and negritude had a possible range of 12.9381 to 38.7674 and 1.09321 to 5.47667 respectively. Each respondent's index score that was derived from these two variables were placed in regression and correlation models in order to further facilitate the inquiry.
TABLE 1

FACTOR LOADINGS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATION OF BLACK NATIONALISM ITEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>FACTOR LOADING</th>
<th>MEAN</th>
<th>STANDARD DEVIATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I believe that if both Democratic and Republican parties fail to improve the conditions of Blacks, Blacks should form their own political party regardless how distant the road to political power may be.</td>
<td>0.52976</td>
<td>2.83000</td>
<td>0.92448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that even if Black schools are inferior, Black schools should not be closed and Black kids should not be bussed to white schools.</td>
<td>0.47064</td>
<td>2.74875</td>
<td>1.02686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that violent actions are the only way Blacks can bring about change in America.</td>
<td>0.45426</td>
<td>2.03125</td>
<td>0.87535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that because Blacks don't get justice in America, a separate society should be established by Blacks.</td>
<td>0.65441</td>
<td>2.31750</td>
<td>0.94356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe that Black children should study an African language in the same way as English, French and Spanish are taught.</td>
<td>0.49001</td>
<td>3.17000</td>
<td>0.88294</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Integration always results in the closing of Black schools and the firing of Black teachers.

Integration always results in Black children being called "nigger" by their white neighbors.

Blacks can't trust white people and therefore integration will not solve the race problem.

Integration is a tricky device white people use to divide and conquer Black people.

Integration will bring on more mixed marriages, mixed couples and mixed children and it is bad for the Black race.

Most Black people working with whites don't get promoted because of their race.

Most Black people do not get good paying jobs because of their race.

An unqualified white person usually gets a job before a qualified Black.

Black people don't get jobs or promotions because white people don't want to see Black people advance quickly.
When Black people speak up for increase in pay or for promotion they are fired or layed off.

If Black people vote for Republican and Democratic parties, we still get nowhere.

Black people can bring change much faster, if they organize their own political party.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>FACTOR LOADING</th>
<th>MEAN</th>
<th>STANDARD DEVIATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At times I think that my Blackness is no good at all.</td>
<td>0.54326</td>
<td>1.82125</td>
<td>0.38338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that my Blackness has a number of good qualities.</td>
<td>-0.57414</td>
<td>1.03250</td>
<td>0.17743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think my Blackness has not given me much to be proud of.</td>
<td>0.52246</td>
<td>1.87375</td>
<td>0.33234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wish I could change my Blackness.</td>
<td>0.69190</td>
<td>1.94500</td>
<td>0.22812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All in all, because white people look down on Blackness I am inclined to feel that having a Black skin means failure in America.</td>
<td>0.52847</td>
<td>1.83875</td>
<td>0.36799</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I am proud that I am Black.  

Life is so difficult for Black people, that if I should die and come back again, I would rather come back in any other color except Black.

On many occasions when Blacks behave disrespectful toward white people, I sometimes hate to be Black.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zero-order Correlation. The second level of analysis is referred to as the zero-order correlations as shown in Tables 3, 4 and 5, employed to determine the strength of association between each variable for the total sample and controlled by sex.</td>
<td>-0.56889</td>
<td>1.04000</td>
<td>0.19608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.69931</td>
<td>1.86500</td>
<td>0.34194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.52429</td>
<td>1.81125</td>
<td>0.39155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 3

ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SEVEN VARIABLES
FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>$X_1$</th>
<th>$X_2$</th>
<th>$X_3$</th>
<th>$X_4$</th>
<th>$X_5$</th>
<th>$X_6$</th>
<th>$X_7$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$X_1$ (sex)</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_2$ (social class)</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_3$ (residence)</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_4$ (age)</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_5$ (religiosity)</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_6$ (black nationalism)</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_7$ (negritude)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the general model shown in Table 3, religiosity is more strongly associated with black nationalism ($r=-.21$) followed by age ($r=-.15$) and social class ($r=-.10$). Sex and residence have relatively weak association with black nationalism, their values being ($r=.04$) and ($r=-.06$). In addition, social class and age are more strongly associated with negritude than any other variable, their values being ($r=.15$) and ($r=.14$) respectively.
TABLE 4
ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION BETWEEN SIX VARIABLES FOR THE MALE SAMPLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>X2</th>
<th>X3</th>
<th>X4</th>
<th>X5</th>
<th>X6</th>
<th>X7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X2 (social class)</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X3 (residence)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X4 (age)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X5 (religiosity)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X6 (black nationalism)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X7 (negritude)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Black males represented in Table 4, religiosity is negatively associated with black nationalism having a value of \( r = -.29 \), followed by age \( r = -.19 \). The other variables in the data set have a relatively weak association with black nationalism. In addition, the variables most strongly associated with negritude, age \( r = -.26 \) and religiosity \( r = -.12 \) are negatively associated, followed by social class \( r = .15 \). Place of residence and black nationalism have relatively weak association with negritude, \( r = .07 \) and \( r = .06 \) respectively.
TABLE 5
ZERÖ-ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SIX VARIABLES
FOR THE FEMALE SAMPLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>$X_2$</th>
<th>$X_3$</th>
<th>$X_4$</th>
<th>$X_5$</th>
<th>$X_6$</th>
<th>$X_7$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$X_2$ (social class)</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_3$ (residence)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_4$ (age)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_5$ (religiosity)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_6$ (black nationalism)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_7$ (negritude)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Black females, shown in Table 5, the variables most strongly associated with black nationalism are social class ($r=-.14$), age ($r=-.12$), religiosity ($r=-.11$) and residence ($r=-.08$). In addition, social class is moderately associated with negritude having a value ($r=.16$). The other variables in the data set have relatively weak association with negritude. Their values are residence ($r=-.03$), age ($r=.004$), religiosity ($r=.02$) and black nationalism ($r=-.05$).

The impact of these associations can be made more forcibly by inspection of the path diagrams presented in Figures 2, 3, and 4 (Pages 68 through 70) and the data shown in Tables 6 through 14.
Path Analysis. As aforementioned, path analysis attempts to determine the efficiency of a causal system of interrelated variables based on regression. The calculated path coefficients measure the fraction of the standard deviation of the endogenous variable for which the designated variable is directly responsible. The purpose of path analysis in this inquiry is to determine whether the hypotheses are consistent with the calculated betas. Therefore, this section concerns itself with testing of the proposed hypotheses and the comparison of two basic models.

The beta coefficients and the coefficients of determination ($R^2$) for all possible causal paths for the total sample are presented in Tables 6, 9 and 12. A diagram representing the causal ordering of the variables with calculated beta is presented in Figure 2 for illustrative purposes. And also Tables 7, 8, 10, 11, 13 and 14 represent the calculated paths for the male and female models. Calculated betas for the male and female models are presented in Figures 3 and 4 respectively.
### TABLE 6
**STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Religiosity</th>
<th>Coefficient of Determination (R²)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Nationalism</td>
<td>X6</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.11*</td>
<td>-.19*</td>
<td>6.81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negritude</td>
<td>X7</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.16*</td>
<td>-.02*</td>
<td>-.15*</td>
<td>.01*</td>
<td>4.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Denotes coefficients at least twice their standard error. This will not be repeated for subsequent tables.

### TABLE 7
**STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION FOR MALE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Religiosity</th>
<th>Black Nationalism</th>
<th>Coefficient of Determination R²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Nationalism</td>
<td>X6</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.26</td>
<td>10.36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negritude</td>
<td>X7</td>
<td>.17*</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.04*</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 8
STANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION FOR FEMALE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Social Class $X_2$</th>
<th>Residence $X_3$</th>
<th>Age $X_4$</th>
<th>Religiosity $X_5$</th>
<th>Black Nationalism $X_6$</th>
<th>Coefficient of Determination $R^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Nationalism</td>
<td>$X_6$</td>
<td>-.14*</td>
<td>-.15*</td>
<td>-.09*</td>
<td>-.11*</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negritude</td>
<td>$X_7$</td>
<td>.16*</td>
<td>-.04*</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.03*</td>
<td>-.02*</td>
<td>2.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 9
DECOMPOSITION OF STANDARDIZED EFFECTS ON NEGRITUDE FOR TOTAL SAMPLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Source $X_1$</th>
<th>Social Class $X_2$</th>
<th>Residence $X_3$</th>
<th>Age $X_4$</th>
<th>Religiosity $X_5$</th>
<th>Black Nationalism $X_6$</th>
<th>Total Effect</th>
<th>Direct Effect</th>
<th>Indirect Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negritude Total</td>
<td>$X_7$</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negritude Total</td>
<td>$X_7$</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.003</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negritude Total</td>
<td>$X_7$</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 10

**DECOMPOSITION OF STANDARDIZED EFFECTS ON NEGRITUDE FOR MALES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Social Class (X_2)</th>
<th>Residence (X_3)</th>
<th>Age (X_4)</th>
<th>Religiosity (X_5)</th>
<th>Black Nationalism (X_6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negritude (X_7)</td>
<td>Total Effect</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.26</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct Effect</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indirect Effect</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>.05</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 11

**DECOMPOSITION OF STANDARDIZED EFFECTS ON NEGRITUDE FOR FEMALES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Social Class (X_2)</th>
<th>Residence (X_3)</th>
<th>Age (X_4)</th>
<th>Religiosity (X_5)</th>
<th>Black Nationalism (X_6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negritude (X_7)</td>
<td>Total Effect</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.016</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.05</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct Effect</td>
<td>.16*</td>
<td>-.04*</td>
<td>-.01*</td>
<td>-.03*</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indirect Effect</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.006</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.03</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE 12
DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF 5 VARIABLES, ON NEGRITUDE VIA BLACK NATIONALISM ($X_6$)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Direct Effects</th>
<th>One Way Indirect Effects Via Black Nationalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$X_1$ (sex)</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_2$ (social class)</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_3$ (residence)</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_4$ (age)</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_5$ (religiosity)</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
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</table>

## TABLE 13
DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF 4 VARIABLES, ON NEGRITUDE VIA BLACK NATIONALISM ($X_6$), FOR THE MALE SAMPLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Direct Effects</th>
<th>One Way Indirect Effects Via Black Nationalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$X_2$ (social class)</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_3$ (residence)</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.0004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_4$ (age)</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>-.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X_5$ (religiosity)</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Variables</td>
<td>Direct Effects</td>
<td>One Way Indirect Effects Via Black Nationalism (X6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( X_2 ) (social class)</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( X_3 ) (residence)</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( X_4 ) (age)</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( X_5 ) (religiosity)</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variables are numbered as follows: \( X_1 \)- sex, \( X_2 \)- social class, \( X_3 \)- residence, \( X_4 \)- age, \( X_5 \)- religiosity, \( X_6 \)- black nationalism and \( X_7 \)- negritude.
Figure 3
Standardized Regression Coefficients
for Male Sample

The variables are numbered as follows: $X_2$ - social class, $X_3$ - residence, $X_4$ - age, $X_5$ - religiosity, $X_6$ - black nationalism and $X_7$ - negritude.
The variables are numbered as follows: \( X_2 \)- social class, \( X_3 \)- residence, \( X_4 \)- age, \( X_5 \)- religiosity, \( X_6 \)- black nationalism and \( X_7 \)- negritude.
The results of path analysis will be discussed separately for each independent variable. For all path diagrams in this chapter, it should be noted that the double-headed arrows, indicate a non-causal relationship between the five (5) exogenous variables in the model: sex, social class, residence, age, and religiosity. The value entered next to the curved arrows represents the zero-order correlation between the exogenous variables. The straight lines represent the one way direct causal effect of one variable on the other and the value entered next to these arrows are the actual path coefficients, or standardized partial regression coefficients. The square of the path coefficient is the amount of variance the independent variable accounts for in the dependent variable. The path coefficients entered next to the residual terms indicate the proportion of the standard deviation that is produced by unmeasured variables not included in the model (Land 1969:12). The square of the residual path coefficient is thus the proportion of the variance in the endogenous variable accounted for by factors outside the model.

Preliminary to the evaluation of the models for sex and the evaluation of the hypotheses, it is necessary to make the following statements: (1) if two paths are equal or nearly equal in size as in the case of the direct effect of social class on negritude as shown by Tables 7 and 8, it is assumed that the process is essentially the same; (2) with regards to
the evaluation of models all effects will be retained whether or not they are significant, since the basis of retention of a path is based upon an arbitrary criterion. It should be noted also that no technique has been established concerning what criterion should be employed for evaluating the significance of path coefficient (Land 1969). Finally (j), although we have hypothesized results in terms of direct and indirect causal effects our interpretation will be centered on the total indirect effects as it indicates not only the mechanism through which the differentials in negritude came about but the total indirect effect gives an indication of the interrelatedness of the effects of the exogenous variables in a path model (Land 1969:17). Let us look at how some specific variables affect negritude.

**Sex.** In order to determine more precisely the effect of sex on black nationalism and negritude, separate models were developed for both male and female. Figures 3 and 4 give the symbolic values for each path and Tables 7 and 8 give the estimated path coefficients for male and female respectively. Going through Tables 7 and 8 it was found that the patterns of differences in black nationalism equations were somewhat mixed for male and female. In general, social class, residence and age play a somewhat more important role for female than for male. However, religiosity plays a greater role for
male than for female. Although none of these differences are especially large, it seems likely that these could be a reflection of the differences in socialization between Black male and Black female. Whereas males are generally thought to be aggressive, females are thought to adhere to a different code of conduct. In this frame Epstein (1973:917) states:

> Historically, black women have had more access to white society than black men and have had opportunities to learn the 'ropes' of the white world. Because they were desired as house servants, nurse-maids, and sexual partners, black women often became intimates of whites, learning their values and habits.

Epstein's conception may be an over-exaggeration for the contemporary scene. However, it is consistent with the proposition set forth by Homans, that the more frequently individuals interact with one another the more they become similar. The analogy is that, as the Black female internalizes values of the white world, they serve to mitigate her against black nationalism.

Examining the negritude equations for male and female, the direct causal effect of all variables on negritude, with the exception of age, were found to be about the same. However, some of the patterns especially for female are reversed. It seems likely that the reversal of the female paths may be taken as a reflection of an inner disquiet that the Black female suffers with respect to having extreme negroid features (Drake 1967:33). Hence, the inner disquiet has sensitized the Black
female to a reality that the possession of extreme negroid features make them less attractive or less desirable to eligible Black males. Edwards (1959:12-18) suggests this point of view in his comments on the Negro Professional Class. Edwards states that Negro men of substance usually select mates that closely approximate the Anglo-norm.

In comparing models the coefficient of determination is an efficient device (Carter 1972). It tells us the percentage of variance explained by the combined effect of all the independent variables. On this basis, it seems plausible that the larger coefficients of determination found in the male model on negritude and black nationalism suggest that it encompasses more aspects of the social system of Black Americans than the female model.

Furthermore, in order to gain a more thorough understanding of the differences in the effects of male and female towards negritude, it was necessary to examine the coefficients in Tables 10 and 11. In these Tables the decomposed total effects for each independent variable on negritude are given. These coefficients are shown in terms of direct and total indirect effects. In addition, Tables 13 and 14 show the one way indirect effects for each independent variable on negritude via black nationalism.

Beginning with social class, the total effect of social class on negritude is (B=.15) for male and (B=.16) for female.
In addition, the total indirect effect of social class on negritude is \( (B = -0.02) \) for male and \( (B = 0.00) \) for female. The one-way indirect effect is \( (B = -0.001) \) for male and \( (B = 0.003) \) for female.

The total effect of residence on negritude is \( (B = -0.07) \) for male and \( (B = -0.03) \) for female. However, the total indirect effect of residence on negritude is \( (B = -0.08) \) for male and \( (B = 0.01) \) for females. Via black nationalism the one-way indirect effect is \( (B = -0.0004) \) for male and \( (B = 0.002) \) for female. A pattern of greater influence in the male model is shown for the total effect and also the total indirect effects of age and religiosity on negritude.

For male the total effect of age on negritude is \( (B = -0.26) \) for male and \( (B = -0.02) \) for female. In addition, the total indirect effect of age on negritude is \( (B = 0.01) \) for male and \( (B = 0.006) \) for female. Via black nationalism the one-way indirect effect of age on negritude is \( (B = -0.002) \) for male and \( (B = 0.002) \) for female. The total effect and also the total indirect effect of religiosity on negritude are \( (B = -0.20; B = 0.16) \) for male and \( (B = 0.08; B = 0.05) \) for female. Via black nationalism the one-way indirect effect is \( (B = -0.003) \) for male and \( (B = 0.002) \) for female.

Further, the decomposed effects of black nationalism on negritude show the direct effect of this variable is \( (B = 0.01) \)
for male and \( B = -0.02 \) for female. In addition, the total effect of this variable on negritude is \( B = 0.06 \) for male and \( B = -0.05 \) for female. Of interest, the total indirect effect of black nationalism on negritude is \( B = 0.05 \) for male and \( B = -0.03 \) for female.

To put these findings into substantive conclusions, it seems that female are less apt to make a commitment to negritude through black nationalism. If we assume that the Black culture shares the general belief that women should be protected from unpleasantness, we should expect Black females to be less likely to risk challenging white restraints in behavior that are deemed to be radical. Inasmuch as the Black female shares in slogans and symbols that proclaim the beauty of being Black, nevertheless, when it comes to aesthetics, the Black woman places more value on the norm of whiteness than the norm of negritude. In this vein Drake (1967:33) writes:

> The ever present knowledge that one's negroid physiognomy is evaluated as ugly, lowers self-esteem and therefore weakens self confidence. The rise of African states has given a psychological lift to those American Blacks who still look more African than Metis, but extreme negroid physical traits are still the source of inner disquiet, especially for women.

Supportive evidence is gathered from this data and it seems to be consistent with the plethora of studies which have indicated vast behavioral differences between male and female
and Blacks are not an exception. Let us examine the effects of social class on negritude.

**Social Class.** Drake (1946), Frazier (1957, 1968), Lincoln (1961) and Udom (1962) have indicated a negative association between social class and black nationalism and also this variable is found to have a negative association with negritude. To the extent that these studies have indicated negative association between social class and black nationalism and of negritude, it was hypothesized that the causal effect of social class on negritude, should be greater in its indirect causal effect and lesser in its direct causal effect.

The data in Tables 6 and 9 show that the variable social class has a significant direct causal effect on both black nationalism and negritude. For black nationalism the direct causal effect is \((B=-.10)\) and for negritude the direct causal effect is \((B=.16)\). In addition, the total causal effect of social class on negritude as shown in Table 9 is \((B=.15)\) and the total indirect effect of social class on negritude is \((B=.01)\). The one-way indirect effect of class on negritude via black nationalism as indicated by Table 12 shows this value to be \((B=.003)\). These findings find support from Udom
(1962) and Baldwin (1963:61-65) who state that most Black Americans have seen black nationalism but few have listened to it, and that the integrationist stance has the greatest support among Black Americans.

With the hypothesis not supported, the implications are that Blacks are forging a new identity independently of black nationalism; however, the insignificant negative total indirect effect of social class on negritude has many interpretative possibilities. One plausible explanation is that more Blacks than ever before have now entered the middle class or now possess middle class values (Scammon and Wattenberg 1973:35-44). Studies of social mobility have repeatedly found that upward mobility generally results in political conservatism (Bendix 1959, 1970; Lipset 1960; Lopreato 1967). The explanation advanced for this finding is based upon the alleged tendency of the upward mobile to emulate their former social superiors.

Following Scammon and Wattenberg, with the majority of Blacks now in the middle class their behavior should parallel the dominant whites of the same stratum, even to the extent of becoming conservative in behavior. Consequently, the conservative disposition should mitigate the influence of black nationalism and negritude. Besides, the failure of the Black middle class to assume active leadership roles in the Black movements (Frazier 1957), may be one reason for the slight
commitment that the Black masses have given to black nationalism and negritude.

Generally, mass grievances are presented to the larger society by an articulate middle class. Hence, the limited participation of the Black middle class in mass movements, then, gives the impression that this stratum is not committed to the aspirations held by the Black masses. In short, the pivotal role played by the middle class stratum in mass movements is absent from black nationalists' movements. To this extent, then, the failure of the Black middle class to actively articulate mass grievances may partially account for the slight commitment that the Black masses have given to black nationalism and negritude. This point of view has been supported by Frazier (1957:291-301) who asserts that:

Although middle class Negroes have always taken a lead in the struggle for Negroes for equality in American life, they have always respected and supported the basic American values. The old middle class that drew upon the heritage of the Negroes who were free before the Civil War cherished many of the conservative values of the white southern aristocracy and sought to gain their ends through respectable means.

---

4The Black middle class role is pivotal to the Black community. Hence, their conspicuous absence from predominantly Black organizations and neighborhoods have generally lead to the organizational ineffectiveness and to the neighborhood deterioration. See E. Franklin Frazier's *Black Bourgeois*. New York: The Free Press. 1957. See also Donald R. Matthews and James Prothro "Social and Economic Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South*. *American Political Science Review*, 1963, p. 32.
When the urbanization of the Negro population stirred new currents of thought among Negroes, they shunned the communist and showed only contempt for the masses who followed Marcus Garvey....

So far, other studies have shown that as Blacks become a part of the middle class they become increasingly isolated from the masses and become more preoccupied with middle class life styles (Frazier 1957; Prothro 1966). Class consciousness has never been absent among Black Americans (Frazier 1929). Consequently, class consciousness takes precedence over racial consciousness and this factor seems to dull racial perception in toto.

A more forceful rapprochement for the low class commitment to black nationalism and negritude may be found in Moynihan's conception of Black Americans. Moynihan (1963) states:

"Blacks are not like other ethnic groups. They have no norms and values to guard and protect. They are completely American and nothing else".

This argument does not seem to be consistent with known facts. Many other Black people, particularly, Black West Indians, have developed a high degree of race consciousness to the extent of emancipating their nations from colonial rule. Consequently, the deprivation of the "African Past" is insufficient for explaining the slight commitment that most Black Americans have given to black nationalism and negritude.
Perhaps, a more fruitful explanation may be found in the structural constraints that are imposed on Black Americans. Let us examine the influence of place of residence.

Residence. The nature of the community in which Blacks live affects leadership style and both political organization affiliation and participation (Prothro 1966). Besides, most studies on black nationalism have indicated that it is endemic to urban areas (Record 1956). In view of this, it was hypothesized that the causal direct effect of residence on negritude should be greater in its indirect effect via black nationalism, and lesser in its causal direct effect. The data in Tables 9 and 12 show that the direct effect of residence on negritude is \( \beta = -0.02 \) and the total indirect effect is \( \beta = -0.03 \). The indirect effect via black nationalism is \( \beta = 0.002 \).

The data do not support the hypothesis. However, the negative total indirect effect was not anticipated. One plausible explanation lies, perhaps, in the nature of the social structure of the South. There is general agreement among social scientists that significant changes in race relations have occurred in the South. While no one is in dispute of the claim, there still remain residues of traditional racial prejudices. To this Heer (1959:592) found support for the hypothesis, that the larger the population of Blacks in the South the more intense the vague fear among whites of Black domination. In
addition, Key (1949), Blalock (1956:584-88) and Prothro (1966:115) have also found that the proportion of Blacks in the population in the South has always emerged as the primary explanatory variable for low politicization. While it may be argued that such criticism is not true for the contemporary South, we are reminded constantly by political scientist that political attitudes tend not to change much over time, as attitudes are constantly reinforced by peer group influences. Thus, one usually finds white prejudices and hostility toward Blacks emerge whenever white sense of security is threatened. This can best be exemplified by the murder of the two students at Southern University (November 16, 1972), the former Governor of Louisiana, McKeithen's Appeal (1971) for financial aid to combat integration of the public schools of Louisiana; the Mayor of Baton Rouge, Dumas (1968) providing the local police force with a mandate to shoot to kill and, finally, the maximum sentence meted out to the Black Muslims allegedly involved in the "North Boulevard Incident" (1972).

Given these concrete situations, the negative total indirect effect may be explained as the result of external constraint rather than to apathy or a lack of concern (Daniel 1969:277). The almost negligible pro-black nationalist sentiments on the part of Black Baton Rougeans should be construed within this light. Such negative association between residence
and politicization has been found by others, among whom are Fenton and Vines (1957) who explain their findings as follows:

Many urban Blacks are rootless and tend to feel little identification with his community or his fellow Blacks; his leadership works at cross purposes and is particular rather than general. In addition, local interest in politics tend to be more intense in Louisiana rural areas where the election of a Sheriff is an important event, than in urban areas.

Another possible interpretation for the negative association between residence and negritude lies in the aphorism that groups or individuals that are dependent upon others for survival cannot make an independent judgement. In Baton Rouge, many Blacks are completely dependent upon whites for their existence; therefore, this precludes their involvement in black nationalistic activities. On the other hand, the rural population is perceived to be freer from "the man" than its urban counterpart and hence their involvement in black nationalist activities is less prohibited. This ideology is reminiscent of the positive valuing of *gemeinschaft* and the devaluing of *gesellschaft*. This finding is consistent with the literature. Record (1956:314) finds that most members of the Garvey movement were from rural areas.

On the other hand, there are some evidences which point to political disinterestedness among urban Blacks. For example, Prestage (1969:545) from data of a secondary source, found
political disinterestedness rampant among Northern urban Blacks. Further, the late Martin Luther King, has often reprimanded urban Blacks for their political apathy. Hence, our findings are not contrary to the literature. Let us examine the effect of age on negritude.

**Age.** Marx (1967), Campbell (1968) and Kerner (1968) have found a negative association between age and the participants in black nationalist uprisings. Consequently, it was hypothesized that the indirect effect of age on negritude via black nationalism should be greater than the direct effect of age on negritude.

The data shown in Tables 9 and 12 indicate that the direct causal effect of age on negritude is \( B = -0.15 \) and the total indirect effect of age on negritude is \( B = -0.01 \). The value for the one-way indirect effect via black nationalism is \( B = 0.005 \) and the total effect is \( B = -0.16 \). The data do not support the hypothesis; however, it is consistent with other studies that have found a negative association between age and black nationalism.

The notion of generational effects helps to explain the negative beta value. To the extent that aging leads to political conservatism (Prothro 1966), the cumulative experiences of older Blacks have sensitized them to the resulting consequences which will occur, if they challenge the white power
structure. This experiential heritage provides the frame of reference through which older Black Americans acknowledge that suppliant behavior is a tactic well suited to any struggle where a people lack access to the major source of power, and to instruments for violent action. Let us examine the influence of religiosity.

Religiosity. Religion among Blacks has been found to be a hindrance rather than an inspiration toward protests or nationalistic activities (Rose 1960; Udom 1962; Marx 1964). To the extent that Black religiosity dulls perception toward protest, it was hypothesized that the indirect effect of religiosity on negritude should be greater via black nationalism and lesser in its direct causal effect on negritude. The data presented in Tables 9 and 12 show the direct causal effect to have a value of $B = -0.01$ and a total effect of $B = 0.04$. In addition, the total indirect effect has a value of $B = -0.03$ and a value of $B = 0.006$ for the one-way indirect effect via black nationalism.

Our data do not support the hypothesis; the negative total indirect effect confirms the finding that religion stifles political radicalization. One suggested interpretation is given by Zanden (1963). He asserts that:

Blacks have been socialized generally in a tradition calling for the suppression of hostility toward whites and also in a reli-

...
gious tradition stressing Christian love and tabooing hatred.

Owing to the fact that black nationalism has been generally ill-defined and vaguely conceptualized, many Black Americans have viewed it as an ideology venting hatred toward white Americans (Higginson 1971:215). In so far as most Blacks have generally taken Christianity quite literally, they tend to adhere to the biblical precept "love your enemies and do good unto those that persecute you". To this extent, then, religiosity make Blacks an unlikely candidate for black nationalistic politics. Finally, let us examine black nationalism.

Black nationalism. The study did not hypothesize a relationship between black nationalism and negritude; nevertheless, this did not preclude a relationship between the two. A number of studies have shown a positive relationship between black nationalism and black identity (Marx 1967; Caplan and Paige 1968:15-21; Caplan 1971:149). Taking these studies into consideration, an attempt was made to determine whether this relation was consistent with the data.

The data presented in Table 9 show that black nationalism has a direct causal effect of \( B = -0.03 \) on negritude and a total direct and indirect effect of \( B = 0.01 \) respectively. While the total direct and indirect causal effects are consistent with
the literature, the negative direct causal effect must be observed with caution. The implication is that as black nationalism increases there is less ritualistic expression of negritude. This interpretation is best exemplified by the Nation of Islam. Although its membership is fanatically devoted to the cause of black nationalism, they have simultaneously exhibited less negroid symbolism.

Since the hypotheses have been tested and the results interpreted, let us now view the extent to which the objectives of the study were realized. The dual objectives were: (1) to identify the relative importance of each variable paths toward negritude and, (2) to identify the social characteristics of Black Baton Rougians sampled who are committed to black nationalism and negritude.

In terms of the first objective, the study has shown that social class has the strongest direct effect on negritude with a variance of 2.56 percent. This is followed by age (2.25 percent), residence and sex respectively (.04 percent), religiosity (.01 percent) and black nationalism (.001 percent).

By contrast, via black nationalism, religiosity has the strongest indirect effect on negritude (.004 percent) followed by sex (.0001 percent). These variances are calculated from Table 12.

To reach the second objective of the study each independent variable was dichotomized and cross-classified separately
with black nationalism and negritude respectively. The results of these cross-classifications are presented in Tables 15 through 24, of Appendix B, which show in sequence the degree to which Black Baton Rougeans are committed to black nationalism and negritude.

An analysis of the cross-classified data suggests that:

(1) substantive differences do not exist between Black males and Black females in terms of their commitments toward black nationalism and negritude (Tables 15 and 16)\(^5\),(2) of those respondents identified as lower class, approximately 64 percent scored high on black nationalism while only 46 percent of those identified as middle class scored high on black nationalism (Table 17). Conversely, there are no substantive differences between the two groups' commitment toward negritude (Table 18); (3) whereas 59 percent of those from high population density areas scored high on black nationalism, only 55 percent of those from low population density areas fell within this category (Table 19). While there are no substantive differences in the commitment of these two groups toward black nationalism, significant differences are observed in their commitment toward negritude (Table 20); (4) sixty-five

\(^5\) The results of the cross-classified data are not in conflict with the results of path coefficients presented earlier. Any discrepancy found between the two analyses is a function of the analytical techniques utilized.
percent (65%) of those interviewed identify strongly with religiosity scored high on black nationalism, while only 53 percent of those low on religiosity fell within this category (Table 21). Conversely, 56 percent of those who were less oriented toward religiosity scored high on negritude, while only 50 percent of those that were strongly committed to religiosity fell within this category (Table 22); and finally, (5) sixty percent (60%) of those identified as young scored high on black nationalism, while only 48 percent of those identified as old fell within this category (Table 23). Furthermore, 20 percent of those identified as young scored high on negritude, while only 11 percent of those identified as old fell within this category (Table 24).

To put the results of these cross-classified data into substantive conclusions, it is plausible to say that, a profile of those Black Baton Rougeans who are committed to black nationalism would consist of Blacks who have membership in the lower class, range between 12 and 35 years of age and regularly attend religious services. It seems, then, that neither sex nor place of residence affects significantly the commitment of Black Baton Rougeans toward black nationalism. Conversely, Black Baton Rougeans committed to negritude are urbanites who seldomly attend religious services and range between 12 to 35 years of
age. Again, it seems, that, neither sex nor social class affect significantly the commitment of Black Baton Rougeans toward negritude.

In summary, the discussion in this chapter has focused on the outcome of the statistical analyses. The first section presented the factor loadings for black nationalism and negritude respectively, the intercorrelation matrix between the seven (7) variables included in the study, and standardized path regression coefficients between the independent variables and black nationalism and negritude.

The last section tested the hypothesized relationships. In addition, the total indirect effect was utilized in order to interpret these results. Finally, in an attempt to determine the degree to which Black Baton Rougeans were committed to black nationalism and negritude, each independent variable was dichotomized and cross-classified separately with black nationalism and negritude.

The results of these cross-classified data are partially consistent with other findings on the subject (Marx 1964). However, this study differs from others in that neither sex nor place of residence appreciatively affects Black Baton Rougeans' commitment to black nationalism. Furthermore, neither sex nor social class appreciatively affects Black Baton Rougeans' commitment toward negritude.
In the final and concluding chapter that follows, a more generalized discussion of these findings will be presented along with their relationship to the theoretical framework adopted for this inquiry, and the implications for further research.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The major purpose of this inquiry was to indicate the degree to which Black masses were committed to black nationalism and negritude. In addition, the inquiry had a dual objective: (1) to indicate the relative importance of each variable paths on negritude; and (2) to develop a typology of Black Baton Rougians who were committed to black nationalism and negritude respectively.

This final chapter will be concerned with a synthesis between the major findings and the conceptual framework, specifically with regard to the path model for the variables examined. Therefore, a summary of the procedures and the theoretical framework utilized will constitute the basis for both the discussion of the conclusions and their implications for further research.

Problem, Procedures, Theoretical Framework and Analysis. The majority of Black Americans have preferred integration as opposed to separation (Udom 1962). Beginning in the late 1960's, there was an acceleration of black nationalist's activities among some Blacks which, prior to this time, had remained latent. Concurrently, the upsurge of black nationalism during this period was paralleled with a positive re-evaluation of negritude.
Although the existence of black nationalism and negritude span an indeterminate period of time, to date, there remains a sparsity of empirical research devoted specifically to the relationship between these areas. Hence, the present inquiry was developed in an attempt to probe into the nature of the relationship between the two: black nationalism and negritude respectively.

A stratified random area sample consisting of three-hundred and ninety-one (391) Black males and four hundred and nine (409) Black females ranging from twelve (12) to seventy-five (75) years of age and embracing all economic strata of the Black community in Baton Rouge, Louisiana was selected for this inquiry.

The data were collected through interviews. The interview schedule consisted of a total of fifty-three (53) items, sixteen (16) of which were related to negritude, twenty-four (24) to black nationalism and the remainder solicited background information on: sex, social class, place of residence, age and religion for each respondent.

The operationalization and measurement of the seven (7) variables (sex, social class, place of residence, age, religiosity, black nationalism and negritude) was presented in Chapter IV. The independent variables were so presented that interval type data could be elicited. On the other hand, as the
Intervening and dependent variables were not considered to be interval type data, they were factor analyzed and the principal component factors derived represented weights for each respondent's factor index score.

Two analytical techniques were utilized at different stages of the research, factor and path analyses. Factor analysis provides a diagnostic tool for isolating related items. In this study, the technique was used to determine those items related to black nationalism and negritude. While path analysis, a type of regression technique, was utilized to test specific empirical hypotheses posited; it also provided an interpretational device for direct and indirect effects between the dependent and independent variables.

The underlying assumptions of the study were that: (1) discrimination denies Black Americans access to cultural goals which are legitimate for other Americans; (2) while the effect of discrimination is on the decline, the progress made by Black Americans is not yet comparable to that of their white counterpart. Hence, it is interesting to note, that, when a group is advancing and simultaneously sees another group making a more rapid rate of change they will become dissatisfied and rebel (Sorokin 1924).

Translating these assumptions into the black perspective, it is assumed that these conditions have consequences for the
commitment of Black Americans to black nationalism and negritude. Albeit, as Black Americans are a heterogenous group the effect of relative deprivation should be differentially felt in terms of sex, social class, place of residence, age and religiosity. These variables were translated into a visual heuristic model, which served as the contextual framework of the analysis of the data.

Before commenting on the objectives of the study, at this point, it is, perhaps, feasible to summarize the major findings and to indicate their implications. In addition, these comments will include a restatement of each hypothesis.

**HYPOTHESIS 1: THE CAUSAL EFFECT OF SEX ON NEGRITUDE SHOULD BE GREATER FOR MALES AND LESSER FOR FEMALES IN BOTH ITS DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS.** The data only partially supported this hypothesis. The data, then, seem to suggest that Black males and Black females undergo differential patterns of socialization in terms of their respective roles to white America.

Moreover, it has been suggested that Black females are accorded more favorable treatment from the white segment of American society than their male counterpart (Epstein 1973). Consequently, the favorable relationship that exists between whites and Black females seems to mitigate their commitment to black nationalism and negritude. Notwithstanding, the data are inconclusive and must be held tentatively, as there was no
substantive difference in the beta values nor in the coefficients of determination rendered for both Black males and Black females.

HYPOTHESIS 2: THE CAUSAL EFFECT OF SOCIAL CLASS ON NEGRITUDE SHOULD BE GREATER THROUGH ITS INDIRECT EFFECT VIA BLACK NATIONALISM AND LESSER THROUGH ITS DIRECT CAUSAL EFFECT ON NEGRITUDE. The data did not support the hypothesis. In light of this, the data seem to imply that some reticence exists on the part of the Black middle class to indulge in black nationalists' activities. Furthermore, the literature suggests that the Black middle class functions as intermediaries between the white oppressors and the oppressed Black masses. This makes the role of the Black middle class one of a precarious nature, since they must not only attempt to appease the Black masses but also their white benefactors. It is interesting to note, then, that the non-commitment of middle class Black Americans to black nationalism and negritude may not be one of apathy or indifference but rather one of functional anonymity.

HYPOTHESIS 3: THE CAUSAL EFFECT OF RESIDENCE ON NEGRITUDE SHOULD BE GREATER THROUGH ITS INDIRECT EFFECT VIA BLACK NATIONALISM AND LESSER IN ITS DIRECT EFFECT ON NEGRITUDE. Again, the data did not support the hypothesis. Hence, subsequent implications derived from this finding suggests that urban Blacks are more alienated from the white majority than their rural counterparts (Fenton and Vines 1957). Conversely, it
seems plausible that, rural Blacks have greater interdependent relationships with whites. Thus, the commitment of rural Black Americans to black nationalism and negritude has seldom been met with reprisals.

**Hypothesis 4: The Causal Effect of Age on Negritude Should be Greater Through Its Indirect Effect Via Black Nationalism and Lesser Through Its Direct Effect on Negritude.** Again, the data did not support the hypothesis. In this instance, failure to ascertain significant statistical support for the hypothesis posited seems to suggest the following implications: as Blacks grow increasingly older, there is a tendency to shift toward political conservatism (Prothro 1966). On the other hand, generally as one increases in age, it is likely that more material goods have been accumulated for which the individual becomes the "protector".

These conditions, then, insulate older Black Americans against committing themselves toward black nationalism and negritude. Conversely, it can be said that older Blacks are more knowledgeable about constraints levied by the social structure against political radicalization. Consequently, many older Blacks maintain a low profile in committing themselves to black nationalism and negritude.
HYPOTHESIS 5: THE CAUSAL EFFECT OF RELIGIOSITY ON NEGRITUDE SHOULD BE GREATER THROUGH THE INDIRECT EFFECT VIA BLACK NATIONALISM AND LESSER IN ITS DIRECT EFFECT ON NEGRITUDE. Again, the data do not support the hypothesis. The data imply that religiosity attenuates the commitment to black nationalism and negritude. This may be attributed to the fact that many Blacks have taken the teachings of the Bible quite literally, and as a result, they adhere to its precepts; for example, love your enemy and do good unto those that hate you. If religiosity stirs protest; it is a religion that is in tune with the social gospel movement, which recognizes that man's condition on earth is not inevitable but can be changed through the actions of men themselves.

Finally, an unanticipated finding was the negative relationship between black nationalism and negritude. This finding implies that as Black Americans become more nationalistic in their outlook there is less emphasis placed on the symbols of negritude. Table 25 (see Appendix B) points up the fact that individuals espousing negritude are not necessarily adherents of black nationalistic ideologies.

In general, the model used in this investigation was inadequate in explaining variances. The coefficients of multiple determination for the combined effect of all the independent variables on black nationalism and negritude respec-
tively are \((R^2 = 6.81)\) and \((R^2 = 4.96)\). The low \(R^2\)'s values seem to suggest that the model was not specified in sufficient detail.

The findings of this study will now be used in commenting on the original objectives which were: (1) to identify the relative importance of each variable paths toward negritude, (2) to identify the social characteristics of Black Baton Rougeans who are committed to black nationalism and negritude.

In terms of the first objective, the study has shown that social class has the strongest direct effect on negritude. This is followed by age, place of residence, sex, religiosity and black nationalism. Conversely, via black nationalism, religiosity has the strongest indirect effect on negritude followed by sex. From the variables analyzed, it can be concluded that social class has the strongest direct causal effect on negritude, while religiosity has the strongest indirect causal effect on negritude.

The analysis has shown that Black Baton Rougeans who are committed to black nationalism and negritude have the following profiles: generally those committed to black nationalism, have membership in the lower class, range between 12 and 35 years of age and regularly attend religious services. Conversely, those Black Baton Rougeans committed to negritude are urbanites and seldomly attend religious services. Similarly,
those espousing negritude also range between 12 and 35 years of age.

**Implications and Conclusions.** Certain implications emerge from the analysis. Generally these implications deal with the relationship between black nationalism and negritude as observed from the data; and limitations found in terms of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

The most significant finding of this inquiry was the negative direct effect found between black nationalism and negritude (Table 9). However, since the independent variables had a greater direct effect on negritude than black nationalism, we are led to the implication that black nationalism has not caught the imagination of most Black Baton Rougeans. Further, this is consistent with the findings of Lincoln (1961), Brink and Harris (1964), Prothro (1966: Chapter 12) and Marx (1967); who conclude that reports of a rising tide of black nationalism have been misleading.

The relative lack of support for black nationalism is exemplified by the minuscule number of Black Americans who have become active members of most black nationalists' movements. Udom (1962:84,349) in accounting for the lack of support for black nationalism, states that the appeal of black nationalism is very special, therefore, it is not actively
supported by the Black masses. In addition, while referring to the Black Muslims, Udom (1962) states that they form an insignificant minority and consist of an active membership of between five thousand (5,000) and fifteen thousand (15,000). If these findings are true, then, reports of burgeoning black nationalistic activities within the Black community are not supported by factual evidence.

Generally, it has been the tendency for both journalist and social scientist to translate every "ripple" and symbol of negritude into support for black nationalism. These misleading interpretations have tended to focus more on the activities of younger Blacks than any other group. Hence, these erroneous interpretations have led to the false assertion that younger Black Americans are more pro-nationalist than older Blacks.

A careful scrutiny of these false assertions have led Perkins and Higginson (1971: 197-198) to conclude that:

The newly discovered Black consciousness has no objective referent... Instead of examining social reality, it blindly latches on to symbols. Instead of critically assaulting social myths and seeking answers to vital political equations, it embarks upon the aesthetic politics of identity.

This assertion seems to encompass the notion that symbols of negritude are fashionable for peer group identification and rarely involve black nationalism. The data shown in Table 25 (see Appendix B) seem to bear this out, as it indicates
that an appreciation for negritude is independent of black nationalism. In short, a commitment to negritude does not involve a simultaneous commitment to black nationalism. 

While it may be adamantly argued that a positive re-evaluating of negritude comes through the influence of black nationalism, it should be emphasized that black nationalism among Black Americans in the past has not kindled a love for negritude but rather resulted in its deprecation. As Frazier (1968:262) asserts.

The Negro Renaissance of the twenties represented a reevaluation of the Negro's past and of the Negro himself by Negro intellectuals and artists. It failed because at that time the new Negro middle class which was growing in size and importance in the Negro Community rejected it....Instead of being interested in gaining a new conception of themselves, the new middle class was hoping to escape from themselves.

Most studies conducted on Black self image during periods of intense black nationalist activities have only to confirm its debasement (Clark 1940; Frazier 1940, 1957; Warner 1940; Johnson 1941; Drake 1947). Moreover, one cannot attribute the changing self image of some Black Americans to the Civil Rights Movements (Isaacs 1963).

So far the concern of Civil Rights movements has been to emphasize integration. Notwithstanding, this ideology negates any positive affirmation of Black identity. Writing in this light Killens (1966:33) points out perhaps a bit
Forcibly, that one cannot develop a positive self image by identifying with the oppressors. In addition, it is recalled that Killian and Grigg (1964) concluded that integration demands that the Negro foresew a identity as a Negro. From these suggestions, it is evident that insights relative to the transformation of black identity must be sought elsewhere.

From this perspective, it is our contention that the acceptance of negritude can possibly be viewed within the context of international relations of which the rise of African states becomes a central element. Isaacs (1963:101) asserts:

> The idea of negritude remain in obscurity while Africa remained submerged, and comes into view again now that Africa has emerged and reshaped itself into dozens of new states. This compels Negroes everywhere in the world to reexamine and redefine their relationship to the continent of their origin.

We note in Chapter II that a bit of Africa has persisted in Black Americans through time. Hence, we find that many Black Americans have and/are making ceremonial pilgrimages to Africa in search of their ancestral identity. Perhaps most notable of those who have made the entourage are: Malcolm X, Stokley Carmichael, Fannie Lou Hammer and Alex Haley. Moreover, one finds among some young Blacks and particularly those in university circles, a tendency for group discussion of African art, literature, religion and politics. In addition, we find
the mass media to be playing a prominent role in this African orientation. Nevertheless, while the African orientation is quite plausible, it must be emphasized that this orientation is manifested more or less independently of black nationalism.

The transformation of a negative identity of some Blacks independent of black nationalism conveys the impression that Blacks have critically examined the social order, and have found that white America will not sit idly by and see a threat or disdain for their values go unchallenged. Attestin to this fact is the decline of the Black Panther Party and "Black Power" activities whose leadership has been virtually liquidated by police action. However, the reemergence of a new Black Panther group that declares its intention to work within the system by election and community self-help is an eloquent reminder of the realistic possibilities in American society.

Conversely, the notion of Black control of economic, political and other institutions would have adverse effects, unless Blacks work within the system as construed by white Americans. Frazier (1957) refers to Black business as a myth, Black society as one without substance. Besides, it has been demonstrated that attempts to establish a Black autonomous community in America has been abortive. This is perhaps best exemplified in the failure of the all Negro community of Moaley,
Oklahoma, the non-crystallization of "Soul City" in North Carolina, and the defunct of most Black financial institutions prior to the turn of this century.

The perennial failures of Black institutions initiated for racial uplifting point to the futility of seeking instant salvation by tinkering with the symptoms of a system whose basic dynamics preclude the effectiveness of such tinkering.

Let us now turn to the implication drawn from the low amount of explained variance in black nationalism and negritude.

The independent variables employed in this study were thought to be relevant factors which affected Black Americans commitment to black nationalism and negritude. However, it was found that these variables accounted for only a minuscule amount of explained variancesin both black nationalism and negritude.

Since correlation magnitude is dependent on the range of variability in both the dependent and independent variables (Blalock 1960:29), the presence of low beta values are construed to be a function of homogeneity in each respondent's variable score.

In an attempt to account for low variability between black nationalism and negritude, several suggested interpretations rest largely on the notion that attitudes are affected
by situational factors (LaPierre 1934; Sherif 1956). Taking this factor into consideration, we believe that the presence of Black interviewers prompted respondents to give a biased opinion on black nationalism and negritude.

Implications for Further Research. This inquiry did not answer most of the questions relating black nationalism to negritude. In view of this, other areas may have to be examined in search of more adequate explanatory factors. To this extent, three areas for further research have been presented.

The first area for further research calls for the selection of a sample from diverse regional areas, for example, North and South. This seems to be of crucial importance in determining the relationship between black nationalism and negritude, since most of the literature treating this subject have indicated that black nationalism and negritude represent Northern urban problems. Most problems affecting Blacks could best be accounted for if one considers regional differences, age and sex differentials for which the causal model must reflect, that is, the entering of control variables.

This inquiry did not offer any control variables. The confining of our study to observable relationships in the male and female population were merely a procedure to make the investigation manageable and does not represent an acknow-
ledgement that this classification enjoys some type of special status as a control variable. Furthermore, since the present study has been carried out in a single urban area, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the findings are inconclusive and require further research, with controls considered.

The second area for further research calls for the elimination of paths considered to be insignificant. This procedure was not attempted in this inquiry partly because the inquiry was based on hypothesized relationships and partly because only a limited set of independent variables was considered.

To the extent that this procedure was not followed, future research in this area may have to consider a larger number of independent variables so that even though insignificant paths are deleted, enough will be retained in order to realize the research objectives.

The third area for further research calls for more linkage variables. Carter (1971:28-29) suggests the mediation of unmediated links in the causal model, with an eye for more detailed specification. This procedure, then, should bring the model into a closer fit with the phenomenon it was designed to describe (Carter 1971:29).
Furthermore, since the present model has not adequately explained much of the variation in black nationalism and negri-tude, an alternative model is presented for further research. This model includes exogenous variables such as: home ownership, social involvement, intellectual sophistication and vested interests. Interestingly, Marx (1967) has found these exogenous variables to be strongly associated with militancy. Further, Marx (1967:111) has suggested that militancy is both a dimension and a synonym for black nationalism. Therefore, it would be interesting to see the extent to which subsequent results are consistent with those of Marx.

Future research, then, calls for: (1) contriving appropriate data measurements, (2) a rationale for the causal ordering of the variables and finally, (3) an analysis of these variables within the framework of path regression.

Conclusions. The present inquiry has added to the growing body of research literature that has found an incongruence between social movements and mass commitment. Moreover, it supports studies that have indicated the absence of a broad base support for radical social movements in the United States, such as, Potter (1954:122) and Marx (1967:231), to name a few. Hence, the allegation that the erosion of Black American culture has thwarted the development of race consciousness (Frazier 1965:99) is not altogether consistent with facts.
Black Americans have reacted to black nationalism in the same fashion as other Americans to radical social movements. They have responded to black nationalism as Americans and not as a unique minority group within the framework of American society. According to Lipset (1963:64-86), this has been made possible by the emphasis most Americans have given to orderly change and the resiliency of the social structure to adapt to new challenges.

On the other hand, the assertion has been made that inhibitions toward radical politics, on the part of many Americans, may be attributed to the cultural norm of success through individual mobility and self development (Merton 1957:137; Lipset 1963:267-68). Marx (1967) suggests that these factors have thwarted the development of a broad sense of solidarity, social consciousness and commitment to a larger cause demanded by many social movements.

Finally, the allegation of a rising tide of black nationalism, in the contemporary black community, is a myth embodying rhetorics generated and supported by an elite group of self styled black nationalists' spokesmen. However, neither necessarily represents the desires and aspirations of the Black masses. Specifically, Matthew (1969:116) contends that the ordinary Black American is more willing to accept the delays, compromises and limited victories of democratic politics than
their leaders. Matthews' view is consistent with the growing body of literature which has indicated the risk in predicting the attitude of the masses based on the overt behavior of the elite (Stouffer 1955; Grupp 1966:236; Ziegler 1966; Key 1967: 510-11).

It is the contention of the present inquiry that the non-commitment of the Black masses to black nationalism will persist through time, as attitudes tend not to change much over time. Consequently, it is anticipated that black nationalism will remain alien to the majority of Black Americans.

In conclusion, most of the findings of this inquiry are inconclusive and must be held tentatively until further research is conducted in the area.
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Ladner, Joyce.

LaPiere, Richard.

Lenski, Gerhard.

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APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONNAIRE
A SURVEY ON BLACK ATTITUDES

Kindly respond to the following questions:

1. Male _____
2. Female ____
3. What is your age? ________________
4. How many grades have you completed in school? ________________
5. Where have you lived for the greater part of your life? __________

How do you feel about the following statements? Express your opinion by saying agree or disagree.

6. On the whole, I am much satisfied with my Black self. ___ Agree ___ Disagree
7. At times I think that my Blackness is no good at all. ___ Agree ___ Disagree
8. I feel that my Blackness has a number of good qualities. ___ Agree ___ Disagree
9. I think that my Blackness enables me to do things much better than most white people. ___ Agree ___ Disagree
10. I think my Blackness has not given me much to be proud of. ___ Agree ___ Disagree
11. Sometimes I certainly feel that Black people are more easily tricked or fooled by whites than any other groups. ___ Agree ___ Disagree
12. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on equal plane with white people. ___ Agree ___ Disagree
13. I wish I could change my Blackness. ___ Agree ___ Disagree
14. All in all, because white people look down on Blackness, I am inclined to feel that having a Black skin means failure in America.  

15. I am proud that I am Black.  

How do you feel about the following statements? Express your opinion by saying strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>16. I believe stores in a Negro neighborhood should be owned and run by Negroes.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. I believe that if both Democratic and Republicans parties fail to improve the conditions of Blacks, Blacks should form their own political party regardless how distant the road to political power may be.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. I believe that even if Black schools are inferior, Black schools should not be closed and Black kids should not be bussed to white schools.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. I believe that violent actions are the only way Blacks can bring about change in America.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. I believe that Blacks are so divided that racial unity will never be achieved.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. I believe that because Blacks don't get justice in America, Black people should build here in America, a separate society run by Black for the good of Black.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
22. Some people believe that Blackness is evil and that is why white people hate Blacks.  
   | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
   | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

23. I believe that if Black people want to keep a full stomach to survive they must learn the ways of white people.  
   | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
   | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

24. I believe that Black children should study an African language in the same way as English, French and Spanish are taught.  
   | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
   | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

25. I believe we cannot achieve our rights by fighting with whites because we are outnumbered.  
   | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
   | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

26. It is much better for Blacks to negotiate in a peaceful way for their demands than to fight violently for it.  
   | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
   | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

27. Violence must always be a last resort, when other avenues for redress have failed.  
   | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
   | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

28. Blacks need not fight for their rights, the courts will see that it is given to us.  
   | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
   | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

29. God is on our side and He will give us our rights, when he thinks we are ready.  
   | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
   | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

30. Some Black people believe that Blackness is ugly; that is why white people always win beauty contests when competing with Blacks.  
   | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
   | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
31. Integration always results in Black children being called Nigger by their white neighbors.

32. Integration always results in the closing of Black schools and the firing of Black teachers.

33. Blacks can't trust white people and therefore integration will not solve the race problem.

34. Integration is a tricky device white people use to divide and conquer Black people.

35. Integration will bring on more mixed marriages, mixed couples and mixed children and it is bad for the Black race.

36. Some Black people would like to change their Black skin in order to be accepted by whites.

37. Most Black people working with whites don't get promoted because of their race.

38. Most Black people do not get good paying jobs because of their race.

39. An unqualified white person usually gets a job before a qualified Black.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40. Black people don't get jobs or promotions because white people don't want to see Black people advance quickly.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. When Black people speak up for increase in pay or for promotion they are fired or laid off.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Life is so difficult for Black people, that if I should die and come back again, I would rather come back in any other color except Black.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. The best way Black people can change their condition is to register and vote.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. If Black people vote for Republican and Democratic parties, we still get nowhere.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. We should always vote for Black candidates regardless of their qualifications.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Some people believe that to be Black means I am going to spy on my brother for &quot;whitey&quot; - money.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Black people can bring change much faster, if they organize their own political party.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. On many occasions when Blacks behave disrespectful toward white people, I sometimes hate to be Black.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
49. We can't win power by ourselves, we need Black and white working together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50. In the last six months, how many times have you attended worship services?

51. Which church do you attend?

52. Name your occupation and that of the head of household.

   My occupation ______________________________

   Head of Household ___________________________

53. By which of the following terms would you prefer to be called:

   ____ Negro

   ____ Colored

   ____ Afro-American

   ____ Black
APPENDIX B

2 x 2 TABLES INDICATING THE COMMITMENT OF BLACK BATON ROUGEANS TO BLACK NATIONALISM AND NEGRITUDE
## APPENDIX B

### TABLE 15

**THE DEGREE OF COMMITMENT TO BLACK NATIONALISM BY SEX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLACK NATIONALISM</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>59.33%</td>
<td>57.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>40.67%</td>
<td>42.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 391</td>
<td>N = 409</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cutpoints for high and low on black nationalism were selected arbitrarily. High = 26 and above; Low = 25 and under. This will not be repeated for subsequent tables.

### TABLE 16

**THE DEGREE OF COMMITMENT TO NEGRITUDE BY SEX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEGRITUDE</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>61.89%</td>
<td>62.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>38.11%</td>
<td>37.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 391</td>
<td>N = 409</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cutpoints for high and low on negritude were selected arbitrarily. High = 4 and above; Low = less than 4. This will not be repeated for subsequent tables.
TABLE 17
THE DEGREE OF COMMITMENT TO BLACK NATIONALISM
BY SOCIAL CLASS MEASURED THROUGH EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLACK NATIONALISM</th>
<th>SOCIAL CLASS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>46.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>53.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total             | 100.00% | 100.00% |
|                   | N = 240  | N = 560  |

The cutpoints for middle and lower classes were selected arbitrarily. Middle class = 16 or more years of formal educational training; lower class = less than 16 years of formal educational training. This will not be repeated for subsequent tables.

TABLE 18
THE DEGREE OF COMMITMENT TO NEGRITUDE BY SOCIAL CLASS
MEASURED THROUGH EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEGRITUDE</th>
<th>SOCIAL CLASS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>65.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>34.59%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total     | 100.00% | 100.00% |
|           | N = 240  | N = 560  |
TABLE 19
THE DEGREE OF COMMITMENT TO BLACK NATIONALISM BY RESIDENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLACK NATIONALISM</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
<th>High density areas</th>
<th>Low density areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>59.28%</td>
<td>54.54%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>40.72%</td>
<td>45.46%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>646</td>
<td>154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cutpoints for high and low densities were selected arbitrarily. High = 10,000 or more; low = less than 10,000. This will not be repeated for subsequent tables.

TABLE 20
THE DEGREE OF COMMITMENT TO NEGRITUDE BY RESIDENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEGRITUDE</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
<th>High density areas</th>
<th>Low density areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>25.91%</td>
<td>15.23%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>74.09%</td>
<td>84.77%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>499</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 21

The degree of commitment to black nationalism by religiosity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLACK NATIONALISM</th>
<th>RELIGIOSITY</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>65.07%</td>
<td>52.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>34.93%</td>
<td>47.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 378  
N = 422

The cutpoints for high and low on religiosity were selected arbitrarily. High = those who have attended worship services 10 or more times within a span of six months; low = worship attendance less than 10 times within the same time span. This will not be repeated for subsequent tables.

### Table 22

The degree of commitment to negritude by religiosity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEGRITUDE</th>
<th>RELIGIOSITY</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>50.02%</td>
<td>55.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>49.98%</td>
<td>44.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 499  
N = 301
### TABLE 23
THE DEGREE OF COMMITMENT TO BLACK NATIONALISM BY AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLACK NATIONALISM</th>
<th>Old (36 and over)</th>
<th>Young (12-35)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>47.86%</td>
<td>60.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>52.14%</td>
<td>39.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 117</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 683</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 24
THE DEGREE OF COMMITMENT TO NEGRITUDE BY AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEGRITUDE</th>
<th>Old (36 and over)</th>
<th>Young (12-35)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>11.22%</td>
<td>20.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>88.78%</td>
<td>79.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 499</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 301</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE 25
THE DEGREE OF COMMITMENT TO NEGRITUDE BY BLACK NATIONALISTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEGRITUDE</th>
<th><strong>BLACK NATIONALISTS</strong></th>
<th><strong>High</strong></th>
<th><strong>Low</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>64.86%</td>
<td>58.90%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>35.14%</td>
<td>41.10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N = 469</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>N = 331</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VITA

The author was born to Martin Luther and Meldora Matilda Thomas on May 29, 1939 in Montego Bay, Jamaica, West Indies.

At four years of age, he entered Montego Bay Infant School where he remained until January, 1947 when he was transferred to Montego Bay Boys' Elementary School. The author remained at Boys' school until he was fifteen years of age. It was here that his elementary school education was completed by successfully passing the First Jamaica Local Examination in 1954, and The Jamaica Certificate of Education in 1955. The following year 1956, he enrolled at Northwestern Academy for secondary education. He remained at Northwestern for three years, where he sat for and successfully passed, the Cambridge School Certificate of Examination in 1959.

Upon the completion of secondary education, the author was employed by the Jamaica Civil Service Commission in Montego Bay, and held this position until September, 1961, when he migrated to the United States in pursuit of a college education.

Upon arrival in the United States, he began matriculation at Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, where he undertook sociology as his major. In May 1965, the Bachelor of Arts Degree from Arkansas Agricultural
Mechanical and Normal College was conferred. The following year, he began graduate studies in sociology, at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma and earned the Master of Science Degree conferred in May 1968.

In September, 1967, the author was appointed to a teaching position in the Department of Sociology at Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Two years later, (1969), he resigned this position and began matriculation at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana in pursuit of the doctoral degree in sociology.

The author has been the recipient of several teacher assistantships, namely, Oklahoma State University (1965-67) and Louisiana State University (1969-1972). Also recipient of a dissertational grant from the Ford Foundation which made it possible for him to initiate and complete his dissertation.

He married the former Barbara J. Boston of Clarksville, Texas on June 7, 1968. The author and his wife have one son, Constantine Phillipot Thomas.

Presently, the author is a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Curlew O'Sullivan Thomas

Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis: Black Nationalism and Its Effect Upon Black Americans' Perception of Negritude

Approved:

[Signatures of Major Professor and Chairman, Dean of the Graduate School, and EXAMINING COMMITTEE members]

Date of Examination: November 29, 1973