The original surveys of racial attitudes among students at the University of Alabama, 1963-1988, were designed and directed by Professors C. Donald McGlamery* and Donal E. Muir*. The 2013 survey was designed by Richard Fording*, Michael Hughes**, Celia Lo*, Utz McKnight*, Debra McCallum*, and Gabrielle Smith*, and the data were collected by the Institute for Social Science Research, University of Alabama, under the direction of Debra McCallum.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research team gratefully acknowledges C. Donald McGlamery and Donal E. Muir for the design and the direction of the original surveys.

The research team also gratefully acknowledges the invaluable help provided by Ms. Susan Muir in allowing access to the original data from the 1963-1988 surveys to us.
As we honor the 50th anniversary of desegregation at the University of Alabama, it is appropriate to remember that de jure segregation was a set of policies whose function was to ensure white economic and political dominance.

This was the symbol of the Alabama Democratic Party until 1966.

Integration was opposed by white citizens because many feared that it would undermine their dominance in economic and political institutions.
This presentation is informed by Herbert Blumer’s* argument that:

“race prejudice exists ... in a sense of group position rather than in a set of feelings...” (1958, p. 3)

That is, racial attitudes are a reflection of how people understand their own group’s position in the social structure.

OUTLINE


5. Background Correlates of Racial Attitudes in 2013.
The Original Surveys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>913</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1041</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1020</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1562</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>1744</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

All data were collected from questionnaires distributed in classes. A modified quota sampling method was used to select a 10% sample that was similar to the University in terms of gender, college, and year-in-school.

Terms used in questionnaires for African Americans:
- 1963-1972 - “Negro or Negroes”
- 1982 and 1988 - “Black or Blacks”
Core Variables:

1. Social Distance Items

“If qualified Negroes are admitted to the University of Alabama, I have no objection to:

- Attending class with them
- Sitting next to them
- Walking on campus with them
- Eating at the same table with them
- Rooming with them
- Double dating with them
- Dating them

(Response alternatives: 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = disagree, 5 = strongly disagree)

(Impersonal Social Distance)  (Personal Social Distance)  Alpha = .92  Alpha = .87

(higher score = greater distance)
2. Racial Stereotypes

(higher score = more prejudice)

Most Negroes are more superstitious than any whites I have ever met
Some Negroes may be just as capable, intelligent ... as whites but this is the exception...
Negroes are generally shiftless, lazy and lack ambition
Most Negroes are not as trustworthy as most whites I know
The moral standards ... are dropping ... same opportunities to use public facilities
American Negroes do not have the capacity to compete with white students....
Negroes will take revenge on the whites in the South ... economic position is raised ...
When give an equal chance...college...will become officious, overbearing and disagreeable
I have never met a Negro who is my equal in intelligence.

Response alternatives:
1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = undecided
4 = agree
5 = strongly agree

Alpha = .835
3. Principle of Basic Rights  
(higher score = more progressive)  
Alpha = .82  

Five items:  

Right to vote, run for office, serve on juries, etc.

4. Principle of Racial Equality  
(higher score = more progressive)  
Alpha = .65  

Three items:  

No legal restrictions on social interactions or relationships.

Response alternatives:  
1 = strongly disagree  
2 = disagree  
3 = undecided  
4 = agree  
5 = strongly agree
5. Opposition to Integration

(higher score = more opposition)

Available in 1963 and 1966 only.

a. The Supreme Court’s decision ... other races in white schools was just and timely.
b. Desegregation of UA is a step in the right direction to improve ... citizenship...
c. The South will be a better society...when the Negro is given the same chances...
d. Segregation ... does not conflict with the ideals of freedom in a democracy...
e. If Negro students admitted to UA, academic standards ... will drop.

Response alternatives:

1 = strongly agree
2 = agree
3 = undecided
4 = disagree
5 = strongly disagree

Items d and e were reversed.

Alpha = .75
Demographics:

- Gender
- Year in school
- College
- Race (in 1988)

Additional Variables

**1963:** Media exposure, relationships with Negroes, various attitudes, family income, region, urban residence

**1966:** Best known Negroes, parents’ and friends’ support for segregation

**1988:** Greek Membership

Scaling of Variables:

The responses for most attitude items were on a scale of 1 to 5. To aid comparability across items and indices, that scale has been retained, and composite indices have been rescaled to 1 to 5.

An average score of 3 would indicate undecided or ambivalent. Scores above or below 3 would indicate varying degrees of agreement or disagreement.

Weighting of the Data:

No weights have been used in the analysis of the data.

Percentage of UA Students Agreeing with Selected Items on Integration and Segregation

- **Most Negro Students Do Not Want to Attend White Universities, They Are Just Being Pushed by the NAACP**
  - 1963: 73.6%
  - 1966: 44.9%

- **Segregation of the Races Does Not Conflict with the Ideals of Freedom in a Democracy Any More than Does Desegregation.**
  - 1963: 40.6%
  - 1966: 34.4%
Belief in Principles of Equality and Rights Was High, But Opposition to Racial Integration Was Also High.

Average Responses on Indices of Opposition to Racial Integration, Racial Stereotypes, Principle of Racial Equality, Principle of Basic Rights, White University of Alabama Students, 1963 and 1966 (all indices scaled to 1 to 5)

- Opposition to Racial Integration: 1963 (2.74), 1966 (3.17)
- Racial Stereotypes Index: 1963 (2.84), 1966 (3.04)
- Principle of Equality: 1963 (3.23), 1966 (3.51)
- Principle of Basic Rights: 1963 (3.90), 1966 (4.03)
Desire for Social Distance Was High, Particularly for Personal Distance

Average Responses on Personal Social Distance Index and Impersonal Social Distance Index among White University of Alabama Students, 1963 and 1966, 1= Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree
A Solid Majority of UA Students Believed that Negroes Lacked Intelligence

Percentage of White UA Students Who Agreed that Negroes Lack Intelligence, 1963 and 1966

Agreement with one of the following:

1. Some Negroes may be just as capable, intelligent ... as the white man, but this is the exception...
2. American Negroes do not have the capacity to compete with white students in white universities.
3. I have never met a Negro who is my equal in intelligence.

A Solid Majority of UA Students Believed that Negroes Lacked Intelligence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>68.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>63.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variables Predicting Racial Stereotypes, Social Distance, and Opposition to Racial Integration*

More Prejudice

Women (Personal Distance only)
Commerce and Business Administration
Engineering
Parents and friends favorable to segregation
Black servants in home
Newspaper reading
Church attendance

Less Prejudice:

Women (except for Personal Distance)
Arts and Sciences
Higher grades
Black friends, co-workers, schoolmates

Notable Non-Findings:

TV watching, radio
Family Income
Urban residence
Region (South vs. non-South)

1. Racial attitudes indices are correlated.
2. The racial stereotypes index explains the associations of many variables with social distance and opposition.

*Statistically significant results from multiple regression analyses. The racial stereotypes index was entered in a second step in the analyses of each of the other indices. Some effects varied by year.
The racial stereotypes index declined and support for principles of equality and rights increased.
Personal distance was down, Impersonal distance was way down, and support for integration was way up.
1. These attitudes were changing rapidly in the wider society at the time.

2. Whites may have realized that white dominance did not require segregation and overt prejudice.

3. Increasing numbers of black students over time may have reduced the concerns of many students.
Percent Black Increased Dramatically from the late 1960s to the late 1970s

Changes in attitudes began to level off in 1972

Percent Black among University of Alabama Students by Year, 1963-1988
1. In 1988, those in fraternities and sororities were higher on the racial stereotypes index and social distance than independents were.

2. There was a statistical interaction between gender and Greek membership in predicting personal social distance.
Interaction of Gender and Greek Membership Predicting Personal Distance Index, 1988

1. Women desired more distance than men did.
2. Those in Greek organizations desired more distance than others did.
3. Greek membership increased distance more for women than for men.

All Differences are Statistically Significant

New Variables in 2013

1. Racial Stereotypes:

Where would you rate whites in general on the following scales?

1 = hardworking  2  3  4  5  6  7 = lazy
1 = intelligent  2  3  4  5  6  7 = unintelligent

Where would you rate African Americans in general on the following scales?

1 = hardworking  2  3  4  5  6  7 = lazy
1 = intelligent  2  3  4  5  6  7 = unintelligent

Ratings for whites are subtracted from those of blacks, and the result is summed and the resulting continuous variable is rescaled to 1 – 5, i.e.,

1 = African Americans rated more positively (and whites negatively)
3 = no difference
5 = African Americans rated more negatively (and whites positively)
2. Racial Resentment  
(higher score = greater resentment)  
Alpha = .82

a. Generations of slavery ... discrimination... **difficult for African Americans** to work... out of lower class.  
b. Irish, Italians, Jewish, ... overcame prejudice... African Americans should **do the same**...  
c. ... if African Americans would only **try harder** they could be just as well off as whites.  
d. Over the past few years African Americans have gotten **less than they deserve**.

Response alternatives:

1 = strongly disagree  
2 = disagree  
3 = undecided  
4 = agree  
5 = strongly agree  

3. Racial Policy Attitudes  
(higher score = greater opposition to policies)  
Alpha = .75

a. ... African Americans should be given **preferences in hiring and promotion**...  
b. ... government should see to it that African Americans get **fair treatment** in jobs  
c. ... government should make effort to ... improve the social and economic position of African Americans

Response alternatives varied and were rescaled to 1-5, where 1 = support for policy ... 5 = opposition to policy
4. Other Variables:

a. Membership in a fraternity or sorority

b. Parents’ socioeconomic status:

Factor Weighted Index of:

a. Family income rating
b. Father’s education level
c. Mother’s education level
How Did Social Distance Attitudes Change over the Long Term?

Personal and Impersonal Social Distance Attitudes among University of Alabama Students, 1963-2013

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How Did Social Distance Attitudes Change over the Long Term?
How Has the Association of Greek Membership with Personal Social Distance Changed?

Means on Personal Social Distance Index by Gender and Greek Membership, 1988 and 2013

1. Personal social distance declines for men and women, Greeks and independents.
2. The difference between Greeks and independents increases for men but not for women.
4. Greek membership no longer increases personal social distance more for women than for men.

All Changes over Time are Statistically Significant
How Much does Racial Discrimination in the US Today Limit the Chances for African Americans to Get Ahead?

- A Lot
  - African Americans: 32.8%
  - Whites: 7.7%

- Some
  - African Americans: 49.4%
  - Whites: 32.6%

- Just a Little
  - African Americans: 15.0%
  - Whites: 30.1%

- None at All
  - African Americans: 2.8%
  - Whites: 29.6%
How do white UA students compare to peers in the South and nationwide?

Average Scores on Racial Attitude Indices for White University of Alabama Students and Whites 18-25 years old with 13-15 Years of Education in the American National Election Study (ANES) 2008

UA students have racial attitudes that are very similar to their peers in the South and Nationwide.
How do white UA students compare to African American UA students?

Racial Differences in Racial Attitudes among Students at the University of Alabama, 2013

- Impersonal Distance:
  - African Americans: 1.36
  - Whites: 1.32

- Personal Distance:
  - African Americans: 1.74
  - Whites: 2.24

- Racial Stereotypes Index:
  - African Americans: 2.77
  - Whites: 3.17

- Racial Resentment:
  - African Americans: 2.42
  - Whites: 3.46

- Opposition to Racial Policies:
  - African Americans: 2.32
  - Whites: 3.57

Legend:
- Blue: African Americans
- Orange: Whites
5. Background Correlates of Racial Attitudes in 2013.

Variables Predicting Racial Stereotypes, Social Distance, Racial Resentment, and Racial Policy Attitudes*

More Racial Prejudice:
- Commerce and Business Administration
- Sophomore
- Greek membership

Less Racial Prejudice:
- Women
- Arts and Sciences
- Communications**
- Engineering**
- Education**
- Human Environmental Sciences**
- Social Work**

Notable Non-finding:
- Parents’ Socioeconomic Status

*Statistically significant results from multiple regression analyses. The racial stereotypes index was entered in a second step, and racial resentment in a third step, in the analyses of policy attitudes.

** Inconsistent associations.

1. Racial attitudes indices are correlated.

2. Racial stereotypes explain some associations of other variables with social distance (but not with resentment).

3. Racial resentment explains nearly all the associations of other variables, including racial stereotypes, on policy attitudes.
Summary

1. White UA students expressed high levels of racial prejudice, opposition to racial integration, and social distance from blacks in 1963 and 1966. These attitudes were at odds with those of whites outside the South.

2. Racial stereotyping was the most important correlate of opposition to integration, and it explained the associations of a number of other variables.


4. Desire to be socially distant from blacks continued to decline over the years 1988 to 2013.

5. White UA students expressed high levels of racial resentment and opposition to policies that would reduce racial inequality in life chances in 2013. This is a pattern that is nearly identical to what we observe nationwide.

6. Racial resentment is the most important correlate of opposition to racial policies, and it explains most of the impact of other variables, including the lingering effect of racial stereotyping.
CONCLUSION

In 1963, Alabama (with other Deep South states) was at odds with the rest of America. In 2013, Alabama and the rest of the country have joined one another and are increasingly indistinguishable in racial matters.