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AND OVERT BEHAVIOR:
A PUBLIC OPINION APPLICATION

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September, 1974

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Abstract

The discrepancy between verbal attitude and overt behavior has immediate relevance to both public opinion research and public policy, but there has been little attempt to study the problem with a "natural population" in a public opinion context. This paper reviews conceptual issues from the attitude-behavior literature and applies them to a public opinion, voting setting. It is argued (a) that a large proportion of white Americans seldom or never experience a personal encounter with blacks, thus restricting their realistic behavior orientations and overt behavior toward blacks largely to the policy sphere, and (b) that many of the key issues discussed in voting studies can be subsumed under the more general concerns of the attitude-behavior literature. Using data from the SRC 1968 Presidential Election Survey, the paper focusses on the process by which affective feelings and action orientation toward blacks are translated into affective feelings, action orientation (voting intention), and overt behavior (voting decision) toward George Wallace, an independent presidential candidate with a strong anti-civil rights campaign platform.

THE RELATION BETWEEN VERBAL ATTITUDE AND OVERT BEHAVIOR:
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The long debate over the observed discrepancy between verbal attitude and overt behavior has been of particular interest to students of inter-ethnic attitudes,¹ who have been predominantly motivated by a strong social problems orientation and a desire to assess the relevance of negative (and positive) inter-ethnic attitudes for the implementation of policies harmful or beneficial to the object group. While almost all of the empirical studies of the discrepancy between inter-ethnic attitude and discriminatory behavior have been either field or laboratory experiments performed on select sub-groups, this paper attempts to analyze the problem with a cross-sectional sample within the context of a political event requiring individuals to translate their personal attitudes and priorities into a political decision.

Voting data from a national opinion poll are interesting in this research context for several reasons. First, while the general problem of the relationship between attitude and behavior has direct implications for both public opinion research and public policy, there has been very little attempt to study the problem with a "natural population" in a public opinion context (a recent innovative exception is Brannon, et al., 1973). Second, while most empirical studies of the attitude-behavior discrepancy have utilized measures of behavior involving face-to-face encounters and/or some kind of personal involvement with the object group, a large proportion of white Americans never have an opportunity to act out their attitudes toward blacks in such settings. Because black Americans constitute no more than 10 percent of the total population of the United States, many white Americans rarely or never have personal contact with blacks, especially since blacks are not evenly distributed geographically throughout the country. Even among those whites

sharing the same general geographical location as substantial black minorities, many rarely or never have the opportunity to engage in social interaction with blacks, apart from interaction of the most superficial sort, such as sharing the same subway or bus, passing in the street, and so on. For such white Americans, realistic behavior orientations and overt behavior toward blacks will be restricted largely to the policy sphere. A third reason for examining public opinion voting data from the perspective of the attitude-behavior literature is that repeated observations found in the voting literature of a poor correlation between respondent's ideology and voting choice have paralleled much of the discussion in the attitude-behavior debate about the discrepancy between verbal attitude and overt behavior. Examination of voting data in the context of this debate thus facilitates an integration of ideas from two separate but often complementary sources. Specifically, it is suggested that the act of translating political attitudes into a voting decision can be subsumed under the more general problem area of the relationship between attitude and behavior.

This paper begins with a brief review of the major conceptual issues raised in the long debate over the relationship between attitude and behavior, along with a discussion of complementary formulations from the voting literature (see Wicker [1969] and Liska [1974] for more detailed reviews of the attitude-behavior literature). This is followed by an attempt to analyze these issues, using data from the 1968 Presidential Election Survey (conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan) to examine the relation between attitude toward blacks and reaction to a presidential candidate with an anti-civil rights campaign platform.

I

LaPiere's conclusion (1934) that the poor predictive power of verbal attitudes to overt behavior renders an interest in the former phenomenon futile and misleading has been rejected by most researchers of the problem. Instead, Weissberg's comment that "An attitude, no matter how conceived, is simply one of the terms in the complex regression equation we use to predict behavior" (1965:424) reflects an approach that has been applied by many researchers in the area to integrate attitude-behavior discrepancies into attitude theory. This type of approach is also common in the voting literature. Some researchers in this area have inferred that the discrepancy between measured attitudes on political issues and voting choice makes the study of such attitudes in mass publics fruitless (e.g., Hennessey, 1972). However, a more frequent argument has been that the discrepancy does not imply that voters are irrational, but rather that attitudes on political issues constitute only one of many factors influencing voting (and other political) behavior (e.g., Shapiro, 1969; Wilker and Milbrath, 1972). We will review four factors that have been introduced as influential in the relationship between attitude toward an object and behavior toward that object.

1. Conceptualization of an attitude. While the term "attitude" has been defined in a variety of ways, the most common definition divides an attitude into three components, cognitive, affective, and conative (Katz and Stotland, 1959; Krech, et al., 1962; Cook and Selltitz, 1964; Greenwald, 1968:363; Summers, 1970:2). Following this model, an ethnic attitude is also commonly defined as comprising three elements: (a) beliefs about the characteristics of an ethnic group; (b) a feeling of like or dislike for the group; and (c) a behavioral predisposition toward the group, both in personal face-to-face situations and in orientation toward social customs and political policies

that affect the well-being of the object-group (Harding, et al., 1968:4). The only one of these attitudinal components that implies behavior is the action-orientation component (Katz and Stotland, 1959; Fishbein, 1967; Fendrich, 1967a; Ehrlich, 1969).

The three components of an attitude need not be perfectly associated with one another, and indeed, the conative dimension is regarded as sensitive to extraneous factors in the individual's personality and environment as well as to the cognitive and affective attitudinal dimensions (Merton, 1949; Jackman, 1973). Further, within the conative dimension itself, variation in responses is expected as one moves from general principles of action orientation to various specific applications of those principles (Prothro and Grigg, 1960), a reflection of the individual's consideration of unique contextual factors (see, e.g., Schuman, 1972). Similarly, studies in the voting literature have treated voting intentions (behavioral predispositions toward political candidates) as sensitive to the conceptually distinct cognitive and affective dimensions of an attitude toward a political candidate, as well as to other personality and environmental factors (see, e.g., Campbell, et al., 1960; Almond and Verba, 1963; Shapiro, 1969). Thus, an empirical examination of the relationship between attitude and behavior should recognize the structural complexity of the attitude itself.

2. Translation difficulties. A second factor modifying the relationship between attitude and behavior is the availability of a clear way for the attitude to be expressed in behavior (Tittle and Hill, 1967; Ehrlich, 1969). Inter-racial contacts frequently involve participants who have never, or rarely, been in such a situation before (for examples, see Williams, 1964: 318-31). Consequently, uncertainty about how to behave is maximized as the participants attempt to cope with a situation into which they have not been

socialized. And for the large number of white Americans who never have any involvement with blacks, the opportunity to translate their attitudes toward blacks into personal acts of behavior does not exist at all.² Thus, the type of behavior most available to many white citizens to express their attitudes toward blacks may be political behavior directed impersonally toward the group as a whole; and the type of political behavior employed most frequently by Americans is the vote.

The voting context is also a familiar one to most Americans, one that occurs at regular intervals and that is always preceded by much advance notice. However, one characteristic of the voting context that exemplifies the more general problem of ignorance of behavioral opportunities to express attitudes is the tendency of many voters to make an "incorrect" voting choice on the basis of misinformation about the issue-stance of the parties and candidates. Data from the voting literature show wide within-party variation and small between-party differences in ideology among party supporters in mass publics coupled with much sharper between-party differences among party leaders (McClosky, et al., 1960). This suggests that many voters lack sufficient information to make an accurate translation from their political attitudes to political behavior, a problem of central concern in the voting literature (e.g., Campbell, et al., 1960; Converse, 1964; Wilker and Milbrath, 1972). Some students of voting behavior have observed that the failure of many political candidates to take an unambiguous issue stance is one factor contributing to the inability of many voters to express their political attitudes accurately in voting choice (e.g., Downs, 1957; Edelman, 1964:22-43; Page and Brody, 1972). Where there is not a clear difference between political candidates, an opportunity for the public to translate their political attitudes into an appropriate voting decision has been withheld.

3. Situational factors. The influence of two aspects of the environment have frequently been discussed: normative pressures, and competing stimuli.

Merton (1940) drew attention to the influence of normative pressures on the selection of an act of behavior, and he later predicted different probabilities of discriminatory behavior toward blacks, at any given attitudinal level, in regions of the country differing in their prevailing normative climates (1949). Similar and elaborated arguments about the regulatory potential of normative pressures associated with different environmental contexts have been made by Campbell (1963), Yinger (1965), Fendrich (1967b), Fishbein (1967), Ehrlich (1969), Katz and Gurin (1969), Warner and DeFleur (1969), Wicker (1969; 1971), Acock and DeFleur (1972), and Green (1972). Data from a variety of experimental contexts (e.g., Fendrich, 1967b; Warner and DeFleur, 1969; Wicker, 1971; Acock and DeFleur, 1972; Green, 1972) have provided evidence supporting these arguments. However, data from a public opinion context reported by Brannon, et al. (1973) indicate that perceived stance of neighbors on open housing had no effect on consistency between respondent's own orientation on that issue and actual behavior signing a petition consistent with that orientation.³

Situations also vary in their provision of competing stimuli, which may emanate from the specific contextual characteristics of the attitude-object or from other variables present in the situation. While an individual's attitude toward an object is usually measured in isolation, in a behavior context the attitude object is enmeshed in an array of competing stimuli that also activate established beliefs, feelings, and action orientations in the individual (Rokeach, 1967; Hyman, 1969; Tarter, 1969).

While the act of voting is comparatively private, thus reducing the impact of more overt environmental pressures, it is still susceptible to the

more subtle influences of the prevailing normative climate surrounding the individual. Students of voting behavior have also regarded competing situational stimuli as influential, invoking their influence to help account for the poor fit between respondent's attitudinal stance on the left-right continuum and that of his preferred party or candidate. In particular, it has been pointed out that this continuum is not the only one on which either parties, candidates, issues, or voters vary, and that voters may adopt party or candidate preferences on the basis of cross-cutting concerns such as those stemming from urban vs. rural interests or religious differences (Converse, 1966). More generally, Shapiro (1969) and Wilker and Milbrath (1972) have argued that issue-stance (on any of the above continua) is but one of many factors coloring an individual's psychological field during an election campaign. Shapiro (1969:1118) has argued that rationality should be conceived "in terms of a decisional calculus and the inter-relationships between perceptions and experience" without making "presuppositions about the particular values and substantive information relevant to decisions." Applying this approach to voting data, he concluded that voters may be sensitive to the party affiliation of the candidate, the candidate's personal qualities, or the opinions of others whom they admire or respect, as well as to the issue-stance of the candidate.

As with any behavior, the voting situation presents the individual with an array of stimuli and normative pressures among which (s)he must choose in selecting the most appropriate act of behavior. While a measure of the individual's action orientation incorporates part of his/her sensitivity to other (known) relevant aspects of the situation (see Fendrich, 1967a), the individual is unable to anticipate fully either their presence or their influence.

4. Extraneous attitudinal characteristics. Katz and Gurin (1969:371-2) have introduced three attitudinal characteristics, apart from those usually measured explicitly, that can influence the probability of a given attitude being translated into behavior by helping the individual sort through the multiple stimuli in a behavior situation: the centrality of the attitude in the individual's general attitude structure, its specificity or generality, and its intensity. Central attitudes are more likely to be aroused, general attitudes are applied more indiscriminately than specific ones, and intense attitudes are more likely to be translated accurately into behavior whenever aroused.

The role of all three of these attitudinal characteristics has been recognized in the voting literature in complementary formulations. The important role of party identification in predicting voting choice (Campbell, et al., 1960) exemplifies the impact of the attitudinal specificity/generality variable in its suggestion that many voters hold a very generalized attitude toward all Democratic or Republican candidates; other voters hold more specific ideas about what kind of Democrats and Republicans they like or dislike and such voters may be more willing to cross party lines in making their voting decision. Attitudinal centrality and intensity have been discussed in the voting literature in terms of the formation of priorities by the voter as he approaches his voting decision, sorting through the multitude of stimuli bombarding him and selecting those salient to his most central and intensely-held concerns. Voters form their candidate preferences on the basis of their agreement or disagreement with the candidates' stands on issues that are most important to them. Alternatively, if a voter does not feel strongly about any political issues (Converse, 1964), or if (s)he feels that candidates do not vary significantly on subjectively important political issues (Page and

Brody, 1972), other qualities of the candidates or other cues from the voter's environment may become more salient as guides in selecting among candidates.

II

Four factors have been outlined that should be considered in the relationship between attitude and behavior. In attempting to analyze those issues empirically, the Survey Research Center's 1968 Presidential Election Survey provides data that are especially interesting.

First, while the survey provides no data on beliefs about blacks, it does contain items tapping affective feelings and action orientation toward blacks, as well as affective feelings toward presidential candidates, behavioral orientation toward the candidates (voting intention), and actual behavior toward the candidates (post-election recollection of voting choice). These data facilitate a step-by-step examination of the translation of personal affective feelings toward blacks into broad principles of policy orientation toward blacks, then into orientation on specific policies toward blacks, and then into affective feelings toward an anti-civil rights presidential candidate, voting intention, and finally, actual voting choice. Second, George Wallace's strong anti-civil rights platform in the 1968 presidential election campaign provided white Americans with an unusually visible opportunity to express their attitude toward blacks in an act of -- political -- behavior, while the context is a familiar one in which most citizens know the mechanics of the act of behavior expected of them.

Third, the data allow for a partial analysis of the role of situational factors in shaping the act of behavior: (a) Wallace's independent candidacy leads to the expectation that issues should be relatively important in determining support for him since his lack of affiliation with either of the

two major parties precludes attraction on the basis of a powerful alternative stimulus, party loyalty; and (b) the data provide information on whether respondents were raised in the South or the non-South, an especially appropriate distinction because of both the South's long tradition of more overt support of discriminatory behavior toward blacks and Wallace's association with (non-racial) Southern stimuli. Finally, the data also facilitate partial consideration of the impact of extraneous attitudinal characteristics on the relationship between attitude and behavior. While we have no information on the centrality of the respondent's attitude toward blacks, the data do provide a measure of the intensity of the respondent's attitude toward blacks. Further, since both the attitude and behavior measures are directed toward blacks as a class, the problem of the generality or specificity of the respondent's attitude toward blacks is largely avoided.

The 1968 Presidential Election Survey which is used in this analysis was collected by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan in two phases; one prior to, and one after the election. It was administered to an area-probability sample of the adult population of the United States, stratified by age and sex at the block level. The sample has a basic N of 1,543⁴; the analysis reported here excludes non-white respondents, leaving an N of 1,366.

The analysis begins with an examination of the zero-order correlations between each of three indicators of attitude toward blacks and affective feelings, behavioral predisposition, and overt behavior toward George Wallace. Our three measures of attitude toward blacks include the Temperature Toward Blacks scale (affective feelings toward blacks), the Segregationism scale (generalized policy orientation), and the Government Action scale (applied policy orientation toward blacks). The wording and scoring of these three

scales and the Temperature Toward Wallace scale is given in the Appendix. The Intention to Vote for Wallace and self-reported actual vote for Wallace both come from open-ended questions on favored candidate in voting intention and actual vote, and each was scored as a dummy variable with a value of 1 for Wallace, and zero otherwise.

The construction of the three scales tapping attitude toward blacks is detailed elsewhere (Jackman, 1973): note that items were first grouped on a conceptual, or face-validity, basis; only those items that correlated more highly with other items in the same conceptual group than with items from other conceptual groups were retained for the appropriate scale (Campbell and Fiske, 1959). While the presence of only one item tapping affective feelings toward blacks prevented this procedure from being followed in the construction of the Temperature Toward Blacks scale (and while all three scales are shorter than might be desirable), the two action orientation scales attained discriminant validity vis-a-vis the Temperature Toward Blacks scale as well as vis-a-vis one another. The separation of general principles about segregation from applied policy opinions conforms both with Prothro and Grigg's (1960) distinction between general principles of action orientation and specific applications of those principles, and with the argument made in this paper and elsewhere that the action-orientation component of an attitude is sensitive to environmental constraints and therefore might vary from one environmental context to another.

The correlations in Table 1 display tendencies in line with two of the

[Table 1 About Here]

arguments raised in the discussion above. First, the two indicators of the action orientation component of attitude toward blacks are more highly associated with each of the measures of attitude and behavior toward Wallace

than is the indicator of the affective component of attitude toward blacks. Correction for attenuation due to possible differential unreliability in the three scales does not alter this result.⁵ Thus the pattern of the correlations is consistent with the expectation that the action orientation component of an attitude is more highly associated with the formation of an act of behavior than is the affective component. Second, as we move from affective feelings toward Wallace, to behavioral intention toward Wallace, to actual behavior toward Wallace, the correlations of each of our indicators of attitude toward blacks with the Wallace attitude and behavior measures get smaller and smaller. This pattern is consistent with the expectation that, as the individual moves closer to an overt act of behavior, the link between attitude toward an object and behavior affecting that object becomes weaker because the diverse stimuli of the environment become more influential.

Figure 1 presents a model of the effects of our three indicators of attitude toward blacks on affective feelings toward a political candidate

[Figure 1 About Here]

with anti-civil rights views. The causal ordering of the three indicators of attitude toward blacks is based upon the assumption that affective feelings have an effect on the formation of a generalized policy predisposition toward the object group, and that these two factors in turn influence action orientation in a specific policy context. Subsequently, it is assumed that both of the action orientation scales have a direct effect on Temperature Toward Wallace, with Segregationism also having an indirect effect on Temperature Toward Wallace through its influence on the Government Action scale. The model thus assumes that the impact of affective feelings toward blacks on affective feelings toward Wallace is completely mediated by action orientation toward blacks. This assumption is made in line with the

view, discussed earlier, that the affective component of an attitude plays no direct role in the formation of an act of behavior. Thus, the equations for the model in Figure 1 (in unstandardized form) are:

$$\underline{X}_2 = \underline{a} + \underline{b}_1 \underline{X}_1 + \underline{e} \quad (1)$$

$$\underline{X}_3 = \underline{a} + \underline{b}_1 \underline{X}_1 + \underline{b}_2 \underline{X}_2 + \underline{e} \quad (2)$$

$$\underline{X}_8 = \underline{a} + \underline{b}_1 \underline{X}_2 + \underline{b}_2 \underline{X}_3 + \underline{e} \quad (3)$$

where \underline{X}_1 is Temperature Toward Blacks, \underline{X}_2 is the Segregationism scale, \underline{X}_3 is the Government Action scale, and \underline{X}_8 is Temperature Toward Wallace.

The path coefficients reported in Figure 1 suggest that within the inter-ethnic attitude itself, the two measures of action orientation are very imperfect functions of affective feelings (the R^2 s for equations (1) and (2) are .125 and .135 respectively), and further, that the relationship between general policy predisposition and opinions in a specific policy context is far from perfect. These relationships among the components of the inter-ethnic attitude itself are discussed at greater length elsewhere (Jackman, 1973). Looking at the effect of the two measures of policy predisposition toward blacks on affective feelings toward Wallace, the estimates in Figure 1 and Table 2 indicate that Segregationism, the more generalized of the action orientation scales, has a stronger impact on Temperature Toward Wallace than does the Government Action scale. Segregationism has a stronger direct effect on Temperature Toward Wallace, as well as having an indirect effect through the Government Action scale. These two scales are able to account for just over .12 of the variance in Temperature Toward Wallace ($R = .35$). The coefficients reported in Table 2 indicate that the addition of

[Table 2 About Here]

Temperature Toward Blacks to the equation estimating Temperature Toward Wallace increments the R^2 by .0052. Although the regression coefficient for

Temperature Toward Blacks is statistically significant, we feel that the small increment to the R^2 associated with its addition to the equation offers no serious challenge to our theoretical preference to represent the effects of Temperature Toward Blacks on Temperature Toward Wallace as entirely indirect.

Reading down the columns in Table 2 allows us to compare the impact of our three indicators of attitude toward blacks on Temperature Toward Wallace with their impact on Intention to Vote for Wallace and actual Vote for Wallace. Not surprisingly, we again find that with each step closer to an overt action, the impact of policy orientation (and affective feelings) toward blacks on political behavior becomes weaker, and some estimates become quite unstable.

Table 2 also presents, for comparative purposes, coefficients from equivalent equations estimating affective feelings, behavioral intentions, and voting behavior toward Humphrey and Nixon. In the case of Humphrey, regression coefficients are of the opposite sign than for Wallace, suggesting a rational processing of information by voters. The slopes of the Humphrey measures regressed on the Government Action scale and Temperature Toward Blacks are slightly more pronounced than those of the Wallace measures, but the slopes of the former regressed on Segregationism are smaller, and overall, these equations explain considerably less variance in the Humphrey measures than in the Wallace measures. Thus, Humphrey's past record as a supporter of civil rights had some influence on voters' reactions to him, but overall, policy orientation (and affective feelings) toward blacks were more influential in explaining reactions to Wallace than to Humphrey. We may infer that Humphrey's affiliation with a long-established political party was a more salient cue to a majority of American citizens, while Wallace's strong campaign stance on the civil rights issue was uncluttered by party labels

(see also Converse, et al., 1969). The race issue played no significant part in the Nixon campaign, and our results indicate that policy orientation (and affective feelings) toward blacks played little discernible role in determining support for that candidate. The relative importance of policy orientation (and affective feelings) toward blacks in shaping reactions to each of the three presidential candidates would seem to reflect a fairly rational sorting by voters of stimuli associated with each of the candidates.

Two further points need to be considered in evaluating the significance of the relationship between attitude toward blacks and reactions to Wallace. On the one hand, this relationship is still of only moderate strength and leaves plenty of room for the impact of other factors. On the other hand, the association between action orientation toward blacks and affective feelings toward Wallace is not substantially weaker than associations among the components of attitude toward blacks themselves. Thus, to the extent that other factors intervene in the translation of action orientation toward blacks into affective feelings toward an anti-civil rights presidential candidate, their interference is not appreciably greater than in the translation of one component of attitude toward blacks into another. We now examine the impact of two of those extraneous factors in an attempt to probe deeper into the dynamics of the translation of attitude toward blacks into discriminatory political behavior.

Figure 2 and Table 3 present the estimates for the following equation:

$$\underline{X}_8 = \underline{a} + \underline{b}_1 \underline{X}_2 + \underline{b}_2 \underline{X}_3 + \underline{b}_3 \underline{X}_6 + \underline{e} \quad (4)$$

where all terms are defined as in equation (3), and \underline{X}_6 is a dummy variable, scored 1 for respondents who were raised in the South, and zero otherwise.

[Figure 2 and Table 3 About Here]

In equation (4), \underline{a} gives the intercept for non-Southerners, while $[\underline{a} + \underline{b}_3]$

gives the adjusted intercept for respondents raised in the South.⁶ This examination of the impact of Southern upbringing on the translation of action orientation toward blacks into attraction toward Wallace is relevant to the discussion of environmental constraints on behavior, for two reasons. First, following Merton (1949), we expect that individuals who have been socialized in an environment with a long history of institutionalized discrimination toward blacks (at both the cultural and organizational levels) will be less likely to feel coldly toward a political candidate who takes an anti-civil rights stance, at any given level of personal support for segregation or discriminatory government action. Second, we also expect that other (non-racial) stimuli associated with Wallace, such as his Southern background, style, and accent, should help make him more attractive to the Southern-raised respondent than to a non-Southerner with comparable policy orientation toward blacks. The estimates for equation (4) are consistent with these expectations: at any given level of (non-)support for segregation or for discriminatory government policies, respondents with a Southern background felt on the average 13° warmer toward George Wallace, and the addition of the dummy for Southern upbringing raises the R^2 from .122 to .154.

Probing further into the dynamics of the translation of attitude toward blacks into political behavior, we are able to make use of a measure of the intensity of the respondent's attitude toward blacks to examine the impact of one of the three attitudinal characteristics cited by Katz and Gurin (1969) as influential in the relationship between attitude and behavior. Our measure of attitudinal intensity is derived from responses to a question that followed the first item of the Segregationism scale: "Do you feel strongly about your position on this question [of housing integration] or not too strongly?" This item is the only measure of intensity of opinions in the

SRC survey, and it is used here as an approximate indicator of the intensity of the respondent's racial attitude. A more complete measure of the relative intensity of the respondent's attitude toward blacks would include more than one "intensity" follow-up on attitude-toward-blacks items, and would also include measures of the intensity with which the respondent holds other attitudes that compete to influence behavior in a given situation. However, the inadequacies of the single item used here make it a conservative indicator of the relative intensity of attitude toward blacks, since it is more unreliable than a multiple-item indicator would be, and since it fails to consider the possibility that some people may have an intensely-held attitude toward blacks because they have personalities that lead them to feel strongly about most of their attitudes rather than because of special salience of the race issue.

The conservatism of our indicator of attitudinal intensity makes it liable to lead to a "false" rejection of an hypothesis about its influence rather than to its false acceptance, and thus we are less hesitant about using it. Out of the total sample, 924 respondents indicated that they felt "strongly" on the intensity item. Confidence in this item is increased by the fact that it has no linear relationship with the three scales tapping aspects of attitude toward blacks: i.e., respondents with both positive and negative feelings and/or predispositions were equally likely to feel strongly about their position.

Following Katz and Gurin (1969), it is hypothesized that individuals who feel strongly about the race issue are more likely to execute an accurate translation of their attitude toward blacks into appropriate behavior, based on the assumption that where a particular attitude is held intensely, it is more likely to be selected from among the totality of attitudes that the

individual brings to bear on a specific situation as the guide to the behavior response. Thus, we expect the relationship between Segregationism score and Temperature Toward Wallace to be more pronounced among respondents who feel strongly about the race issue than among those who do not: that is, a statistical interaction is hypothesized between Segregationism score, attitudinal intensity, and Temperature Toward Wallace. The following equation specifies that interaction, controlling for the effects of Southern upbringing and Government Action score:

$$\underline{X}_8 = \underline{a} + \underline{b}_1 \underline{X}_2 + \underline{b}_2 \underline{X}_3 + \underline{b}_3 \underline{X}_4 + \underline{b}_4 (\underline{X}_2 \underline{X}_4) + \underline{b}_5 \underline{X}_6 + \underline{e} \quad (5)$$

All variables are defined as before, and \underline{X}_4 is a dummy variable scored 1 for those who feel strongly about the segregation issue, and zero otherwise.

Thus, equation (5) adds to equation (4) an adjustment to both the intercept and the slope of Temperature Toward Wallace regressed on Segregationism, controlling for Southern upbringing and Government Action score. The intercept for non-Southerners with low attitudinal intensity is given by \underline{a} ;

$(\underline{a} + \underline{b}_3)$ gives the adjusted intercept for non-Southerners with high attitudinal intensity; the two equivalent intercepts for Southerners are given by $(\underline{a} + \underline{b}_5)$ and $(\underline{a} + \underline{b}_5 + \underline{b}_3)$ respectively. The slope of Temperature Toward Wallace regressed on Segregationism is given by \underline{b}_1 for respondents with low attitudinal intensity, and by $(\underline{b}_1 + \underline{b}_4)$ for respondents with high attitudinal intensity.

The estimates for equation (5) are presented in Figure 3 and Table 3.

[Figure 3 About Here]

They indicate that the effect of our measure of attitudinal intensity on the relationship between Segregationism and Temperature Toward Wallace (with the Government Action scale and the dummy for the South retained in the equation) is small, although in the predicted direction. Thus, respondents who feel

strongly about the racial issue are slightly more likely to translate accurately their general policy orientation toward blacks on the segregation issue into an appropriate feeling of warmth or coolness toward George Wallace. The small increment to the R^2 resulting from the addition of the intensity interaction to the equation may be attributed (at least in part) to the lack of a more thorough measure of attitudinal intensity combined with the unquestionable appeal of Wallace on more than the racial issue. Because the regression coefficients associated with the main and interaction effects of the measure of attitudinal intensity are of moderate size and in the expected direction, we are retaining the variable in our model as an aid in interpreting the relationship between attitude and behavior. Figure 3 facilitates an examination of the combined effects of (a) regional stimuli and (b) attitudinal intensity, on the translation of general policy orientation toward blacks into affective feelings toward a presidential candidate with a strong anti-civil rights stance.

Combining the results of this paper with those of research reported elsewhere (Jackman, 1973) suggests that the cumulative impact of environmental norms and attitudinal intensity on the translation of affective feelings toward blacks all the way through to affective feelings toward Wallace may be even greater. Results reported elsewhere indicated that at any given level of affective feelings toward blacks, Southern-raised respondents are more likely than those raised in the North to support segregation (an inclusion of the dummy variable for the South in the equation estimating Segregationism score increased R^2 from .125 to .20); results reported here indicate further that at any given level of support for segregation, Southern-raised respondents are more likely to feel warmly toward a political candidate who takes an anti-civil rights stance.

Similarly, the impact of high attitudinal intensity is cumulative, first in leading to a more accurate translation of affective feelings into general policy orientation toward blacks (and increasing the proportion of variance explained in that variable from .20 to .23); and then (in a weaker but still significant effect) leading to a closer correspondence between general policy orientation toward blacks and affective feelings toward an anti-civil rights candidate.

At this stage, it would be well to examine the relationships among the three political attitude-behavior variables themselves, especially in view of the pattern of discrepancies among the results obtained earlier (in Tables 1 and 2) with affective feelings toward Wallace, intention to vote for Wallace, and actual vote for Wallace. Assumptions about the temporal ordering of the three variables are displayed in Figure 4. In line with the model in Figure 1, the affective component is assumed to precede behavioral predisposition, and overt behavior is treated as the final product.⁷ One assumption of the model in Figure 4 which may appear inconsistent with the model in Figure 1 is

[Figure 4 About Here]

the inclusion of a direct path from affective feelings toward Wallace to actual vote for Wallace. However, the highly volatile nature of voting intentions (always a subject of public controversy in discussions of opinion polls during pre- and post- election weeks) makes our single measure of voting intention a very unstable estimate of the individual's full behavior orientation toward the candidate. Thus, an assumption of a pure chain of causation from Temperature Toward Wallace through a single measure of voting intention to actual vote would be unjustified in these data.

The estimates reported in Figure 4 suggest, within the constraints set by our assumptions, that affective feelings toward Wallace account for only

.16 of the variance in Intention to Vote for Wallace, and these two variables together account for .38 of the variance in actual Vote for Wallace, with Intention to Vote for Wallace having a bigger direct effect than Temperature Toward Wallace on actual Vote for Wallace. Our estimates are somewhat deflated by the survey's failure to recontact all respondents after the election: rather than eliminating them from the entire sample, those respondents not recontacted have been scored as zero in our dummy classification of voting decision. A re-estimation of the model in Figure 4 with a reduced sample (N=1228) that does skip these respondents yields a slightly higher R^2 of .43 in Vote for Wallace.

While these associations are high by the general standards of survey data, the correspondence between the two attitudinal components and the one measure of overt behavior is far less than perfect. Rather than inferring from this that the actual vote is a much more valid measure of "true" attitude toward the candidate than are our measures of affective feelings and behavior intention, we instead prefer the interpretation that the translation of affective feelings first into action orientation and then into overt action will be influenced by a growing multitude of independent stimuli deriving from the individual's social environment. The latter interpretation may be drawn from either the attitude-behavior literature, or from studies in the voting literature that have specified a number of extraneous factors that intervene between initial attraction toward a candidate and final voting choice.

The special emphasis that has been placed on party identification in the voting literature would lead us to expect more stability between attitude toward a candidate and voting decision when the candidate is associated with an old-established party. Many students of the attitude-behavior discrepancy would also expect greater coincidence between attitude toward a candidate and

voting decision when the candidate is associated with a stable environmental structure that is a key factor influencing both the individual's attitude toward and vote for (or against) that candidate. Some support is lent to this view by Figure 5, which presents models, for both Nixon and Humphrey, of the relationship between affective feelings toward the political party to which the candidate belongs, affective feelings toward the candidate, voting

[Figure 5 About Here]

intention, and actual vote.

First, affective feelings toward their respective parties accounts for just slightly more variance in temperature toward Humphrey and Nixon than policy orientation on the race issue can account for in affective feelings toward Wallace, who had more of an issue candidacy. Second, temperature toward their respective parties has not only an indirect effect on intention to vote for the candidate through its effect on temperature toward the candidate, but also a strong direct effect that is only slightly less than the direct effect of temperature toward the candidate himself. While the model in Figure 4 accounts for only .16 of the variance in Intention to Vote for Wallace, inclusion of temperature toward their respective parties in Figure 5 allows us to account for .25 and .27 of the variance in Intention to Vote for Humphrey and Nixon respectively. Finally, although affective feelings toward their respective parties have no significant direct effect on actual vote for or against Humphrey and Nixon respectively, the vote for or against these two major party candidates can be more accurately predicted from affective feelings and voting intentions toward them than can the Wallace vote. (Re-estimation of the model in Figure 5 with the reduced sample that skips those missed on the post-election survey again results in slightly higher coefficients of determination.) Thus, while support for the independent

Wallace candidacy was determined to a much greater extent by voter's attitudes toward blacks than was support for either Humphrey or Nixon, support for the independent candidate was also more volatile.

Figure 6 presents a synthesis of the results reported in this analysis. In integrating results from Figures 1, 2, and 3 with those from Figure 4, it is assumed that the impact of the two indicators of action orientation toward

[Figure 6 About Here]

blacks on voting intention toward Wallace and actual vote for or against Wallace is completely mediated by affective feelings toward Wallace. Estimates in Table 4 show that when variables having direct effects on Temperature Toward Wallace are added to (a) an equation estimating Voting Intention

[Table 4 About Here]

Toward Wallace, and (b) an equation estimating actual Vote for Wallace, the added variables have small and largely insignificant effects (three out of five added variables in equation (a) and five out of five added variables in equation (b) yield regression coefficients that are statistically insignificant).⁸ Further, the addition of these five variables increments the proportion of explained variance in Intention to Vote for Wallace by .03 from the .16 that can be accounted for by Temperature Toward Wallace alone. The addition of the same five variables to the equation estimating actual Vote for Wallace increments the R^2 to .383 from the .382 of the variance that can be explained by Temperature Toward Wallace and Intention to Vote for Wallace alone. Thus, the data do not offer a serious challenge to our preference for theoretical parsimony in representing Temperature Toward Wallace as the key mediating variable between (a) action orientation toward blacks and (b) behavior orientation and actual behavior toward Wallace.

In short, the model in Figure 6 represents the translation of affective feelings toward blacks into a vote for or against an anti-civil rights presidential candidate as a series of steps. First, affective feelings toward blacks are translated into general and applied policy orientation toward blacks. Policy orientation toward blacks in turn influences how much one is attracted by George Wallace: consistent with Figure 1, the impact of Temperature Toward Blacks on Temperature Toward Wallace is completely mediated by the two indicators of action orientation toward blacks. In the final steps in the conversion of affective feelings toward blacks into an act of political behavior, warmth of feeling toward Wallace influences Intention to Vote for Wallace, and then these two variables together affect one's likelihood of casting a vote for him. The impact of regional stimuli and attitudinal intensity are incorporated at two points in the model: (a) in the translation of affective feelings toward blacks into general principles of action orientation toward blacks, and (b) in the translation of action orientation toward blacks into feelings of attraction to or dislike for an anti-civil rights presidential candidate.

The model suggests that policy orientation toward blacks, regional background, and intensity of feeling on the racial issue can predict attraction toward Wallace moderately well. However, also recorded is the volatile nature of support for that candidate. While his independent candidacy made issues a more important part of his support, it also left him (as shown in Figures 4 and 5) without the stable and familiar stimulus of party affiliation on which the two main party candidates could draw to hold supporters more effectively.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has focussed on conceptual issues raised in the attitude-behavior literature and applied them to a public opinion, voting context.

This application was considered important for three main reasons:

1. While the concerns of the attitude-behavior literature are directly relevant to public opinion survey research, there has been very little attempt to study the problem empirically with a cross-sectional "natural population" in a public opinion context.
2. The 1968 presidential election offered white Americans an unusually visible opportunity to express their attitudes toward blacks in an act of (political) behavior.
3. Many issues raised in the voting literature parallel those raised in the attitude-behavior literature, and can be subsumed under the latter problem area as illustrative formulations.

The discussion and analysis in the paper point to the following basic conclusions. To begin, the relative strength of the relationships between policy predisposition toward blacks and support for the candidacies of Wallace, Humphrey, and Nixon respectively suggest that voters act on rational perceptions of candidates. To the extent that there is a gap between measured policy orientation and voting choice, this reflects the individual's sensitivity to other stimuli emanating from the candidate and the surrounding environment rather than a failure to process information rationally. Such a conclusion is consistent with theoretical positions offered in both the attitude-behavior and voting literatures.

The clear failure of many Americans to translate their policy orientation toward blacks accurately into an appropriate level of support or non-support for Wallace underscores the importance of competing stimuli in the shaping

of an act of behavior. White Americans are rarely presented with an opportunity to express their attitude toward blacks in an act of behavior directed at either black individuals or blacks as a class, and when such opportunities do arise, they do so in contexts that offer many other stimuli as well. Thus, researchers in the area of race relations with an eye toward either policy formulation or basic theory need to gain a more thorough understanding of the dynamics involved in the selection of a given act of behavior in a particular situation. The increasing offering at all political levels of both candidates who are black and candidates taking a strong stand against busing, combined with the relative lack of opportunities for behavioral expression of attitude toward blacks in other settings, makes the voting situation particularly relevant in this regard.

APPENDIX: Wording and scoring of scales.

1. Temperature scales [Range: 0-96].

"I have here a card on which there is something that looks like a thermometer. We call it a 'feeling thermometer' because it measures your feelings toward groups. Here's how it works. If you don't know too much about a group, or don't feel particularly warm or cold towards them, then you should place them in the middle, at the 50 degree mark. If you have a warm feeling toward a group, or feel favorably toward it, you would give it a score somewhere between 50 and 100 degrees depending on how warm your feeling is toward the group. On the other hand, if you don't feel very favorably toward some of these groups -- if there are some you don't care for too much -- then you would place them somewhere between 0 and 50 degrees."

This preamble was used in obtaining the respondent's "temperature" toward blacks. A similarly worded preamble was used in obtaining respondent's "temperature" toward the political parties and candidates in the 1968 Presidential Election.

2. Segregationism scale [Range: 0-8].

(i) Which of these statements would you agree with:

(a) White people have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods if they want to.

(b) Negroes have a right to live wherever they can afford to, just like anybody else.

Agreement with (a) scored 4; agreement with (b) scored 0; "don't know" scored 2.

(ii) Are you in favor of desegregation (scored 0), strict segregation (scored

4), or something in between (scored 2)? "Don't know" scored 2.

Note: The inter-correlation of the two Segregationism items is .49, which is higher than the correlations of either item with items from the other scales.

3. Government Action scale [Range: 0-8].

- (i) Some people feel that if Negroes are not getting fair treatment in jobs the government in Washington should see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the federal government's business. Have you had enough interest in this question to favor one side over the other? [If yes] How do you feel? Should the government in Washington --
- (a) see to it that Negroes get fair treatment in jobs (=0)
 - (b) other, depends (=2)
 - (c) leave these matters to the States and local communities (=4)
 - (d) don't know (=2)
 - (e) no interest (=2).
- (ii) Some people say that the government in Washington should see to it that white and Negro children are allowed to go to the same schools. Others claim that this is not the government's business. Have you been concerned enough about this question to favor one side over the other? [If yes] Do you think the government in Washington should --
- (a) see to it that white and Negro children go to the same schools (=0)
 - (b) other, depends (=2)
 - (c) stay out of this area as it is none of its business (=4)
 - (d) don't know (=2)
 - (e) no interest (=2)

Note: The inter-correlation of the two Government Action items is .43, which

is higher than the correlations of either item with items from the other scales.

Also note that a high score on the Temperature scale indicates positive feelings, while a high score on the Segregationism and Government Action scales indicates negative policy orientation.

FOOTNOTES

¹In this paper, an "inter-ethnic attitude" is defined as "an attitude which a person has toward some or all members of an ethnic group, provided that the attitude is influenced to some degree by knowledge (or presumed knowledge) of the other individual's group membership" (Harding, et al., 1968:3). Also following Harding, et al. (1968:3), an "ethnic group" is defined as "a collection of people considered both by themselves and by other people to have in common one or more of the following characteristics: (1) religion, (2) racial origin (as indicated by readily identifiable physical features), (3) national origin, or (4) language and cultural conditions."

²On a scale constructed from items in the 1968 SRC survey measuring proportion of blacks perceived by the respondent in neighborhood, local grade school, junior high school, high school, work place, and shopping center, each component item was scored from 0 (for "all white") through 1 ("mostly white"), 2 ("about half and half"), to 3 ("mostly Negro"), to yield a maximum possible range from 0 to 18. For the 1,366 whites measured by this scale, the mean score was 3.59, suggesting that the average level of contact with blacks among white Americans is very low.

³Note that these data were collected in Detroit, a city often regarded as one of the most vigilant pockets of anti-busing sentiment, and indeed, fully 93 percent of the respondents in Brannon, et al.'s survey thought their neighbors were opposed to open housing. Given the overall lack of variance in perceived neighbor's stance against open housing in the Detroit area, it is interesting to note that respondents in the survey who were opposed to open housing were slightly more likely to sign a petition consistent with their stance than were respondents with an orientation favoring open housing (85 percent consistent in the former group versus 70 percent consistent in the latter group).

⁴The sample has a total N of 1,557, 14 of whom are wrong respondents selected accidentally, leaving an N of 1,543.

⁵Because the Temperature Toward Blacks scale is made up of a single item, while the Segregationism and Government Action scales each comprise two items, it is possible that the latter two scales may have slightly higher reliability coefficients. On the other hand, the former scale offers respondents an unbroken continuum on which to place themselves, whereas the two latter scales contain items offering fewer response options, making error more consequential for the respondent's score. The two latter scales have estimated reliability (alpha) coefficients of .632 and .608 respectively. Assuming a lower bound reliability estimate of .5 for the Temperature Toward Blacks scale (and assuming any reliability between .5 and unity for the other three measures in Table 1), the correlations in Table 1 can be corrected for possible differential attenuation: the pattern of the correlations remains unchanged (the correction procedures are given in Bohrnstedt, 1970:84, 89).

⁶A measure reflecting a Southern upbringing rather than current residence in the South was chosen because it was felt that the former measure was more likely to indicate a prolonged exposure to a Southern milieu, and at an especially formative period in the individual's life. According to data presented by Converse, et al. (1969:1103), only a small proportion of whites raised in the South resided outside the South at the time of the survey (approximately 16 percent).

⁷While my assumptions about the temporal ordering are readily justified at the conceptual level, one empirical difficulty associated with this ordering should be noted. Respondents were asked about their temperature toward each of the political candidates in the post-election interview rather than the pre-election interview, and thus the variables were measured in the

following order: voting intention, vote, temperature toward the candidate. While it might be argued that the measure of affective feelings thus represents a post-voting rationalization more than a pre-election source of voting behavior, I have retained the ordering on the following grounds. First, the temperature scales were completely independent of one another, so that by expressing warm feelings toward one candidate, the respondent was not prevented from expressing warm feelings toward a competing candidate. Thus, the measure of affective feelings toward each candidate should not be as influenced by prior voting decision as would be an affective ranking of the candidates. Second, it is hypothesized that affective feelings toward a candidate are relatively stable (compared with voting intentions) during the course of the campaign, making the measure a fairly reliable indicator of affective feelings prior to the vote. The affective component of an attitude is not conceptualized as a temporally discrete variable that must cease before the next variable in the causal chain can start, but is assumed to continue contemporaneously with the behavioral predispositions that it partly determines. Finally, note that the higher associations of the measures of attitude toward blacks with Temperature Toward Wallace than with either Intention to Vote for Wallace or actual Vote for Wallace lend support to the assumption that the measure of affective feelings toward Wallace represents something more fundamental than a post-vote rationalization. To the extent that the measure of temperature toward Wallace is influenced by voting decision, its empirical association with policy orientation toward blacks will be a conservative estimate, given the comparatively poor association of actual vote for Wallace with policy orientation toward blacks.

⁸The two added variables that yield statistically significant regression coefficients in equation (a) are the Government Action scale and the dummy

for Southern upbringing. Since there is no theoretical basis for expecting only these two variables out of the five to have an effect on Intention to Vote for Wallace (over and above the effect of Temperature Toward Wallace), there would be little justification for including direct paths from these two variables to X_9 in Figure 6. The fact that the regression coefficients associated with both these variables are small makes this decision easier.

Table 1: Correlations of three indicators of attitude toward blacks with affective feelings, behavioral intention, and behavior toward George Wallace.

| | Temperature toward blacks | Segregationism | Government Action |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Temperature toward Wallace | -.195 | .320 | .243 |
| Intention to vote for Wallace | -.145 | .234 | .213 |
| Vote for Wallace | -.111 | .182 | .168 |

Source: SRC 1968 Presidential Election Survey of the United States (non-whites excluded, N=1,366).

Table 2: Regressions of voting behavior variables on three indicators of attitude toward blacks.

| Dependent Variable | Intercept | X ₃ | X ₂ | X ₁ | R ² |
|----------------------------|-----------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Temp. Toward Wallace | 19.652 | 1.475 (.150)** | 2.999 (.267) | | .1219 |
| " | 27.749 | 1.385 (.140) | 2.272 (.243) | -.113 (-.078) | .1271 |
| Intention to vote Wallace | -.020* | .016 (.149) | .022 (.182) | | .0741 |
| " | .041* | .015 (.143) | .020 (.164) | -.001* (-.055) | .0767 |
| Vote Wallace | -.007* | .011 (.119) | .015 (.141) | | .0456 |
| " | .031* | .011 (.114) | .013 (.128) | .001* (-.040) | .0470 |
| Temp. toward Humphrey | 68.501 | -1.574 (-.195) | -.786 (-.086) | | .0573 |
| " | 60.087 | -1.480 (-.184) | -.504* (-.055) | .117 (.099) | .0657 |
| Intention to vote Humphrey | .364 | -.022 (-.155) | -.012 (-.075) | | .0380 |
| " | .269 | -.021 (-.148) | -.009* (-.056) | .001 (.064) | .0415 |
| Vote Humphrey | .372 | -.020 (-.141) | -.016 (-.102) | | .0404 |
| " | .275 | -.019 (-.133) | -.013 (-.082) | .001 (.065) | .0440 |
| Temp. toward Nixon | 65.673 | .402 (.058) | .020* (.003) | | .0034 |
| " | 56.416 | .504 (.072) | .330* (.042) | .129 (.126) | .0171 |
| Intention to vote Nixon | .365 | .015 (.091) | -.022 (-.123) | | .0155 |
| " | .290 | .015 (.096) | -.020 (-.109) | .001* (.044) | .0172 |

Table 2 (continued)

| Dependent Variable | Intercept | X ₃ | X ₂ | X ₁ | R ² |
|--------------------|-----------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Vote Nixon | .360 | .010 (.061) | -.021 (-.117) | | .0124 |
| " | .302 | .010 (.065) | -.019 (-.106) | .001* (.035) | .0134 |

X₁ Temperature Toward Blacks

X₂ Segregationism scale

X₃ Government Action scale

* Statistically insignificant at .05 level

** Standardized regression coefficients presented in parentheses

Source: SRC 1968 Presidential Election Survey of the United States (non-whites excluded, N=1,366).

Table 3: Regressions of Temperature Toward Wallace on Segregationism scale, Government Action scale, Southern Upbringing, and Attitudinal Intensity: Estimates from Equations (4) and (5)*

| Equation | Intercept | X ₂ | X ₃ | X ₄ | (X ₂ ·X ₄) | X ₆ | R ² |
|----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| (4) | 18.538 | 2.392 | 1.371 | | | 12.946 | .1541 |
| | | (.196)** | (.128) | | | (.175) | |
| (5) | 23.532 | 1.148 | 1.310 | -6.817 | 1.701 | 12.726 | .1587 |
| | | (.102) | (.133) | (-.114) | (.153) | (.187) | |

X₂ Segregation scale

X₃ Government Action scale

X₄ Attitudinal Intensity (dummy)

X₆ Southern raised (dummy)

* All estimates statistically significant beyond the .05 level.

** Standardized regression coefficients presented in parentheses.

Source: SRC 1968 Presidential Election Survey of the United States (non-whites excluded, N=1,366).

Table 4: (a) Regression of Intention to Vote for Wallace on (i) Temperature Toward Wallace, and (ii) indicators of attitude toward blacks having direct effects on Temperature Toward Wallace.

| Dependent Variable | Intercept | X ₈ | X ₃ | X ₂ | X ₄ | X ₇ | X ₆ | R ² |
|--------------------|-----------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| X ₉ | -.036 | .004 (.400)** | | | | | | .1599 |
| | -.103 | .004 (.335) | .010 (.098) | .003* (.025) | .021* (.033) | .007* (.062) | .053 (.073) | .1899 |

(b) Regression of Vote for Wallace on (i) Temperature Toward Wallace and Intention to Vote for Wallace, and (ii) indicators of attitude toward blacks having direct effects on Temperature Toward Wallace.

| Dependent Variable | Intercept | X ₉ | X ₈ | X ₃ | X ₂ | X ₄ | X ₇ | X ₆ | R ² |
|--------------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| X ₁₀ | -.048 | .404 (.459) | .003 (.269) | | | | | | .3817 |
| | -.057 | .404 (.459) | .002 (.267) | .001* (.009) | .001* (.014) | .008* (.015) | -.005* (-.049) | .019* (.029) | .3832 |

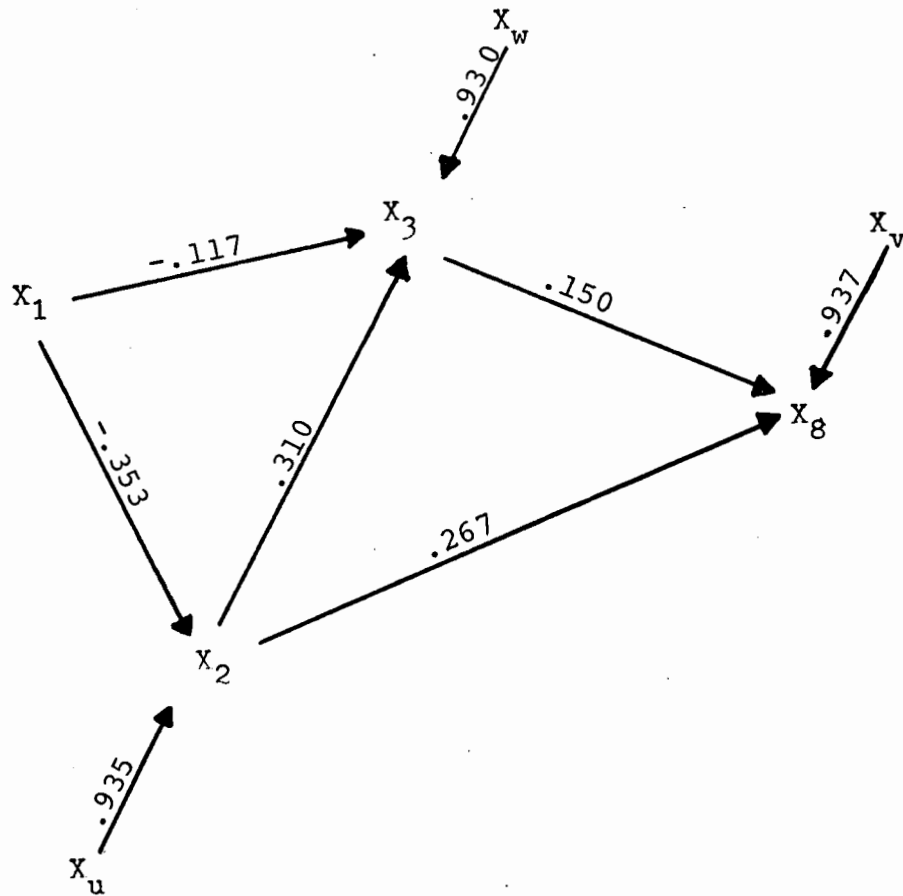
* Statistically insignificant (p>.05)

** Standardized regression coefficients presented in parantheses.

Variable names presented in Figure 6.

Source: SRC 1968 Presidential Election Survey of the United States (non-whites excluded, N=1,366).

Figure 1: Effects of affective feelings and action orientations toward blacks on Temperature Toward Wallace.*



X_1 Temperature Toward Blacks

X_3 Government Action Scale

X_2 Segregationism

X_8 Temperature Toward Wallace

* All paths statistically significant beyond .05.

Source: SRC 1968 Presidential Election Survey of the United States (non-whites excluded, N=1,366).

Figure 2: Relationship between Segregationism and Temperature Toward Wallace, for Southern and non-Southern raised respondents, controlling for Government Action Scale. Source: SRC 1968 Presidential Election Survey of the United States (non-whites excluded, N=1,366).

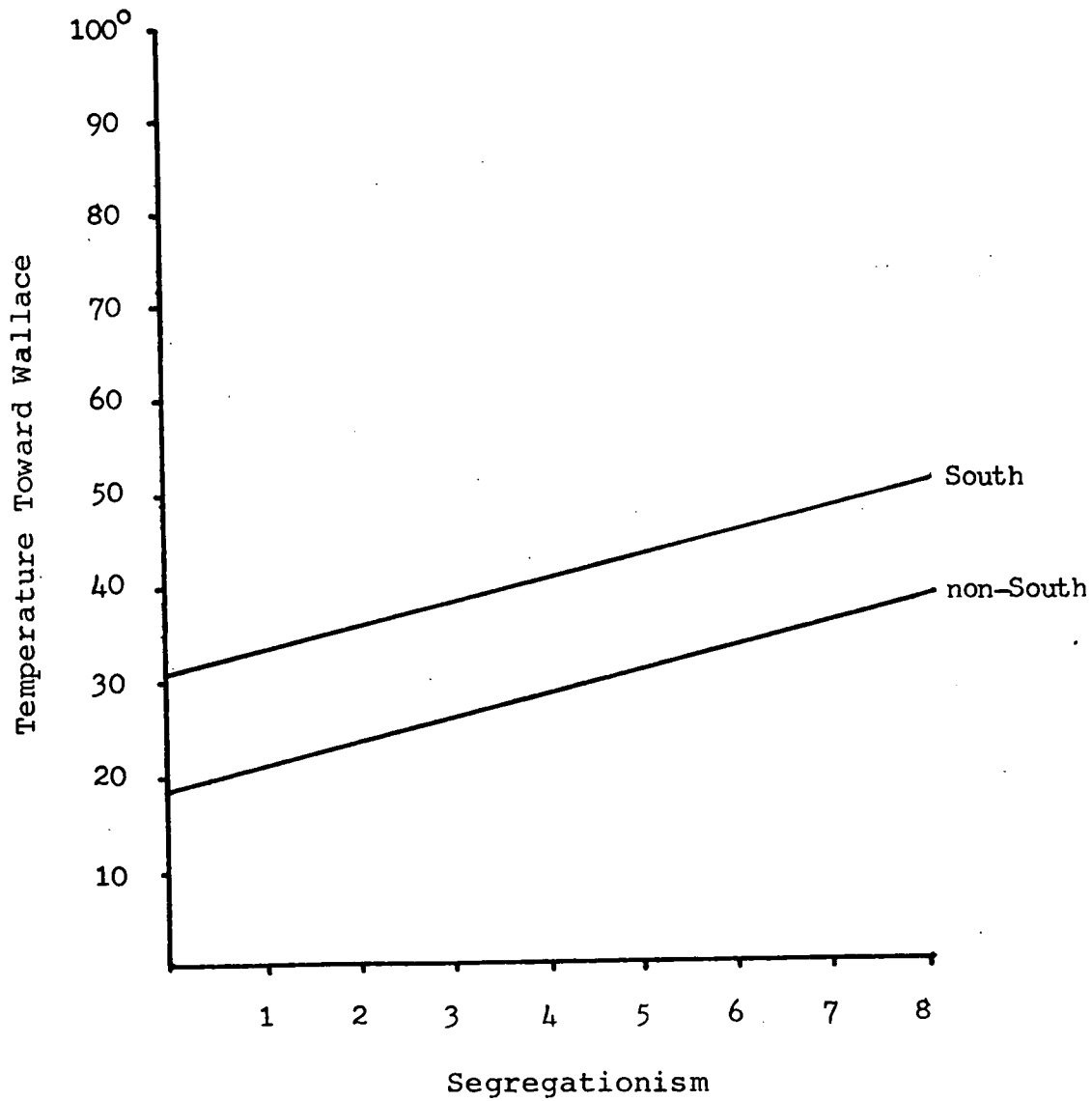


Figure 3: Relationship between Segregationism and Temperature Toward Wallace, for high and low intensity of opinion on racial issue, and for Southern and non-Southern raised, controlling for Government Action scale. Source: SRC 1968 Presidential Election Survey of the United States (non-whites excluded, N=1,366).

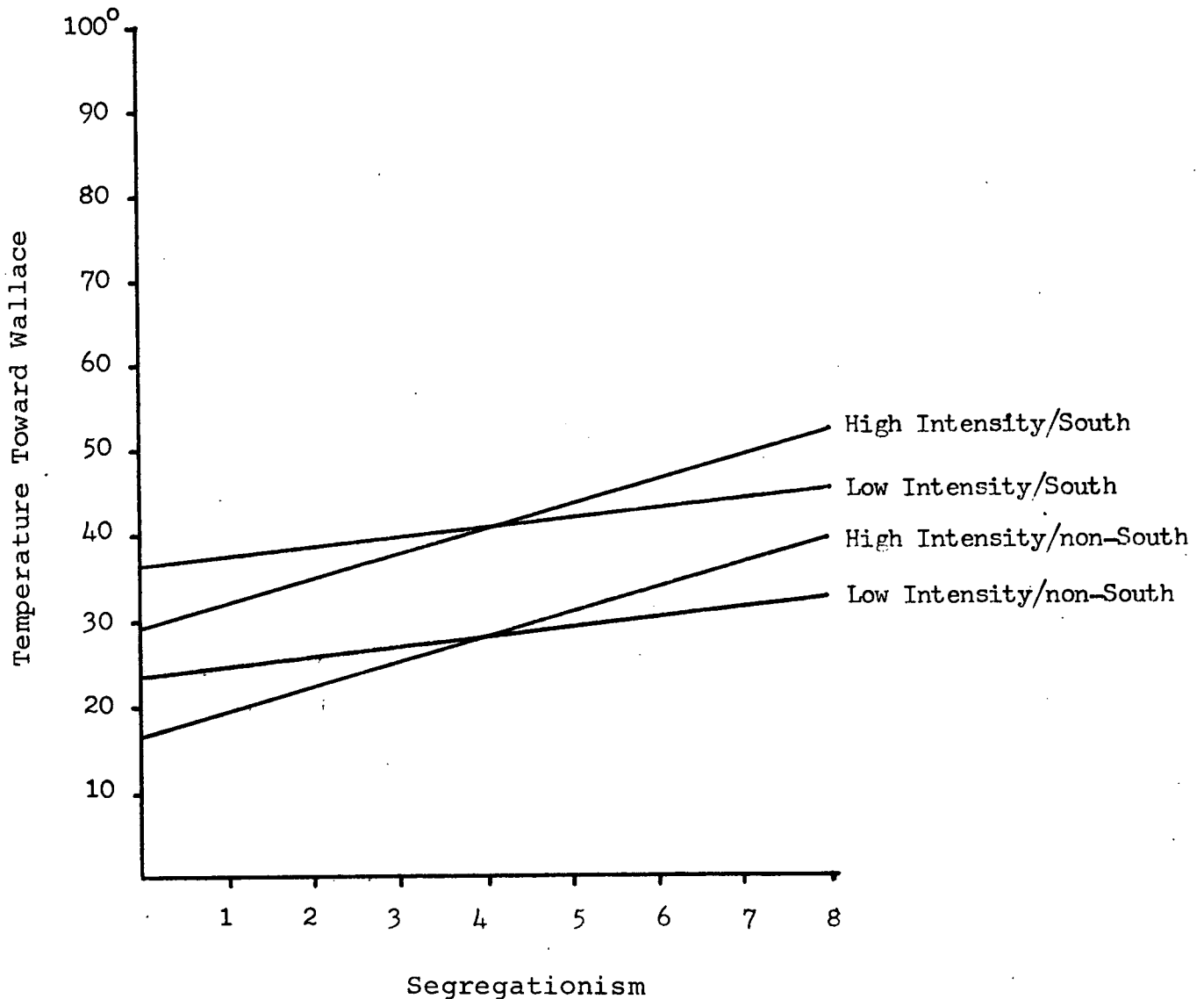
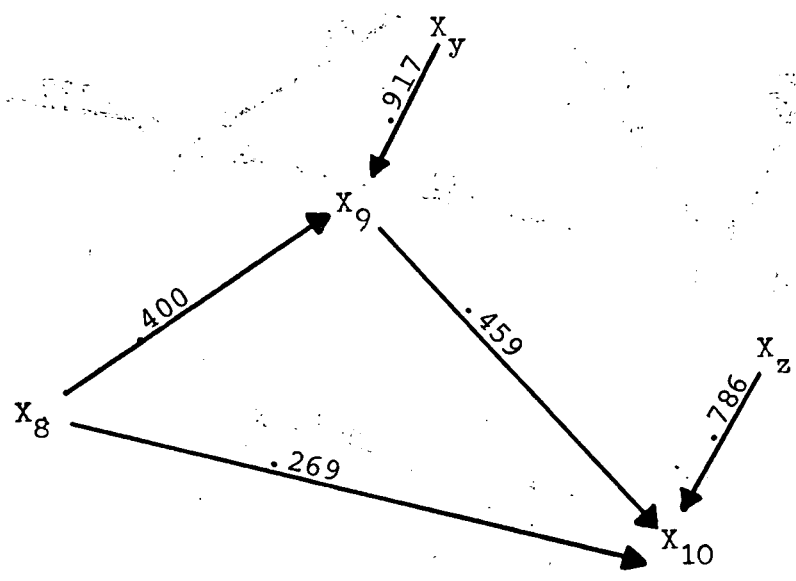


Figure 4: Relationships between affective feelings toward Wallace, behavior intention, and actual behavior toward Wallace.*

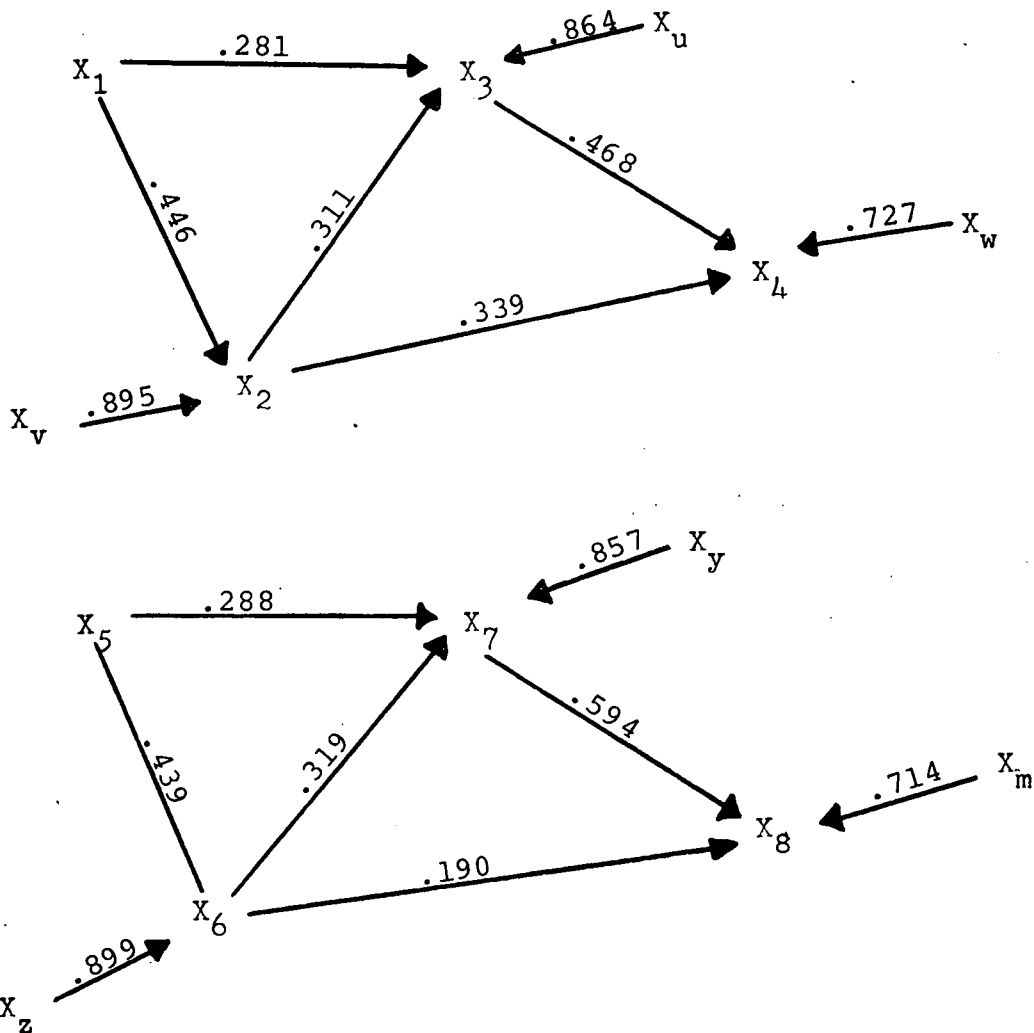


- X₈ Temperature Toward Wallace
- X₉ Intention to Vote for Wallace (dummy)
- X₁₀ Vote for Wallace (dummy)

* All paths statistically significant beyond .05.

Source: SRC 1968 Presidential Election Survey of the United States (non-whites excluded, N=1,366).

Figure 5: The effects of affective feelings toward the candidate's party, affective feelings toward the candidate, and behavioral intention, on voting decision.*



- | | | | |
|----------------|---|----------------|---------------------------|
| X ₁ | Temperature Toward Dem. Party | X ₅ | Temp. Toward Repub. Party |
| X ₂ | Temperature Toward Humphrey | X ₆ | Temp. Toward Nixon |
| X ₃ | Intention to Vote for Humphrey (dummy) | X ₇ | Intent. to Vote for Nixon |
| X ₄ | Vote for Humphrey (dummy) | X ₈ | Vote for Nixon |

* All paths statistically significant beyond .05.

Source: SRC 1968 Presidential Election Survey of the United States (non-whites excluded, N=1,366).

Figure 6: Final model of relationships between (a) affective feelings and action orientation toward blacks, and (b) indicators of attitude toward blacks and behavior toward blacks.*

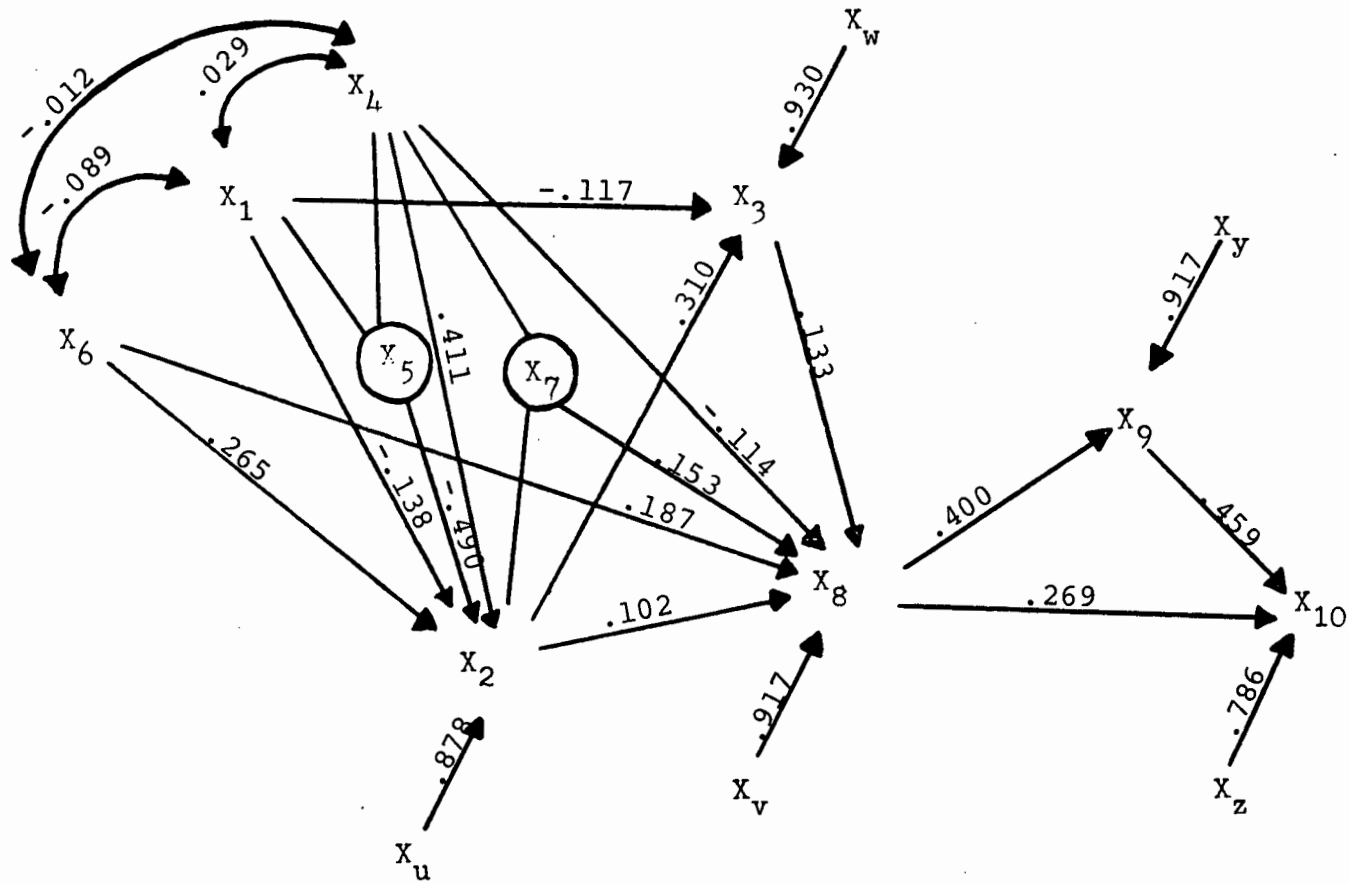


Figure 6: (continued)

- X₁ Temperature Toward Blacks
- X₂ Segregationism
- X₃ Government Action Scale
- X₄ Attitudinal Intensity (dummy)
- X₅ Temperature Toward Blacks x High Intensity
- X₆ Southern-raised
- X₇ Segregationism x High Intensity
- X₈ Temperature Toward Wallace
- X₉ Intention to Vote for Wallace (dummy)
- X₁₀ Vote for Wallace (dummy)

* All paths statistically significant beyond .05.

Source: SRC 1968 Presidential Election Survey of the United States (non-whites excluded, N=1,366).

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