

**EMPOWERMENT AND ETHNIC RELATIONS: A  
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HUNGARIAN ROMA AND  
AFRICAN AMERICANS IN SELECTED RURAL  
COMMUNITIES**

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## I. INTRODUCTION

During the late 80s and 90s the ethnic issues became one of the most important problems in Central Europe. The democratization of the former communist countries brought several positive results, but the problems of the ethnic minorities are not yet solved. The persistence of the ethnic tension has led to violence, bloody conflicts and eventually to civil wars in several places and is a potential source of further social conflicts in other relatively peaceful countries of the region.

Hungary is in a better position concerning its inter-ethnic relations, but the nearly half a million Roma population of this country are going through a very difficult integration process, which often involves conflict. The majority of the Roma (Gypsies) live in poverty. Their living standards are far below the country average. Despite the fact that racial discrimination is strictly forbidden by the Hungarian law, a significant part of Hungarian population has hostile feelings and negative prejudice towards them. Sometimes the authorities, mainly the local ones often treat them with covert, and sometimes very open discrimination.

Only a small number of Hungarian Roma live in their traditional life style and speak their original Romany language. The majority lives scattered among the Hungarian population, mostly in separate residential sites. They keep some of their traditional lifestyle, but have made many adjustments to the dominant cultural norms. In some small settlements where they form a majority of the population, they usually do not participate in the local political and social life. In spite of the fact that in Hungary there are nationwide, elected, self-governmental bodies of the ethnic minorities, which is unique in Europe, these self-governmental institutions do not have enough financial and legal power to accomplish any significant changes in the social and economic situation. They have no significant representation in the Hungarian parliament. The only way for them to participate in the political process is the local governments. This is also difficult, however, because even in those small settlements with a Roma mayor and Roma aldermen they face serious operational and financial shortcomings. The political

empowerment of the Hungarian Roma has entered into a stage where the Roma themselves have to bear the responsibility in elected local governmental bodies. This new stage generates conflicts in the local Roma-Hungarian relationships but also in the Roma community itself. The attempt to empower the Roma is a new development in Central Europe. There is no historical context to help in the study of this problem.

A similar process took place in the American South among the African Americans in the late 60s and early 70s when the first black mayors and sheriffs were elected. This historical parallel provides the opportunity to compare the American and Hungarian process of the political empowerment of minorities with the possibility to use the positive experience of one to the other.

Students in the Department of Visual and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Miskolc, Hungary initiated this research as a senior project in 1998. John A. Strong, a Fulbright professor from the United States, supervised the students. The student research team included: István Lassú, Zsuzsanna Török, Ferenc Simon, Géza Bressel, and Endre Lengyel. The project was later expanded to include a comparative study of an African American community in Mississippi. This phase of the study was initiated and supervised by Dr. István Sértő-Radics, a Fulbright professor from Hungary.

The research project compares the impact of political empowerment on minorities in Hungary, and in the United States. The first phase of the research focused on the village of Uszka in the county of Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg, Hungary. The second phase focused on the communities of Tutwiler and Glendora in Tallahatchie County, Mississippi, USA. The last phase was an analysis of the comparison between the results of the first two phases. The more specific goals of the project include the following:

1. To look for similarities and differences between the political empowerment process in the Hungarian Roma communities and in the African American communities with a special focus on the role of local government and local churches.
2. To look for strategies which will reduce racial tensions.
3. To look for strategies which lead to the improvement of existing social, political and economic status of minorities in both countries.

4. To learn more about the effect of the political empowerment of the African Americans and the Roma on the social condition, education and health status of all racial and ethnic groups in the community.

## **I. THE USZKA RESEARCH 1998-2001 (By John A. Strong)**

### **A. Introduction**

Being different, being a stranger in your own society, and living as a minority are the common experience of the Roma in Hungary. All of these words, different, stranger, and minority, have a negative connotation. Being a Roma in Hungarian society today means that you are different, you are a stranger. The challenge for cultural anthropology is to examine the complexity of the relationship between the Roma and the non-Roma Hungarians. Unfortunately anthropologists in Hungary have failed to put enough emphasis on this problem. There are only a few scholars working on Roma projects. There is an "invisible scholarly ghetto" which encloses and marginalizes Roma research (Piasere, quoted by Prónai 1995:55). Much of the research looks at the problem from two ways, either by focusing on the relationships between Roma and Non-Roma population, or by looking at the two as completely different groups. Both of these approaches fail to take a holistic perspective. The first attempt is only able to discover how a Roma group 'fits' into the majority, and the second doesn't pay sufficient attention to Roma self-definition. As a result these approaches look at the Roma group as a hermetically closed, frozen community, rather than as a lively, fluid community (see also Prónai 1995).

### **B. Methods**

The design for our study is holistic, viewing the Roma as a dynamic, living community in the process of social change. The village of Uszka was selected because the relations between the Roma and the non-Roma were relatively free from the overt racial hostility. We wanted to understand why there was relative harmony between the Roma and non-Roma villagers.

The first phase of the research began in the fall of 1998 at the invitation of Dr. István Sértő-Radics, a physician in the National Health Service who was at the time

serving as the mayor of Uszka, a small Hungarian village of about three hundred and fifty people in the easternmost part of Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County. Eighty per cent of the people in Uszka are Romungro. The research team spent several weekends in Uszka getting acquainted with the villagers. The mayor introduced us to the local officials and to the ministers in the two churches. During this phase of the study we did some library research on the social, political and economic aspects of the Roma in Hungary.

After several visits to Uszka, the research team established contacts with members of the community and received permission from the Mayor and from the pastor of the Roma church to continue with our research. The next stage of the research design called for the standard tools of ethnographic research (Fetterman 1998:31-62). Life history interviews focusing, in part, on relations between the two cultures is one of the most important of these tools. The mayor, community leaders, and representatives from all age groups and economic conditions were included in these interviews. The design also called for formal and informal interviews that focus on perceptions held by Roma and non-Roma about each other. Informants were asked to give some characteristics that they felt described the other culture. We observed behavior and compared that with the information given by our informants. The interviews asked people to describe their former and their recent interactions with the other group, commenting on all the transactions that took place, such as casual conversations and any form of social activity. In August 2000, we made a documentary film about Uszka that included interviews with members of the community.

### **C. Historical Background**

In Hungary the Romungro make up about 70% of an estimated 450,000 Roma population. These figures are not very precise because of the difficulties both in counting the Roma and in deciding who is and who is not a Roma. There is some consensus among scholars that the Roma in Hungary fall into three very general groups based primarily on language: the Romungro, whose mother tongue is Hungarian and who have lived in settled communities for several generations; the Rumanian speaking Roma (Beás), and those Roma who still speak a Romany language (Oláh) (Helsinki Watch, 1993). These categories are rather arbitrary and somewhat misleading because most Beás

and Oláh also speak Hungarian and many Oláh no longer speak a Romany language. One Roma family, for example, told the interviewers that they were Beás, but they spoke only Hungarian.

Another factor that complicates these categories is that most surveys rely on self-identification and acceptance by the community in question to determine membership. This is further complicated when, for example, the Oláh refuse to accept the Romungro as Roma. According to Michael Stewart, who lived for a year in a Romany-speaking Roma community near Miskolc, Hungary, there is considerable hostility expressed towards the Romungros. The Romany speakers did not consider the Romungros to be “true Gypsies” and held them in great contempt (Stewart 1997: 34-35). They are, say the Oláh, “gypsies who became Hungarians or non-gypsies,” and are, therefore, outside the circle (Szuhay and Barati 1993:339-40). The problems with these categories demonstrate the permeable nature of cultural boundaries. Individuals may consciously choose to “pass” into a new category or they may simply find themselves with a new identity because of historical or economic developments over which they had little control. There has been some debate among Hungarian scholars about the classification of Roma. Are they a “special sociological group, a social stratum or an ethnic formation?” Our purpose here is not to resolve the issue. In our study we define the Roma as an ethnic group and the Romungro as a sub category of that group.

The Romungro, whose life-ways are similar to those of the non-Roma Hungarians, generally do not reside near the core communities where the Roma language is still spoken by many people and where many of the customs generally associated with their traditional culture continue. In the past they were associated with such crafts as adobe brick making, but today their occupations and many of their customs are similar to those of their non-Roma neighbors. Their identity as Roma, however, is clearly recognized by their non-Roma neighbors and is acknowledged by the Romungro themselves. There was, for example, absolutely no confusion about the question of Roma identity in the minds of Roma and non-Roma in Uszka. There was one important difference in this regard. Most of the non-Roma villagers did not distinguish between Roma and Romungro.

#### **D. The Empowerment of the Roma in Uszka**

The Romungro and non-Roma residences are integrated, and the village council includes members from both ethnic communities. It is a poor village. Most of the people receive public assistance in the form of pensions, child-care payments, and welfare aid. Several of the houses in the village do not have indoor plumbing. Most of the men are either pensioners or are unemployed.

Prior to 1994 the Roma did not participate in the village elections even though they made up a majority of the voters. Until 1970 the Romungros lived on the outskirts of the village. There were eleven houses in this small enclave. The people here worked in the village, and some of the children attended the primary school in Uszka, but otherwise they lived as a separate community. At this time all of the adults had traditional Roma jobs, such as *vályogvetés*, (adobe brick making) basket making, wooden trough carving, and playing in bands. (Interview, Matild Mursa, 05.04.1999) In 1970 the Batár River flooded and destroyed all of the Romungro houses. The Romungros moved to houses inside the village that they built or purchased with government loans. There were empty houses available because many Hungarians moved away looking for better paying jobs in urban areas. Today the Romungro and non-Roma residences are fairly well integrated. There are 20 Hungarian houses, 77 Romungro houses and 3 whose occupants include both Romungro and non-Roma family members. Many of the houses owned by Hungarians remain empty. The majority of the Roma homes were built with assistance from the government.

In 1973, soon after the Romungros settled in their new residences, the Free Christian Movement appeared in Uszka. The role of the Free Christian Church in Uszka must be seen in the context of the history of Protestantism in Hungary since the 1950s. There was a Protestant “awakening” which began around 1950. The Calvinists, who form one of the major protestant churches in Hungary, were divided in two: one fraction followed the traditional Calvinist belief and the other turned toward a more progressive reform. Finally, the traditional line separated itself completely from the reform line and the priests and ministers established the Free Christian Congregation.

The believers of the Free Christian Church believe that they integrate the New Testament more fully in their lives than do the Calvinists. Within the Free Christian

Church there are also two factions. One group believes that the other does not adhere to the scriptures strictly enough. The tension between the two factions sometimes divided the Congregation. If we look at the history of the Free Christian Church of Uszka, we can see an example of such a division, which began in 1974.

Gizella Josa, an Uszka woman who had spent some time in Germany where she learned about the church doctrines, first introduced the teachings of the Free Christian Church to the people of Uszka. Gizella Josa encouraged Jenő Kopasz, a conservative minister to organize a church in Uszka. Kopasz sent another conservative minister, Jozsef Kocze, to lead the Uszka church. Although Kocze was a Roma, he discouraged all expressions of Roma culture and identity. He did not allow the lively music with Gypsy rhythms in the services. By 1979 a new, more liberal, movement emerged in Uszka, which celebrated the Roma heritage rather than suppressing it. This movement was led by Miklós Mursa another Roma, who was born in the village and has many family contacts here. After he became minister he brought back dancing and gypsy rhythms to the church services.

After 1979, under Mursa's leadership, the church soon became the primary social institution for the Romungros. The ceremonies and the contacts between the believers helped them to keep their identity in spite of the assimilationist goals of the government at that time. The Free Christian Congregation continues to play a very important role in the life of this community, although recently attendance has decreased slightly. Reverend Miklós Mursa is a Romungro himself. Unfortunately Reverend Mursa passed away in the spring of 2001. In his sermons he usually reminded the people that, "we have a Roma heritage and God loves us!" (Field notes 19.12.1998). The new pastor, Edgar Kovacs, has expressed a similar theme in his sermons.

Dr. Sértő-Radics, who had close contacts with many of the Roma villagers through his work in the government medical services programs, organized a political campaign that encouraged Roma participation. Sértő-Radics ran for mayor along with several Roma candidates for village council seats. He won a very close election by only four votes over Barnabas Kenderesi, the owner of the village grocery store. After his first administration, the mayor was re-elected by a wide margin because he had won the support of a large majority of the Roma. Several Roma, including the assistant mayor,

Borbély Lászlóné (Orgován Gizella), were also elected. Some of the non-Roma Hungarians in Uszka realized that there are some positive advantages to an administration that includes Roma representatives. Sértő-Radics, because of his familiarity with the sources of aid from the Hungarian government and from the European Union available to communities with large Roma populations, was able to bring in funds to provide for employment and for village improvements. These projects aid the non-Roma as well as the Roma (Interview with Sértő-Radics, Debrecen, 05, 01, 2000). The routine of village government brings together both groups in cooperative activities. This interaction undoubtedly resulted in the erosion of some negative stereotypes in spite of occasional minor conflicts.

### **III. CONCLUSIONS BASED ON THE USZKA RESEARCH**

Every field trip to Uszka brought out more and more about the inner aspects of the village and often required us to revise our former conclusions. One insight that came from our studies was that the Romungro community has a horizontal and two vertical dimensions. The vertical alignment takes the form of two loosely organized extended family matriarchies, headed by Matild Mursa and Irén Murzsa, whose authority everyone acknowledged. When Matild Mursa died her family group were unable to unite under a successor. The issue of clan leadership remains unresolved. Mixed marriages form the horizontal alignment between Romungro and non-Roma Hungarians.

The data also suggests that changes in life-ways do not erode a sense of historic identity, even when the majority population may perceive the identity as negative. The Romungro in Uszka rejected some aspects of Roma culture, which were out of harmony with the values of the Free Christian church, but they often spoke in general ways about their traditional culture with pride. We asked people how they would identify themselves to see how they would respond. We think that it is most important to hear what people say about their own perceptions of identity. We found that the villagers in Uszka consistently identified themselves as Romungro.

We identified two different views of the Roma heritage that were represented in the same Romungro family by two half sisters. The younger sister, Gizella Orgován, also known as Gizi, is proud of her Roma heritage and speaks about it openly to everyone

(Field notes, 05.04. 1999). Gizi's father is Romungro and she has classic Roma features. The older sister, Olga Mursa, whose father is a non-Roma Hungarian, acknowledges that she is a Romungro, but makes it clear that she would rather distance herself from her Roma heritage. She reminds outsiders that people see her white skin and assume that she is a non-Roma Hungarian. She thinks that intermarriage with non-Roma Hungarians is a very good development (Interview No. 8 Olga Mursa, Uszka, 04.04.1998). Ironically, her sister, Gizi, is married to a non-Roma Hungarian.

In Uszka we found a very different response to intermarriage between Roma and non-Roma Hungarians than the one reported in the Kotics study. Citing an example of a failed marriage between a non-Roma man and a Roma woman, whose life-style was acceptable to the non-Roma family of the husband, the study concluded that the marriage failed because of deep-seated ethnic prejudices. Certainly Kotics is correct when he notes that such marriages will not become commonplace in the near future, but the evidence in the United States and, to some extent, in Uszka, does indicate that as people interact on a basis of equality, such relationships will inevitably increase. When Gizella Orgován wanted to marry her husband Borbély László, (Laci), both families were strongly against their marriage. Gizi had two daughters when she met Laci and this fact and her Roma heritage turned Laci's family against their marriage. Gizi's family was also against their relationship because of Laci's Hungarian heritage. Finally they eloped and returned just after 3 months when both families finally accepted their marriage. When Livia, one of Gizi's twin daughters, married a non-Roma Hungarian man from Debrecen, neither family opposed the marriage because of the ethnic differences. (Interview No. 78. Borbély Lászlóné, Uszka 09.20,2000)

There are other differences between the sisters. Olga seldom goes to the Free Christian Church although she says that she is a believer. Gizi, Olga's half sister, is a devout member of the congregation who attends regularly. The fact that the Free Christian church in Uszka is commonly referred to as the "Roma" church may be one reason why Olga does not participate in church activities. A second difference is the level of participation in community civic affairs. Gizi, who has a degree in nurse-aid, is very active in the local village government. She is a dynamic self-starter, who became

the first Romungro to be elected to the village council. (Pers. Com. Gizella Orgován, Uszka, 05.04. 1999).

Comparison with closely related studies is very useful because it provides a larger context that often reveals important insights. A recent study of relations between Roma and non-Roma by Jozsef Kotics, the chairman of the Visual and Cultural Anthropology department at the University of Miskolc, Hungary proved to be very helpful. He examined the perceptions held by non-Roma about their Roma neighbors in the Romanian village of Zabola. The population of Zabola includes Romanians, Roma, and Hungarians. One of the most important aspects of this research is Kotics' identification of three different Roma communities in Zabola. Too often research on the Roma deals with them as if there were a monolithic community sharing a rigid set of cultural characteristics. "The Roma of Zabola," said Kotics, "can be divided into three distinct strata: the 'hill Roma,' the 'foot of the hill Roma' and the 'village Roma' (Kotics 2000: 3).

The hill Roma live outside of the village on a hill in a more traditional cultural environment. They are very poor and the primary social structure is an extended family clan system. The foot of the hill Roma live in an enclave in the outskirts of the village where they occupy houses formerly owned by Rumanians. In a process very similar to the one we documented in Uszka, some Roma families who wanted to change their life style and could afford it gradually moved from the hill community down into these houses. Although the Romungro in Uszka live in a more integrated residence pattern, it appears that they have much in common with the foot of the hill Roma. The village Roma live in integrated housing in the center of the village alongside their non-Roma neighbors. They are wealthier and have adopted the life style of the non-Roma Hungarians. There are one or two Romungro families in Uszka who have life-ways that are quite similar to this village Roma in Zabola.

As noted above, Kotics' study is important because it provides an innovative model for the study of the Roma. It focuses on the transition process rather than looking for a static list of culture traits. Cultures are continually changing, particularly now in Eastern Europe, as the global structures intrude on provincial village systems. The cultural differences documented in the three Roma groups evoked a range of responses

from the non-Romas in the village. The example of the more prosperous village Roma contradicted the common stereotype of the “poor and lazy” Roma. The better educated, non-Roma Hungarians related positively to these developments, but the peasants, according to Kotics, felt threatened by these changes and “re fenced” their negative views. Gordon Allport in his classic study *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954) defined “Re fencing,” as a cognitive device employed when a fact contradicted a stereotype. The fact is admitted as an exception and the negative tone of the perception remains. “Some Roma are not lazy, but...” Allport concluded, “when evidence conflicts with negative mental categories, it may be distorted (through selection, accentuation, interpretation) so as to seem to confirm the category” (Allport 1954:176).

Kotics found that the prejudices against the Roma were deep-seated and very resistant to change. His descriptions of the attitudes expressed by the Rumanians and the non-Roma Hungarians provide clear examples of the mind-set analyzed by Allport. Examples of cognitive devices described by Allport such as “re-fencing,” scapegoating,” and “over simplification” were all mentioned in Kotics’ study. Just as some of the non-Roma Hungarians in Uszka often ignored the clearly evident differences between the Romungro members of the Free Christian Church and the more traditional Roma, the Romanians and non-Roma Hungarians in Zabola often ignored the differences between the three Roma communities identified by Kotics.

These problems are serious, but they are not a major barrier to the emergence of a civic culture in Hungary where minorities can work together peacefully. The Romungro say that they try to live in harmony with the Hungarians who remained in the village, but the non Roma Hungarians said that the differences in lifestyles sometimes created minor conflicts. (Interview No. 1, Kiss Bela, 18. 11. 1998). There undoubtedly will be some conflicts in the immediate future as the problems of identity and prejudice are addressed.

Two important observations gained from our work in Uszka are related to the emergence of a more positive self-image among the Romungro. The first is the positive impact resulting from their participation on the village council and their involvement in community decision-making. The second is the influence of the evangelical churches on the Romungro. The Free Christian Church has played a major positive role in the process

of acculturation that has been acknowledged by the Romungro and the non-Roma Hungarians.

In Uszka, the successful accomplishment of these two tasks resulted in the election of Mayor Sértő-Radics. Although Uszka is a small village in a remote part of eastern Hungary, one incident six years ago illustrates the psychological importance of having elected officials who are committed to Roma civil rights. When Roma families were prevented from resettling in villages near Székesfehérvár, Hungary, by the local mayors who said that they could not protect the Roma from mob violence, Mayor Sértő-Radics and the village council made a public offer to accept a family and to guarantee that their civil rights would be protected. Although their offer failed because of a confusion about the ownership of the property offered, this announcement sent shock waves through the Hungarian media and prompted a call from the Hungarian government thanking the people of Uszka for their support. Later the Mayor and citizens of Uszka were awarded with the United States-European Union Democracy and Civil Society Award to recognize their courage and commitment.

These developments are undoubtedly factors in the large turnout by Roma voters in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County for the by-elections in the spring of 2000 when Sértő-Radics ran for a seat in the Hungarian Parliament. The voters in Uszka set a record for participation in the elections. Even though he lost, the election served notice that the Roma voters were becoming a force to contend with, particularly in a close election. According to Sértő-Radics, his party, the Alliance of Free Democrats, significantly increased its percent of voter support in eastern Hungary (Interview with Sértő-Radics, Debrecen, 05,01,2000). Similar records were set in the village on the occasions of the referendum on decision of the country's membership in the European Union in April, 2003 and of the EU parliamentary election in June, 2004.

One of the problems facing the Roma community is the failure of the educational system in Hungary to address the needs of the Roma children. Roma students seldom advance beyond the eighth year in schools. A majority of the Roma children are placed in a separate educational track for students with emotional and mental problems. Once in this track, they have little chance of advancing to the university. This is a problem for the Roma children of Uszka. They attend the schools in Tiszabecs, a larger village six

kilometers north of Uszka where they are placed in these separate tracks. Very few ever advance beyond the eighth grade. Although the segregation of Roma students is done in many Hungarian schools, the new Education Act discourages this practice.

#### **IV. THE MISSISSIPPI RESEARCH (by István Sertő-Radics)**

##### **A. Introduction**

Research on the impact of political and social empowerment was done in the American south following the enfranchisement of Blacks in the 1960s. These studies indicate that participation in the political structure of the community leads to important changes in whites as well as in Blacks (Wirt 1997:67-83; Wirt 1970:3-19; Black and Black 1978: 126-137). Prior to the enactment of the federal voting rights laws in 1964 and 1965, Blacks remained on the margins of southern society. They were not allowed to participate in the political decision making process. Their lack of power encouraged whites to view them as second-class citizens and reinforced the negative stereotypes held by whites.

As Blacks began to take an active role in the political process, changes began to occur in the perceptions and cognitions of both whites and Blacks when whites worked closely with Blacks on projects that both groups valued. The interaction tended to increase the respect that whites had for their Black co-workers (Wirt 1997:67). This development, however, is often uneven. For example, while the Romungro in Uszka will be praised for the adaptation of behavior patterns and values more in harmony with those of the majority community, on other occasions these differences will be ignored and the old stereotypes will be applied. The Romungro will then be lumped with the more traditional Roma into the common stereotypes. Jozsef Kotics, in his study of Zabola, noted a similar response to the Roma. Wirt's studies, however, indicate that these conflicts are usually resolved without the level of violence that characterized racial tensions in the South prior to the 1960s.

The experience of the African American minorities in the American South suggests that active participation in community affairs can erode negative racial attitudes and render them less volatile. In a democratic system, the electoral process presents an alternative to violent social change. The first task of the newly enfranchised Blacks was to get their people registered and to have them vote. The power of the Black vote influenced most mainstream white politicians to abandon their more blatant anti-Black policies and to end their openly racist remarks in public speeches. The second task was to elect white politicians who would respond to their needs (Wirt 1997: 81).

The similarities between the African American experience with enfranchisement in the South after 1964 and the political transition in Uszka after 1994 prompted the second phase of the study at the Croft Institute for International Studies at the University of Mississippi. The Croft Institute directed by Michael Metcalf provided an office and undergraduate student assistants, David Flautt and Alysson Mills and eight others to help with the research.

## **B. Methods**

This phase of the research focused on the small communities of Tutwiler and Glendora in Tallahatchie County because the author had visited this area previously and was familiar with the history and culture. Glendora has a population of 285, only 13 of whom are white. Several identified themselves as having mixed ancestry. Seven respondents, for example, said that their genealogies included members of two or more racial groups. The groups mentioned were Africans, Native Americans and Hispanics. Tutwiler is a much larger community with a population of 1364, which includes 116 white members. There were also a few respondents who identified themselves as having mixed ancestry (3) or as Native Americans (4), Hispanics (6), and Asians (5).

Although Yazoo City in Yazoo County, Mississippi was not in the original research plan, the local leaders there invited the author to conduct interviews in their community. Yazoo City has a population of 14,550, two thirds of whom are African American. These communities are all located in the Mississippi Delta and share a common historical and cultural unit. In order to have a comparative database for white views on race, the community of Sumner in western Tallahatchie County was included.

Sumner has a population of 407 including 236 whites, 159 African Americans, 9 Asians, 3 with mixed ancestry and 1 Hispanic. This community has a small white majority.

The methods include interviews, surveys and archival research. The local archival sources include three local newspapers that cover the Mississippi Delta area, *The Sun-Sentinel* of Charleston, *The Clarksdale Press Register*, and *The Greenwood Commonwealth*. The newspapers were analyzed using the method developed by Rife, Lacy and F.G Fico in *Analyzing Media Messages Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research* (New Jersey: Erlbam, 1998). The papers published in and 2001-2002 were selected to show the changes in news coverage during those years. (Appendix #2)

We had access to the town records of Tutwiler and Glendora from 1994 to 2002. This covers the transition period beginning in 1994 when the first Black mayor took power with a Black majority on the village council in Tutwiler. Unfortunately an arsonist burned down the town hall in Glendora in 2001 and all the records were lost (*Sun Sentinel* January 24, 2001). The national archival materials in the Schomburg Collections in New York City and the Carlos Wender-Funaro collections at the National Museum of American History in Washington, D.C. provided a national and international context for the local materials. We also had access to the following web site data bases: National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, The National League of Cities, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The informants for the interviews included six mayors, five elected village officials, five educational administrators, five Church leaders, seven business leaders, and two health care officials. These people are listed in Appendix 2. Ten research assistants provided by the Croft Institute for International Studies conducted the surveys. These students have completed about 147 structured interviews using a standardized questionnaire to obtain information about social status, self-image, health conditions, expectations for the future, and attitudes about race and ethnicity. The people being interviewed were selected from specific gender, age, and occupational categories. (Appendix 3)

### **C. Historical Background**

Although most people, especially Europeans, assume the Mississippi Delta refers to the mouth of the Mississippi River and its surrounding lands, it is a geographic area that covers about sixty miles on each side of the Mississippi River. The North Delta includes Tallahatchie County in northwestern Mississippi. The area has a distinctive history and a diversity of cultures. The Native Americans named the river that flows through the county, "Tallahatchie," meaning "rock river." Over the years the area has suffered tremendous damage from seasonal flooding. In the 1880s and again in the 1930s thousands of acres of land were flooded destroying homes, farms and businesses. The county was organized in 1833 and has two county seats, one in Charlestown on the east side of the river and one in Sumner, on the west side.

It is one of the poorest and least developed areas in the United States. The wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few white farmers and businessmen. The Tallahatchie River separates the more prosperous, predominately white communities in East Tallahatchie from the poorer, predominately, African American communities such as Tutwiler and Glendora in West Tallahatchie. Today Tallahatchie County has a population of 15,000. About 60% are African American, but they are heavily concentrated in the western section of the county. Nearly 80% of the people in the western side of the river are African American and about 70% of those living on the eastern side are white.

One of the positive experiences contributing to inter-ethnic harmony in Uszka is the integrated housing patterns. This has probably been a factor in the small but increasing number of marriages between Roma and non-Roma Hungarians. There is also an increase in less formal social interaction among members of the community. In Mississippi, however, the housing is generally segregated. This tends to limit the social interaction between the races.

This is cotton country, although there have been some experiments with other crops such as soybeans, and corn. Federal agricultural subsidies continue to enrich the large landowners who thrive on this form of corporate welfare. These same farmers are quick to complain, however, about local taxes that support community services such as education and welfare for the poor. Ironically this the same complaint that the white southerners voiced during the Reconstruction Period after the Civil War when African

Americans voted and held elected offices. When the Northern troops were withdrawn, the whites moved quickly to disenfranchise the African Americans using a combination of violence and political manipulation to regain white supremacy. Once the African Americans were removed from positions of power, the local governments lowered taxes on property and limited public support for social services.

Glendora was founded at the end of the nineteenth century when a railroad station, a post office and a sawmill were located there. As the town grew, it was designated as a voting precinct. The Cane Lumber Company built a large mill, but it was moved to another site in 1909. Glendora flourished during the years between the two world wars. The Lion's Club disbanded in 1962 signaling the beginning of an economic decline. Today it is one of the poorest settlements in the Mississippi Delta. The only businesses are a little grocery store, a gas station, and a snack shop.

In 1899 Tom Tutwiler, a civil engineer for the railroad made his headquarters seven miles northeast of Sumner while surveying for the railroad. The town of Tutwiler was founded on that site and was given his name. In 1900 the Illinois Central Railroad running from Yazoo City to Lambert built a railroad yard here. The settlement was incorporated in 1905. The town grew to a population of over 1,000 by 1929, but when the railroad depot moved to Clarksdale the population and wealth of the community began to decline. Now the town has two gas stations, a laundry, a grocery store, and a grain elevator. The last factory, Acme Framework, was closed in 1994.

The most important institution is the local government, which runs the city library, the fire station, the water and sewer department and the local churches. The Catholic Church established a clinic and an education center. Tutwiler Clinic Inc. provides medical care for the town and its neighbors, and the Tutwiler Education Center sponsors after school programs, recreational activities, and cultural events. A little park just behind the abandoned railroad station and yard was established for the memory of the blues and jazz legend W.C. Handy. The churches remain completely segregated. The First Baptist Church serves the remaining white community of the town. The African Americans worship in six congregations. One of them is a charismatic church on Highway 49 that attracts worshippers from as far away as Memphis.

A white businessman named J.B. Sumner, who moved to the area in 1872, founded the town of Sumner. At that time the present site of the town was a dense forest. Sumner donated land for the railroad right-of-way, a railroad depot, the courthouse square in the center of town and a jail. A year later a Presbyterian Church was established. The post office was built in 1885 and the town was incorporated five years later. The disastrous floods in the 1880s and 1930s forced the people of Sumner to go by boat to get supplies and destroyed thousands of acres of crops and damaged buildings. The first courthouse, built in 1902 was partially destroyed by fire in 1908 but the records were saved. In 1909 the entire business section of the town burned and all records were destroyed.

In order to understand the impact of the 1965 Voting Rights Act on the people of rural Mississippi it is necessary to briefly review the history of race relations in the Deep South. The slave system was based on the assertion that African Americans were property and had no more rights than the cattle or other domestic animals on the plantation. The United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scot Decision upheld this view in 1857. The South went to war rather than make any compromises, which would weaken the slave system. After the war, the Federal government kept troops in the South to ensure that the freed slaves would have all the rights and privileges of citizenship. The defeated southern whites deeply resented this continued intrusion into their lives.

During the decade of Reconstruction following the Civil War, federal troops monitored elections guaranteeing that African Americans could vote and hold elected offices. They used their political power to address issues of concern to them such as education and improved social services. Public education, which had been established in the North decades before the Civil War was finally introduced into the South. Whites, however, complained that these administrations raised property taxes and wasted public money. As soon as the federal troops were removed, the whites used terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and complicated elections laws to drive the African Americans from the political process and deny them their basic constitutional rights. Northern whites lost interest in the plight of the African Americans as they turned to the challenges of industrialization and the development of international trade and enterprise.

Race relations in the south from the 1880s until the 1950s were marked by symbolic acts of extreme violence. There were nearly 5, 000 documented lynchings, mostly in the South, during this period. The enforced segregation resulted in a system characterized by an absence of any real communication between the races. Ralph Ellison has illustrated this poignantly in his novel *The Invisible Man*, where the whites see through the African Americans as if they were not there in their everyday interactions. In the south, according to Frederick Wirt, this relationship “produced several white illusions. One was that in some way (and not merely economic), whites “owned” Negroes- the term most often heard was ‘my nigras” (Wirt 1970:318). This psychological dimension of southern race relations proved to be the most resistant to social change.

The first shock to the Southern mind came in 1954 when the United States Supreme Court ruled that school segregations was unconstitutional. The state of Mississippi launched a well-financed campaign of “massive resistance” to “forced integration. The southerners once again viewed themselves as the victims of an oppressive government dominated by northern liberals. They fought integration until 1962 when the federal courts ordered Mississippi to integrate its public schools. Rather than send their children to school with African Americans the whites established exclusive private academies. The public schools, as a result, are now predominately African American. White property owners generally oppose any attempt to raise taxes for public education.

Some southern reaction turned violent. In the summer of 1955 Emmett Till, a fourteen-year-old Black youth, was beaten and killed because he was accused of whistling at a white woman while she was working in a local store. This took place in LeFlore County, which borders on Tallahatchie County. Till’s body was found in the Tallahatchie River, his face so badly beaten that he could not be recognized. An all-white jury refused to convict his murderers. Harvey Henderson, one of the lawyers who defended Till’s murderers, is today the influential Town Attorney for Sumner and Tutwiler. When the civil rights workers were organizing protests for voting rights some whites in Mississippi began a campaign of violence and intimidation. In 1964 alone there

were 80 beatings, 35 shootings, 68 bombing or burning of African American churches, businesses and homes.

The civil rights movement was slowed down in Mississippi, but it could not be stopped. Gradually the more responsible whites began to realize that their worst fears about the end of white supremacy were not going to happen. The whites found that they could live with the changes albeit somewhat reluctantly. For the African Americans, however, the change was enormous and far-reaching. The most important change, noted Frederick Wirt in his study of rural Mississippi in 1967 was psychological. The white's illusion of ownership over the Blacks was broken by the reality of African American participation in the political process (Wirt 1970:318-19).

#### **D. The Roma and The African Americans: A Comparative Perspective**

There are several important similarities between the Roma and the African Americans. Both groups suffered from discrimination and prejudice. Similar stereotypes are frequently used to describe them. They are both viewed by many as lazy, crime prone, intellectually inferior, emotionally immature, albeit gifted in music. Another similarity is geographic and economic. The Mississippi Delta and the area around Uszka both suffer from seasonal flooding. In December 2001 and in January 2002, for example, Tutwiler and Glendora suffered from floodwaters. Although not as devastating as the great floods of the 1880s and the 1930s, the recent floods disrupted community life and business for nearly two months. Uszka has also experienced severe flood damage on several occasions. Other common problems include high levels of unemployment, and drug abuse. One factor that exacerbates the employment problems in both places is the competition for jobs with low paid immigrant "guest workers." Mexican workers come to work in the Mississippi Delta and workers from Ukraine come into Eastern Hungary for work.

There is another very important similarity for the causes of the high unemployment rates in the Mississippi Delta and in eastern Hungary. One cause, and maybe the main cause, of high unemployment among Delta Blacks is the change in the rural economy from a labor-intensive system that did not require highly skilled labor to a modern, industrialized system that needs skilled workers to operate expensive machinery.

Cotton production today depends on fewer workers with higher levels of skills. Similarly, in 1990, after the collapse of the Hungarian Communist regime, when the new democratic government took power the old labor intensive collective farms were closed down. The country's agricultural patterns changed. In Hungary, from 1960 through 1990, most of the land was cultivated by "cooperatives" that were in fact state-owned enterprises farming tens of thousands of acres. When the land, which was confiscated in 1960, was returned in 1990 to its former owners the Roma claims were ignored. Many Roma had also lost land but the "re-privatization" commissions generally ignored the Roma claims. As a result, unemployment soared among the Roma agricultural workers. The new owners of the land modernized, as did Delta cotton farmers, and the need for gypsy agricultural workers further declined.

Another similarity can be seen in the changing residence patterns. During the 1960s and 1970s, many Black residents of western Tallahatchie County migrated north to cities such as Detroit and Chicago in search of work (Interview #19, Bob Flautt). In a similar way, in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, many Roma moved to urban areas for industrial employment, mostly in construction. Since the 1980s, the Black migration has reversed and many have moved home. The same happened among the Roma beginning in the early 1990s. The communist state guaranteed work for everyone, even though some of the jobs were redundant. When the private enterprise system was established in Hungary following the collapse of communism, the Roma workers were the first fired from industrial jobs. Consequently they have moved back to their rural villages where their presence is increasing the high rates of unemployment.

Another important similarity is the relative weakness of the law enforcement agencies. Law is not well enforced in Tallahatchie County (Interview # 19, Bob Flautt), nor is it in areas like Uszka where the local policemen and border guards are underpaid. Policemen in the Mississippi Delta and in rural Hungary are paid far less than their counterparts in the large cities. One result is that the police are more easily tempted to accept bribes or even become directly involved in criminal activities. Drug dealers and smugglers know this and target these areas with attractive bribes for cooperative police officers. The drug traffic is a severe problem in Tallahatchie County and in rural villages such as Uszka, located on the Ukrainian border, smuggling is rampant. Gasoline,

cigarettes, and refugees seeking asylum in Western Europe pass across the border at these more remote areas. An important similarity regarding both areas is that the two main underlying causes of trafficking and smuggling are the high unemployment rate and the ineffective law enforcement.

In Hungary and in the United States the armed forces now offer opportunities to minorities (Interview #18 Neil Sherman). Prior to the 1960s Black soldiers in the American military were in special non-fighting units where they served as truck drivers, cooks, and laborers. After the 1960s they were given equal opportunities to advance in the ranks and learn new skills. In the Hungarian army prior to the 1990s, most Roma soldiers were placed in non-combative units to work on state-sponsored construction – meaning that instead of a rifle, the Roma carried shovels (Interview # 32 Tibor Farkas).

One educational problem shared by the Roma and American Blacks is the tendency of non-Roma Hungarians and whites to remove their children from the schools when the number of Roma and the African American children respectively increases. Another tendency is to move Roma and African American children from the mainstream classes into “special education” classes. This problem is compounded in schools such as the one in Tiszabecs a nearby little town with the size of Tutwiler, where the Uszka children attend, because few of the teachers are certified to teach these special classes (Interview with teachers, Spring, 2001). One of the teachers interviewed in Tiszabecs, who was sympathetic to the problems faced by the Roma children felt that there was a need to have some Roma teachers in the school who could serve as role models. There were no Roma educators at all in the Tiszabecs school system. Roma children seldom remain in school beyond the eighth year. The dropout rate for Blacks is also very high in Tallahatchie County. Although the African Americans have a much higher level of education and a higher percentage of respected professionals to serve as community leaders and role models than is the case in Hungary, the schools in Tallahatchie County are very far below educational standards for the rest of the United States.

In both the Roma and the African American communities there has been a hesitancy to take immediate advantage of their newly gained political rights. Because of the long history of repression, sometimes enforced violently, many Blacks approached the electoral process warily. It was nearly a decade after the Civil Rights Act was passed

before the number of Black elected officials in Mississippi greatly increased. In 1974, there were only 61 Black elected officials, but by 1993 this number had grown to 302. (Parker, 1990) Among these officials are mayors, vice mayors, aldermen, and county supervisors. In Frederick Wirt's classic analysis of the political empowerment process in Mississippi, he noted that there were three stages to the process. The first task was to educate the Blacks about the voting procedures. This was done through the voter registration campaigns in the late 1960s. The next stage, in the absence of experienced Black candidates was to vote for the whites who best represented their interests. White politicians were quick to realize that it was in their own interests to gain the support of Black voters, particularly in close elections. The third stage was to support all of the Blacks candidates who managed to get on the ballot. The final stage came when they had the political sophistication to vote for any candidate, Black or white who supported their interests (Wirt, 1997: 81,82).

In the decade since the Hungarians have had completely free elections, only a few Roma have taken advantage of this potential source of empowerment. The Roma population does not use its voting power to increase the number of the Roma elected officials in municipal governing bodies in Hungary. Although the Roma voters make up 5% of the voting population in 3,300 local government bodies in Hungary only a few elected officials are Roma. They are also poorly represented on county and town supervising boards. It seems that the gypsies in Hungary are in the second phase of the process described by Frederick Wirt.

One significant historical difference between the Roma and the African Americans is that the latter had to organize and struggle for the right to vote. Even after 1965 when the Voting Rights Act took effect, a special Voter Education Project was necessary to force resistant local white officials to register Black voters. In Hungary, in 1990, when the new democratic constitution took effect, the Roma were awarded real voting rights without a struggle. There are several other factors that serve as barriers to Roma political participation. One, of course, is the lack of education and the necessary political experience and skills. Another factor may be the Hungarian election law in the municipalities where the population is under ten thousand inhabitants. The "at-large" elections tend to dilute the Roma votes. It would be more appropriate to use the ward

system in the local elections because this system is better designed to reflect the real racial composition of the population.

## **V. THE IMPACT OF THE VOTING RIGHTS IN GLENDORA AND TUTWILER**

### **A. The National Government and the Bipartite System**

One aspect of the African American experience that has significance for the Roma in Hungary is the active role of the federal government in enforcing civil rights since the 1960s. The role of the federal government in the press for civil rights, for example, in the case of Tutwiler, was very important. The whites attempted to obstruct or undermine the efforts of the Black voters. In 1992, the Voting Section of the Civil Rights Division of the US Department of Justice forced the town to employ a “political redistricting consultant” to realign the wards in a manner which would be fair to the African American community. Whites viewed these changes as “gerrymandering” and tried to block them. Bob Flautt, a wealthy white farmer charged that, “The intention was the dissolution of white votes” (Interview # 21, Flautt). At the Board of Aldermen meeting on December 1, 1992, members voted to accept the Department of Justice’s initiative to hire a consultant for \$5,638.09. (*Book of Minutes*, Town of Tutwiler, Volume 6, Page 75, meeting of Board of Aldermen, December 1, 1992.)

On December 5, 1995, when Johnny Hale, an African American, was elected to the Board of Aldermen under the new system. His election was validated by the attorney general of the United States, who sent a letter to the local government stating that the newly established procedure, which had been challenged by white officials, was in conformity with the standards set by the Civil Rights Division of the US Department of Justice. In other words, the election was accepted as valid in a ward with a mixed population. (*Book of Minutes*, Town of Tutwiler, Volume 6, Page 62, meeting of Board of Aldermen, December 5, 1995.)

The next advance came the following year when Robert Grayson became the first Black mayor of Tutwiler and another African American, Azler Hudson was elected alderman. Once again the white officials raised legal concerns and once again the federal officials stepped in to resolve the conflict in favor of the African American candidates. On October 21, 1996, Deval L. Patrick, assistant attorney general of the United States, Civil Rights Division stated in his letter, “[He] had no objections to the results.” (*Book of Minutes*, Town of Tutwiler, Volume 6, Page 55, meeting of Board of Aldermen, October 21, 1996.). In sharp contrast to the African American reliance on the federal government, the Roma in Uszka and throughout Hungary are not at all confident that the national government has a deep commitment to protect their rights or to meet their community needs.

The newly elected Black local officials in Tutwiler and Glendora are members of the Democratic Party. (Interview # 28, Powell) The tactic of expanding the influence of local Black leaders in the Democratic Party led to the election and reelection of Black candidate, Benny G. Thompson, to the US Congress. (Interviews # 2 Grayson, # 7 Leach, and # 9 Thomas). Congressman Thompson works hard to satisfy many needs of Black communities in the Mississippi Delta. In 2001, in Glendora, three houses were built each for the value of \$60,000 for needy families with a down payment assistance for \$21,000 each. The program is called the Home Investment Partnership and is backed by federal and state grants. At the opening ceremony, Congressman Thompson said, “A lot of people said this couldn’t be done. This is a prime example of what public and private partnership can do.” All the local Black officials participated in this ceremony including Robert Grayson, the mayor of Tutwiler and his vice mayor, Ernestine Dixon, the newly elected Black mayor of Webb, Mississippi State Representative Robert Huddleston from Sumner, Charleston commissioner Richard Gardner, and Tallahatchie commissioners Jeremy Little and Bobby Banks. The only white participant among the dignitaries was Harvey Henderson, the town attorney of Sumner and Tutwiler. The ceremony was closed by Johnny B. Thomas, who said, “We are pulling ourselves back together and revitalizing ourselves little by little.” (*Sun Sentinel* July 12, 2001.)

The African Americans have relied on federal support to help them develop their own bases of political power and influence within the local and national governmental

institutions. There has been little interest in forming separate minority parties. The appeal of the Black Power movement which played an important role in the voter registration drives in the 1960s was limited to some of the younger militants. Virginia Powell a middle-aged Black woman, who was interviewed on election day 2001, remembered Stokely Carmichael, but could not recall much about him except that he had lived in Mississippi during the 1960s". He went back to New York and now I think he went back to Guyana. Maybe he has passed away by now" (Interview # 28 Powell). Carmichael led the voter registration drive in Mississippi and was one of the first to call for "Black Power" and was later to espouse Black separatism. He went to the West African country of Guinea where he died of cancer in 1998. The African Americans in Tallahatchie rejected the appeals of the racially exclusive Black Power movement and elected to work through the national Democratic Party.

The great majority of African Americans have come to rely on the Democratic Party to advance their interests. They have not, however, ignored the Republican Party altogether. Several African American leaders have worked to expand the influence of Black voters inside both of the two major political parties. The larger point here is that they have little interest in supporting parties or organizations that exclude other races. African American political leaders in Tutwiler and Glendora have supported candidates whose policies benefit their constituencies regardless of their race. This has developed a feeling of trust across racial lines. This is what Frederick identified as the final stage of political empowerment.

## **B. The Local Governments**

After the 1965 Federal Voting Rights Act went into effect there was an increase in the number of Black voters, followed by a somewhat later rise in the number of Black elected officials. The number of Black local and county officials rose steadily between 1970 and the late 1990s (Krane and Shaffer 1992: 242.). Although the process of Black empowerment in Mississippi is marked by many historians as beginning with the election of Charles Evers in 1969 as the mayor of Fayette it came a few years later to Tallahatchie County. In 1974, Johnny B. Thomas was one of the first Blacks to be elected to the office of Glendora city alderman. He was also one of the first Blacks to be elected

anywhere in Tallahatchie County. In 1984, he became mayor. The first African-American school board member in Tallahatchie County was Roosevelt Williams, a Sharkey Road resident. He was elected in the late 1970s.

In Tutwiler the first Black elected local officials were elected much later. In 1992, Robert Grayson was elected to the Board of Aldermen. In the 1993 elections, another Black alderman was elected, increasing the number of Blacks on the five-member board to two. The whites, therefore controlled the mayor's office and the Board of Aldermen. A change came in 1995, in the December 5<sup>th</sup> elections when Blacks capture three out of five seats on the Board of Alderman. The mayor's office remained under white control when the former mayor, Phil Jennings, was re-elected. Since these elections the Blacks have remained in control of the Board of Aldermen. (*Book of Minutes*, Town of Tutwiler, Book 4, Vol. 5: 62, meeting of Board of Aldermen, September 1996.)

In Glendora Black elected officials were empowered in the 1980s when in most other Mississippi communities with a Black majority were winning control of local governments. In Tutwiler the process of empowerment was much slower. It was not until the mid 1990s when the significant changes began to occur. One of these changes came on April 2, 1996 when the white mayor, Phillip Jennings resigned along with his sister who was the vice mayor. In the election which took place the following June, the Black candidate, Robert Grayson defeated his white opponent by 197 to 140 votes. Henry Gipson another Black candidate received 34 votes. The one discouraging note was the low turnout by the Black voters. Only 371 of the 700 registered voters turned out to vote. Although this is about the national average, it was of concern to those involved in the political empowerment process.

The turn out was somewhat better in the elections for the town aldermen. Dorothy Taylor, a Black alderman, was elected in Ward 3 by a vote of 51 to 38. The total vote count was 89 out of 140 registered voters in the ward. There are five wards in the town, and in each one there are at least 140 registered voters. Voter turnout in ward 4 on the following September, when Azler Hudson, received 33 votes and his opponent, Walter Hawkins, got only 15 votes. Here less than 40% turned out to vote. The reasons for low voter turnout in municipal elections in Tutwiler suggests that citizens are

relatively apathetic to local politics. (*Book of Minutes*, Town of Tutwiler, Volume 6: 53, meeting of Board of Aldermen, June 4 and September 17, 1996.). This is the case, in Tallahatchie County and unfortunately, throughout the United States. (Interview # 29 Eastridge).

By the mid 1990s in the west Tallahatchie County communities of Glendora, and Tutwiler a Black majority was in control of the local governments. In the West Tallahatchie School District the president of the school board has also been Black.

One major focus of this study was to examine the specific changes which followed the political victories by the African American voters. What was the effect of this Black empowerment? With the tools of the present research, the subject may be studied best in the town of Tutwiler because here we can find a fairly complete set of town records. In Glendora, unfortunately, the records have been lost to two fires.

The research done in Mississippi by Krane and Shaffer led them to conclude that, “In the state of Mississippi, newly elected Black leaders have generally shared a progressive political philosophy that urged the government to provide more social welfare opportunities to its citizens” (Krane and Shaffer, 1992: 243.). We can trace the same process in the case of Tutwiler. Consistent with its traditional culture, Mississippi local governments were dominated by a philosophy of limited government which ignored the needs of the poor and served the interests of the wealthy white elites. These elites were unwilling to pay for improving local services even if they can afford to do so. (Krane and Shaffer, 1992: 242.) This kind of local government fiscal policy is reflected in the local government records of the town of Tutwiler from 1992-1996.

Beginning in 1996, however, a Black mayor and Black majority council governed the town and a new fiscal policy which called for increased taxes to support the needs of the poor. The new officials applied for a grant to build 16 homes for needy Black families. (*Book of Minutes*, Town of Tutwiler, Vol. 6: 63.). At the same time the Board of Aldermen raised the salaries of city employees by five percent. The new mayor also ordered the renovation of the city hall ((*Book of Minutes*, Town of Tutwiler, Vol. 6: 55). On the 7<sup>th</sup> of November their application for an affordable housing grant was approved by the Department of Economic and Community Development of the state of Mississippi.

In addition to these programs the town government refused to cut any of the public employees, including the white city clerk and Harvey Henderson, the town attorney.

In order to finance these new expenditures, which included the salary raises and the matching funds for the new grant, the Board of Aldermen decided to transfer \$20,000 from the pooled investment account to the town's general fund. This ended a tradition of strict monetary policy and began a new approach which enabled the town to spend money on social services. In February of 1997, the North Delta Mississippi Enterprise Community, which is managed by Robert Evans, the Black supervisor of Panola County, provided Tutwiler with \$10,000 for public safety and beautification. This meant that the network of the Black elected local officials began to work as soon as Tutwiler became a Black-run local government. Before 1996, the town never applied for such grants. The most dramatic change, of course was the tax policy. During the term Mayor Jennings there was a gradual decrease in the taxes. The property tax is determined in "mills." In 1992, the tax was 49 mills. Mayor Jennings reduced the tax to 41 mills in 1996. The new Black majority raised it to 44 mills. (*Book of Minutes*, Town of Tutwiler, Vol. 6, Board of Aldermen, June 7, 1997.)

Between 1996 and 2001, the town applied for several grants from federal, state, and other sources. The largest one received so far was in 1999 for \$2,144,700. The United States Department of Agriculture and Rural Development provided \$1,578,500 of this fund. The town had to contribute \$566,200, which they raised by issuing a municipal bond. The aim of this investment was to improve the sewer treatment plant (*Book of Minutes*, Town of Tutwiler, Vol. 8, Board of Aldermen, September 7, 1999.). When the town advertised a bid in the local newspaper for the construction of the new plant, they encouraged minority owned companies to apply.

Other changes have also occurred under Black leadership. These officials usually sought to win the trust of both Blacks and whites. (Interview # 7, Leach). In the case of Tutwiler, the Black leadership did act on the basis of fact rather than race in their human resource policy. For example, not long after the 1996 election, the new administration fired the town defense attorney, Azky Shah, an African-American lawyer from Clarksdale, for a lack of attention. (*Book of Minutes*, Town of Tutwiler, Vol. 6:156, Board of Aldermen, May 6, 1997.)

During the segregation era the community services were not equal for Blacks. For example, the white community's garbage may have been picked up three times a week, but it was only collected once a week in the Black community. The streets in the Black areas were not swept regularly, and there was inadequate police coverage of Black neighborhoods. The schools were never given equal funding. We should remember, "segregated but equal" was never a reality. It was segregated and very unequal. As Black officials were elected they worked against inequalities. (Interview # 31 Sanders.)

The political empowerment of African Americans benefited all of the people of Tallahatchie County because it brought more democracy to local political life. For example, in May 2001, the town of Tutwiler and its Board of Aldermen held their regular meeting at the Education Center of Tutwiler and all local citizens were invited for this meeting. Many residents came, and for two hours these residents questioned the mayor and the board. Locals truly felt like participants in the decision-making. (*Sun Sentinel*, May 3, 2001.) Local Black leaders have been willing to make efforts to improve racial relationships. In August of 2001, the Clarksdale mayor and Board of Commissioners appointed a committee for Human Race Relations which included people of different races and professions such as teachers, shop-owners, and others. The mayor and the four commissioners have the right to appoint one member to this committee, which meets on a regular base and offers recommendations to the city council for the sake of establishing better interracial relationships. (James Jennings, editorial columnist, *Clarksdale Press Register*, August 22, 2001.)

### **C. The Churches**

The churches in the African American communities played a very important role in the political struggle for civil rights. Ironically the churches advanced the movement for integration while, at the same time, they helped to preserve traditional African American cultural identity. Church related organizations, such as the Habitat for Humanity, united whites and African Americans in efforts to increase housing for the poor of both races. ( *Sun Sentinel* 9 22 2001) In Uszka there is considerable harmony and cooperation between the Roma Free Christian Church and the non-Roma Reform Church. This interaction serves to reduce tensions between the two ethnic groups.

The churches in western Tallahatchie County also played a major role in the empowerment process of the African-American population. Churches serve in many areas of community life. They empower Blacks by bringing their communities together and promoting unity. They offer continuous education about local community affairs and politics through their worship services. Churches indirectly teach their congregation a vocabulary not learned elsewhere, which helps African-American individuals to express themselves. Overall, churches contribute to the educational level of the community. The churches help to raise the level of political and social consciousness in the Black community. Ministers during worship services emphasize the unity of mankind and the importance of the individual within the human community. As Dr. Gregory Braggs pastor of Silver Star Missionary Baptist Church of Rome, Miss., “It’s just in our outsiders we look different, we came up different. And yet, still, we share a common humanity. What we are lacking is some kind of understanding among us.” (Interview # 27, Braggs.)

Black churches empower African-Americans through non-governmental organizations that are established by church affiliations. The community of Rome, in Sunflower County, Mississippi, for example, has a population of 250 that is 95 percent Black. Rome is located about six miles southwest of Tutwiler. This small settlement is not incorporated and, therefore, has no elected government. The Silver Star MB Church established the Rome Community Development Organization (RCDO), which applied for and won state grants to built twelve new multi-family housing units. This organization, founded by the church, has improved lives in the community. The RCDO is active on other fronts as well. The group has spearheaded a youth development program that seeks to strengthen local children’s reading, writing, and math skills. The young people in these programs learn how to interact with each other and with other races. So, simply stated, the church has been a structure in helping to empower the people of the community of Rome. (Interview #27 Braggs)

Another non-governmental organization of west Tallahatchie County is the Tallahatchie Ministerial Alliance (TMA), which provides a framework for all the local churches to work together to unify their power. Although most of the members of the organization are Black churches, some white ministers attend meetings and take advantage to achieve common goals that benefit the whole community. (Interviews # 27,

Braggs, # 10 Pimpton, and # 5 Hughes). The original purpose of the TMA, when it was begun in 1993, was to deal with the problems posed by local teen-agers. When it became evident that these problems were linked to issues involving adults and the white community, they broadened their focus to bring together people of all races. The organization tries to create a community of understanding that improves the life of each individual (Interview # 27 Braggs.) One of the most important recent activities of the TMA is the “Father Initiative,” a training course for fathers and families that is funded by the state of Mississippi. The purpose is to foster healthy fatherhood by positively reinforcing good fathers and instructing all fathers on ways to improve their parenting skills. The program targets the local Black community (Interview # 5 Hughes; *Sun Sentinel*, October 18, 2001.)

The congregations of the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Catholic churches in west Tallahatchie County are predominantly white. Ironically it is the Catholic church, rather than the white Protestant churches, that has made significant strides in communicating with the Black community and fostering racial reconciliation. The Catholic Church exercises significant influence in the reconciliation and empowerment process. Two of the most visible examples, the Tutwiler Health Clinic and the Tutwiler Education Center were established and are run by Catholic nuns. (Interview # 26, Pearson). Their roles in the community will be elaborated in the next chapter.

Most efforts to improve race relations that come from the Protestants are a result of initiatives taken by the national church organizations. The national Presbytery, for example, has offered scholarships to Black seminary students for many years. Some African-Americans took advantage of this opportunity, including the father of Condaleeza Rice, National Security Advisor in the Bush Administration. Following the lead of the national Presbytery, the Presbyterian Church supported the Glendora Economic and Community Development Corporation’s recent initiatives. (Interviews # 20 Sherman, and # 9 Thomas). The Sumner Episcopal Church offered a special reconciliation program to their primarily white members in an effort to improve relationships between both Black and white races. (Interview #15, Robertshaw.)

There is a highly important role of the churches in the racial reconciliation and empowerment of the Black community. This conclusion is underscored in our study’s

survey results. In Question E 16, we asked, “What are the most important suggestions you have which would improve racial relations in the United States and in the world?” Nearly half of the respondents offered religion-related suggestions. Interestingly, only 11 percent of white respondents, compared to 35 percent of Black respondents, answered in this way.

#### **D. The Non-Governmental Institutions**

Several of the non-governmental programs have been discussed above, but there are many more. One of these is the Tallahatchie Hospice Company, a county program that employs a Black physician and a Black social worker (Interview # 18, Sherman).

An other civic institution, the Tallahatchie Development League was also established and run by African Americans. The TDL specializes in social services such as “meals on wheels,” which delivers prepackaged daily meals to the needy. Another service helps local people to apply for housing grants and other forms of family support. This aid is necessary because many of the African Americans lack the educational skills required for access to some of the social services. The TDL educates the people about the possibilities and even write grant proposals and fill out applications for illiterate people. (Interview # 2, Grayson). In Uszka it is often done by the village clerk despite the fact that this is not one the clerk’s official duties.

The Glendora Economic and Community Development Corporation is another non-profit organization that works closely with the local government. The organization applies for federal and state grants. The executive director of the corporation is the mayor and he has been very successful in obtaining grants. With the help of this money the community started to grow sweet potatoes on 63 acres. They also have a potato washing facility that provides 20 to 25 temporary jobs a year. Their only problem now is to find a reliable market for their crop. Currently they have 3,000 bushels that they hope to sell to a minority owned firm, The Glory Food Company, in Pennsylvania (Interview # 9, Thomas.)

The Tutwiler Clinic and the Tutwiler Education Center are two important non-governmental organizations which play very important role in the empowerment process of African-American people. They were both organized by the Sisters of the Holy Names, a Catholic sorority. These programs provide excellent community services and enforce a non-discriminatory policy with their racially diverse clientele. They also have racially mixed staffs. This provides an important opportunity for bringing together Blacks and whites on an equal status basis where the races can develop a good relationship in an atmosphere of respect ( Interview # 26, Pearson).

The Tutwiler Clinic was opened in 1983 as a full time facility. In 1995 the clinic extended its services to the people of Glendora. The total number of patients assisted by the clinic from August 15, 1983 to April 30, 2002 was 177 652. The number of staff members today is 28 and includes one physician, one practicing nurse, several registered nurses, medical technicians, social workers, housekeepers and administrative staff. Besides the medical, counseling, dental, and optical services, the Clinic provides transportation for medical care, and a playroom for children. It has educational programs for patients, professionals, community, and staff in-service training programs.

### **The Tutwiler Clinic**

The Tutwiler Clinic, besides the above-mentioned activities, has additional goals to help empower its people and their local health program. These additional goals and activities are as follows:

1. To serve as patient advocates where necessary and appropriate.
2. To effect social justice in the surrounding community by increasing awareness of injustices and by enabling people to seek and enjoy their rights as members of the human community in order that they may then enable others.
3. To seek to inform community residents and push them to become more knowledgeable about their health and to participate in their own care to their fullest potential.
4. To be available for emergencies and home visits.
5. To be available for visits to patients who are in the hospital.

Since 1983 the clinic has fulfilled the abovementioned duties. In summary the clinic emphasizes holistic health care for their local residents.

To understand the significance of its activities, it is very important to learn about the budgeting policies. More than 75 percent of the clinic's yearly expenses are covered by donations. Only one quarter of expenses are covered by patients' fees and insurance companies. In the last couple of years the yearly budget was about \$1,000,000. What is the cause of this financial situation? The answer is simple: Year by year, most of the patients who present themselves at the clinic have no medical insurance. The fact is that only 20 to 30 percent of that patients have some kind of medical insurance, such as Medicare or Medicaid or even private insurance. In reality this means that two-thirds of the people of Tutwiler, and Tallahatchie County are not able to pay for their medical care. The philosophy of the clinic, however, is that anyone who comes to the clinic will receive care. They are first seen as patients and payment is negotiated later. They are never denied. In a lot of places a patient is asked to pay up front (Interview 26# Pearson). Many Tutwiler clinic patients have no jobs and thus no insurance coverage during the first three months after they lost their jobs. For example, many people who work in the fish factory leave after a few weeks because the work is so unpleasant. They often change jobs many times, working here and there, earning minimal wage, and remaining uninsured. In other cases the employers offer health insurance that is rejected by the employee who does not want to have the insurance deducted from his or her paycheck. Some employees decline to place all applicable family members under their insurance coverage. The so-called "self-payer" group forms the highest number of the clinic's patients. Payment is sometimes made in kind, or with work around the clinic, but mostly the bill is paid off eventually, a little here, a little there. This is why without donations the clinic could not survive. (Brooks, 1999)

In 1964 the Rural Health Initiative Program built a health clinic in Tutwiler and provided it with a doctor until the clinic closed and the building let to the town. Other doctors served for short periods. In 1979 a doctor came from forty miles away one-half day a week. In 1983, four sisters of the Holy Names, one of whom is the physician, reopened the clinic as a full-time outpatient facility. As the number of patients increased,

there have been expansions in the size of the staff and the building itself. The emphasis on holistic health created the need for outside activities, and by 1992 the Tutwiler Education Center was built and incorporated as a separate entity. With the addition of a nurse practitioner to the clinic's staff in 1992 it became possible for medical services to be expanded to the people of Glendora, a tiny town sixty miles south of Tutwiler, where a satellite clinic is open two days a week. These efforts would not have emerged without the support and concern of many people throughout the country who heard about the clinic through national publicity.

The clinic also serves as a base for biomedical research. Dr. Brooks and her staff participate in several scientific programs. One very important one is *Implementing a Chronic, Non-Infectious Diseases Surveillance System – a Pilot study focusing on childhood asthma in Mississippi*, conducted by Ole Miss epidemiologist, Dr. Dennis Frate. The study confirmed what Dr. Brooks had long suspected, that the Delta children she treats are more likely to have asthma than their peers in the nearby hills. The underlying causes would be environmental, such as pesticides, the allergic affect of cockroaches, the passive smoking of children, crop-dusters, underweight babies with underdeveloped lungs, and household smoke from woodstoves. [Interview # 23, Brooks.]

Another important scientific project is the *Partners in Care*, a three-year federal grant for management of diabetes and hypertension, has proven its worth. Granted to the hospital in Clarksdale, it has funded the placement of case managers in the emergency rooms of hospitals throughout the area. Following the patient with diet, exercise, and lifestyle change instruction, the project assists patients in the proper care of their disease, the keeping of their appointments, personal encouragement, and house calls on occasion. Dr. Brooks was part of the original team that set up the program and two of these workers are on site at the Tutwiler Clinic, one of whom helps in Glendora. The program was funded through 1999 and efforts are in progress to revive this initiative. [Interview # 1 Keys)

In summary, the clinic has three main activities: the first is professional medical aid; the second is patient education; and the third is the overall emphasis based on the holistic philosophy of the staff. The staff is committed to the struggle for social justice in the surrounding communities.

The medical facilities of the clinic are in excellent condition. The medical care is well organized, the clinic is well run, the budget is carefully planned, and the continuing education program is excellent. The coworkers at the clinic believe that their most important goal is to empower the surrounding African-American people.

Because education is a priority, the physician for this patient population prepares multiple pamphlets and carefully chosen videos supplement the staff teaching that occurs daily for every patient who receives medication or has a chronic or acute disease. (Brooks 1999)

A licensed practicing counselor is available during clinic hours for patients of any age who are stressed, abused, disturbed, or grieving, and are in need of counseling. The counselor coordinates support groups for pregnant teens, for parents whose children have died, and for other family needs. A grant has enabled a counselor to fund a dynamic program for nine 13 year-olds for the prevention of child abuse. [Keep Kids Safe.] The use of teen helpers, up to the age of 17, provides training for the older teens in leadership skills with younger children, as well as educating throughout about life skills. The counselor also makes house calls as indicated. (Brooks 1999). Among the teen helpers in this program, there is one young woman who has returned for her third year, and two young women who have returned for a second year. Their comments are as follows, "We returned this year because we enjoyed working with the children last year. We inspired a lot of children. We enjoyed playing games, taking trips, and helping them to learn. The Sisters motivated us and we enjoyed working with them and the kids a lot." [Tutwiler Clinic & Outreach Newsletter, Fall 2001.]

Before the Tutwiler Community Education Center was opened in 1992, the clinic offered GED (General Equality Diploma) courses and evening classes, which were held in the clinic waiting rooms. Gloria Lucas, Gloria Jones, and Betty Reese, three African-American women, attended these GED courses. They became part-time coworkers at the clinic and learned their skills on the job. They have each learned to do "different things that you never thought you could go ahead and do," as Betty Reese expresses it. Gloria Lucas, Gloria Jones, and Betty Reese each expressed confidence in themselves based, in part, on the knowledge that their services are so badly needed by their patients. The young women, says Dr. Brooks, know how to do the job right the first time.

These two examples reflect the important impact of community education programs, which empower the local African-American people. They can be regarded as a second phase of helping marginalized peoples. The first phase is the political empowerment, which means, in the American South, voting rights. The second phase occurs at the institutional level when uneducated African American people are empowered by continuing education and become valuable members in their functioning society, not to mention finding the opportunity to obtain positions that enable them to have steady jobs with reasonable salaries.

The clinic and its coworkers also affect social justice in the surrounding community. Basically the clinic's social purpose works in two ways: first, by efforts to increase awareness of rights; and, second, by pushing people to seek and enjoy their rights as members of the human family in order that they may affirm and enable others. This covers a special kind of advocacy activity. Dr. Brooks has, since 1993, delivered presentations on local, state, and national level meetings, including, most importantly, in 1997, a testimony to the United States House of Representatives' Committee on Hunger, in 1996, a presentation to at the Legislative Forum on Health in the State of Mississippi, and in 1998, a presentation at a forum for Mississippi Health Advocacy. She constantly seeks informal opportunities to promote her message of advocacy. For example, she met with Mississippi Governor Ronnie Musgrove during his short visit in Tutwiler in October 2001. On this occasion she found the opportunity to speak for the African American people, expressing their need for social justice and demanding more rights and opportunities to health. Even though she has no formal electoral position, the local authorities look to Dr. Brooks as a leader. (Interview # 26 Pearson).

### **Tutwiler Community Education Center**

Mission statement of the education center: *The Tutwiler Community Education Center, a body of local community people, of all races, occupations, and ages is dedicated to the growth and development of the community of Tutwiler and surrounding areas by developing programs and events in response to the ideals, dreams, and ideas of the members of the community so that each person may be filled with pride and hope for themselves and for their community.*

Catholic nuns, the Sisters of the Holy Name, established the Tutwiler education center in 1992. The activities of the center were inspired by the outreach activities of the Tutwiler Health Clinic. For several years these programs were held in the back room of the clinic and included a reading program for two to four year-olds, a GED course, a quilting project, the Keep Kids Safe program, tutoring, and other meetings. Finally, after outgrowing the small space, the outreach program moved to a renovated building down the road from the clinic. This was made possible by a grant from the Kellogg Corporation and also with help from general donors from all over the country. The education center soon became legally separate from the clinic, though continuing with the clinic's holistic philosophy. While the above mentioned activities continue in expanded form, new after-school programs like the homework club, computer lab, senior citizen activities, arts and crafts and photography classes, karate classes, exercise classes, poetry readings, parenting programs and teen nights encourage local residents to enjoy themselves and learn at the same time. Other activities hosted by the center include candidates' nights before elections, voting polls, family reunions, weddings and funeral gatherings, civic club meetings, new home-owners classes, celebrations of all holidays, talent shows, fashion shows, lectures, and whatever is possible to facilitate the improvement of the quality of life. (Brooks 1999)

The education center has a very special role in the life of Tutwiler and in the neighboring communities. The target groups are school children, teenagers, and senior citizens, but the center seeks to involve residents of all ages. The senior citizens meet every Wednesday morning. This is an excellent opportunity for gathering older citizens of the community and offering special programs to them. In addition there is a monthly "Ladies' Night Out" on Wednesday evenings. They talk about issues of common interest and sometimes take excursions. For example, last time, the participants went out to dinner in Batesville, Mississippi. (Interview # 4 Delaney).

Teen nights are also successful and well attended. On these occasions, thirty or forty teenagers join for fellowship under the supervision of special volunteers, usually two adults and two college students, who earn a small stipend for their work. Teen night is held on every Tuesday evening and features discussion groups which begin with a

topic that is introduced, by a speaker or a panel. This program has been very successful. One night the group was lead by a panel of four young adults who spoke on their personal experience as a teen parent. Each said, while they loved their child, if they had the opportunity to rethink their life, they would have waited. It gave the young teens some food for thought. Another evening a local reverend, Rev. Emmanuel Lackey, spoke on themes the teens had selected. Rev. Lackey challenged and encouraged the group, and even remained after his talk to play games with the teens. On other occasions the teens have taken excursions to the campus of the University of Mississippi in Oxford, Mississippi to attend a Lady Rebels' basketball game.

Maybe the most important activity of the center is the after school program. The center's facilities include two computer labs: one for the younger children, and one for the teenagers, both of which are equipped with twelve computers. This after school program consists of homework direction, table games, and art projects. (Interview # Delaney).

The Keep Kids Safe program, which has already been mentioned in previous chapter is a very special part of the after school program. It is designated for youths from nine to twelve years old. The program is designed to help participants learn life skills that may enable them to keep themselves safe from physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. They learn these skills through activities that foster peace making, human growth, self-esteem, and celebration. Sister Joann Blomme and her staff of twelve teen helpers organize the program.

In addition there are other specific programs. One remarkable program was called the Photographic Poetry Project. The education center won funding from the Mississippi Arts Commission in the amount \$4,250 to sponsor the project. The children took pictures of their town and the people in it. They put titles on the photos and wrote about their photographs. For inspiration, the children traveled to the University of Mississippi campus to see an exhibit of Dick Waterman's photography. The children were impressed with this photographer's work, and they were subsequently each given a camera to shoot pictures of the campus and the Oxford town square.

On February 22, 2001, the center hosted a town hall meeting that had been organized by the Concerned Citizens of Tutwiler Committee. This committee is made

up of staff members from the center and other local residents. They met to voice varied concerns about road repair, trash pick-up, police patrols, noise control, litter and other issues. Attendance and interest was high. Heated debate along with conciliatory listening were the order of the night. After the meeting, many attendants stood around with refreshments in hand to have one-on-one chats about the topics discussed. The consensus was that the town meeting brought residents together and provided a much-needed forum for discussion of topics that pertinent to community life. (The Times-Tutwiler Community Education Center, May, 2001).

The programs are funded from local activities such as the sale of quilts made by the women in the community and by grants. Recently the staff has researched private and governmental grants and has hired a part time coworker, Beth Kovacs, who writes grant proposals. (Interviews # 4 Delaney) The education center employs five full time staffers including an administrative assistant and a development coordinator, as well as six part time staffers to oversee maintenance and the children's and the senior citizens' programs. The center relies on donations from reliable donors.

Reviewing the activities of the Tutwiler community center in the recent ten years we find that the goals and aims stated in the mission statement are only partly fulfilled. The statement asserts that education is a community activity for all races but 85 percent of the Tutwiler population is African American. To this very day the white population is not involved in the activities of the center. There are two exceptions: the above mentioned town meeting, where Black and white citizens gathered, and an occasion in May of 2001 before local elections, when the center hosted a candidates' night for mayoral and aldermen candidates to present their platforms to voters and answer voter questions. Still there is a lack of participation by white inhabitants. Maybe a new and very important project will help the situation. In November 2001 the town of Tutwiler and the education center obtained a new state of the art gymnasium with a 7,500 square foot facility valued at \$670,000. The gym, which is a part of the center, will hopefully attract a more diverse crowd who will not only come to use the facility but will also encourage interaction between the races. The center's staff believes this gym will draw in more members of the white community all ages to play basketball or other sports. [Clarksdale Press Register, November 19, 2001.]

The education center has a very special role in the empowerment process of the African American community of Tutwiler and neighboring towns. One important effect has been the involvement of Black teenagers who learn to build their self-confidence. More teen helpers hired by the center will serve as role models for the younger children. Another result has been that the center enabled the socially disadvantaged African American people to have more social interaction which may help them to emerge from a state of deprivation into a socially active environment. The need for these kind of activities is underlined by the results of our survey. They showed that Blacks have lower level of social and interpersonal networks than do the whites. Blacks describe a smaller social network than whites. Whites noted a wider interpersonal network and have more interpersonal relations, and we can assume that whites are more likely to invite guests for dinner, to be invited to dinner, and to discuss their personal issues with others.

#### **E. Educational Institutions**

The West Tallahatchie School District runs four schools: the West Tallahatchie High School instructs 530 students grades from 7 to 12; the Bearden Elementary School, instructs students from kindergarten through 6<sup>th</sup> grade, with 830 students; and the North Delta Alternative School in Sumner, a special program that serves a maximum of 75 students who have special needs. There are two private schools in the county, the West Tallahatchie ICS Headstart in Glendora and the Strider Academy on Highway 32 where it crosses the Tallahatchie River. (Interview #16 Howard Hollins)

The school district includes the settlements of Tutwiler, Sumner, Webb, Glendora, and all rural populations from Tutwiler to Glendora. The district is supervised on a rotating basis by a five member elected school board. The board meets twice a month in open sessions. They generally deal with policy issues related to schools, supervision of procedures, and budgeting. The main sources of revenue for the district include, proceeds from property taxes, car tag taxes, Section 16 of the Mississippi Code which collects fines for violations, and federal, state, and private grants. It is the duty of the board to appoint a superintendent who hires principals of the individual institutions with the board's approval. The superintendent is also responsible for employment and for the financial and academic affairs of the district. Howard Hollins presently holds that office.

The board provides suggestions for curriculum, and handles unpaid bills. Two of the most serious problems are the lack of respect given to the schoolteachers and drug abuse within schools. These are major security problems which have forced the district to employ security officers. Currently the board faces a lawsuit filed by teachers who are demanding backwages. There is a “zero tolerance” policy for violations of school discipline in West Tallahatchie School District. A majority of parents have disputed this policy. (Interview # 12 Lucinda Berryhill). 99% of the students and only 60% of the teachers in West Tallahatchie public schools are Black. This may account for some of the disciplinary problems. 99 percent of the support staff and two of the four administrators are Black. In spite of these problems the dropout of rate in the school district is beginning to decrease.

Students are tested in elementary schools and seven years ago the district was placed on probation because scores on IOWA tests for basic skills were among the lowest in the state. At this time Reggie Barnes was superintendent and he led the fight to lift the district from probation. He managed to raise the tests levels from level 1, which is the lowest, to level 2. This story was the theme of a film entitled *LaLee's Kin – The Legacy of Cotton*, which was aired on HBO in 2001. Laura Lee Wallace, a Black woman who is a Delta resident was one of the heroines of this film which depicted her struggle for a better life for herself and her family. In 2002 the Memphis Beale Street Film Festival featured the film. (Tutwiler Clinic and Outreach Newsletter, Fall 2001).

Historically the Delta's scores have been low on these standardized tests. Now there is a transitional period as the state is trying to ready itself for new standards by which they accredit school districts. West Tallahatchie School District, however, is still at level 2. The textbook publishers have become more conscious of including things that are racially sensitive now. The state now has a team that reviews all of the standardized tests that the students are required to take to determine whether or not those tests have a race or gender bias. This forces textbook publishers to make sure that their texts are free from biased references (Interview #16 Howard Hollins).

The most important private school in Western Tallahatchie County is Strider Academy, whose principal is Berry R. Allison. The school was established in 1971, along with most private schools in the Mississippi Delta, to maintain a segregated school

system. The school serves 180 children from kindergarten through 12<sup>th</sup> grade, and employs seventeen teachers though they need more. The annual fee for attendance is about \$2,000 for each child. The school competes with other private academies and has a tax-exempt status with the Mississippi Private School Association. They have a non-discriminatory policy, which means that Strider Academy admits students of any race, color, ethnicity, or origin, but in fact it is segregated. Two scholarships are offered each year for African American children, though they have had no applicants. The opinion of the principal is that Black parents may be afraid to enter their children in all-white schools, or are afraid of betraying their own Black community. (Interview # 24 Berry Allison).

Lucinda Berryhill is a member of the West Tallahatchie school board and feels that white teachers who work in public schools in the district send the wrong signals by sending their own children to private schools. Are the public schools good enough to earn a salary, but not good enough to send your children to, she asks. According to Berry Allison, there is a difference between the family values in Black and white families. There are also Black families who are likely to send their children to Black private schools, which are also the members of the MPSA. (Interview #12 Lucinda Berryhill, and # 24 Berry Allison).

The Legislature of the State of Mississippi made a token gesture in 1982 towards desegregating the educational system by adopting the Mississippi Educational Reform Act. The act enabled the public schools to have access to federal and state tax revenues. The Delta schools receive 30 to 40% of their operating funds from the federal government. The state, however, has continued to give private white schools considerable support. The state gives tax credits to parents who send their children to white segregated school and allows teachers to transfer retirement credits to private schools if they choose to leave the public school system. In spite of this aid, private white schools are currently facing financial shortages. Private fundraising efforts have not been sufficient.

The financial situation is not much better in public schools. The West Tallahatchie School System is still dependent on the proceeds of property taxes. Ironically whites own the vast majority of valuable property in the Delta and West

Tallahatchie County. Whites find themselves paying property taxes to support the integrated public schools, meanwhile paying tuition to send their children to private academies. There are only a few property owners in the county, mostly farmers, who bear and resent the weight of the property tax. This fuels tensions between races (Interview #21 Bob Flautt). This also forces the public school boards to write grant proposals to state and federal agencies asking for funds for specific projects. One possible source of funds is from the federal level, the Title 1 funding, which can be spent on high cost items such as transportation, special education, and free meal programs. Title 1 monies may be also used to support the hiring of teachers beyond what the local district can afford. (Mullins and Wilkens 2001, page 22).

**As a conclusion**, we can state that the school system in the Delta and West Tallahatchie County is still in transition. Educational institutions could play a significant role in the empowerment of the African American people, but because of objective and subjective conditions the system is not able to fulfill this duty. Most importantly, the financial shortage and lack of devoted teachers inhibits the schools. The Mississippi Educational Reform Act has opened new perspectives, but the whole system cannot take these advantages and cope with these problems. The insufficiency of the system results in low-level scores on standardized tests, and relatively high and persistent dropout rates. The challenge that remains is the attainment an adequate financing for schools.

Major issues facing West Tallahatchie schools are familiar to most underdeveloped areas. There are too many students growing up without supervision, and too little attention paid to early education. Consequently, many children enter junior and high schools unable to read. Students spend eight hours a day at school, but the remaining hours of the day are spent in poverty stricken environments. In this situation, the hope of education is buried under the weight of economic and social despair. (Mullins and Wilkins, 2001, page 21).

The abovementioned facts stress the importance of after school programs provided by church related and civic related organizations, which are described in other chapters. It is not by chance that the Tallahatchie Ministerial Alliance, which oversees some such programs, was initially established by the proposal of the local school board.

A better cooperation between public and private institutions is one of the possibilities alleviating the present shortages. Hopefully the results will be seen in the near future.

## **F. The Media**

The electronic and non-electronic press, and the media in general have played an integral role in the empowerment process of African Americans. In western Tallahatchie County, of course, the local newspapers, television and radio programs, mirror and influence the enfranchisement and economical and social empowerment of the Black minority. We have, therefore, included a study of the local newspapers in our research. In the western part of Tallahatchie County there are three periodicals that have important roles in informing the local people. The most important is the *Sun Sentinel*, which is a weekly newspaper. There are also two dailies, the *Clarksdale Press Register* of Coahoma County, and the *Greenwood Commonwealth* of neighboring LeFlore County. As Wirt stated in his book, "One window on the community is opened by the local newspapers. It is not the perfect view, but over time the newspapers reflect a rough image of events affecting both the plain and the powerful. Newspapers indicate the worth of public agenda, that is, those issues thrust on the community for decision-making. Also important is the fact that in selecting certain local events over others, newspaper editors in small town reflect locally dominant values, and if they did not, they lost subscribers." (Wirt, 1997, page 59).

The *Sun Sentinel*, for example, plays a very influential role in forming the opinions and even the political views of its subscribers in Tallahatchie County. The paper is owned by Emery Newspapers, Inc. and has its offices in Charleston. As mentioned before, Tallahatchie County is divided into two parts by the Tallahatchie River: the eastern part is the hilly region of the county with a special hill culture and has its administrative seat in Charleston; the western part of the county has its seat in Sumner. There is no office for the *Sun Sentinel* in Sumner, but it has local columnists who

regularly send reports to the editor concerning local issues. Nevertheless, the point of view of the editors of the newspaper, reflects the opinions of the “hill culture” people. Those views, which are typical for the Delta culture of western Tallahatchie County has been given less space in the pages of the newspaper.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, when issues or news were broken for the Black community, it was labeled as, “for colored people.” But as Black writers became involved, they brought in new information, and they soon developed a distinct voice of their own. (Interview #30 Boyd).

The *Sun Sentinel* has a lot of bulletin board type stories. The typical stories are about professionals, high school and college students, and human-interest stories, for example, about someone who caught a big fish. There are also stories about the military, farms, clubs, weddings, and anniversaries. The political issues are mostly covered in editorials, and there are usually two each week. It is also common to see guest articles on the second page of the paper, next to the editorials. These are interesting articles imported from other state or out of state papers such as the *Clarion Ledger* of Jackson, Mississippi and the *Commercial Appeal* of Memphis, Tennessee.

There is also, of course, a section in the paper for letters to the editor. These provide important insights into the views of the readers. These letters sometimes reveal racist opinions which remain deeply embedded in the white community. Meanwhile, however, the editors try to edit the paper in a racially balanced manner. Almost every issue, for example, has a front-page picture about persons from both races. Most of the time there are pictures where members of both races are shown.

In each weekly issue a relatively wide range of local governmental topics are covered. The paper deals with issues related to the county council which is located in Charleston, the most important county center. There is not a single edition without short announcements or long articles about the activity of the county supervisors. Local mayors, councilmen, aldermen, are also popular personalities for interviews. One page of the 12-page tabloid is devoted exclusively to religious, church related issues. There is a directory of churches in the newspaper. In the county, which has a population of 16,000 people, there are 100 very active churches, mostly Baptist.

In each issue there is news about both private and public school systems in Tallahatchie County. We can also trace the efforts of the editors to balance the space provided for school issues between public and private schools. Sport related news is also important and offers a good opportunity to publication of photos featuring Blacks and whites together.

We used the content analysis method to study the influence of the press on public opinion in Tallahatchie County. The study sample we used included all the issues of the *Sun Sentinel* and *Clarksdale Press Register* from January 1, 2001, to June 30, 2002. We randomly selected 26 articles from that time period. The detailed methodology is described in Appendix 2. Twenty-three of the twenty-six articles were from the *Sun Sentinel*, and three came from the *Clarksdale Press Register*. Out of twenty-six, twenty-one were informative type news with or without named authors. Four were written by a columnist, and one by a member of the editorial staff. Twelve dealt with public or private institutions, and fourteen dealt primarily with economic issues. (See attached table in appendix 2). Among the public institutions, five were local governmental, two were judicial, and one was school oriented. Among the private institutions, one was a church, two were non-governmental organizations (henceforth NGOs), and one was a social organization.

Three of the articles concerned the flooding of the Mississippi, Tallahatchie and other rivers. Two articles dealt with health issues and, surprisingly, only two concerned racial reconciliation. This small number may simply be related to the small sample. Ten dealt with issues local to Tutwiler, three to Glendora, one to Sumner, one to Webb, and ten articles were concerned with national issues.

In nine articles we found photos featuring persons. Out of the nine photos, four showed only Black people, three of the photos included both races, and only two featured white people. In eastern Tallahatchie, 70 percent of the people are white and 30 percent are Black. The ratio in the western part is 80 percent Black to 20 percent white. In the eastern part, therefore the whites have the majority. (Interview # 21 Bob Flautt.)

Those articles, which deal with sports and crime were not included in the random sample of 26 articles. But we have to mention that this type of coverage is found in each issue of both papers.

Our cross sectional analysis of the two papers reflects clearly the state of the empowerment of the African American people in west Tallahatchie County. Local governments play a very important role in the empowerment process. Black mayors, supervisors, and officials working together with their white colleagues are trying to reach an economic integration and a racial reconciliation in the western part of the county.

It was a pleasant surprise to see the relatively high number of articles dealing with economic issues. The fact that local officials and editors of the newspapers recognize the importance of economic issues means, that they realize that the answer to development of the Delta is closely related to the successful empowerment of the marginalized Black and poor white people of the area. Successful development strategies must be rooted in the overall agricultural, industrial, and commercial development of the county.

The editors of the two papers may be seen as progressive journalists in Mississippi, because they attempt to educate and enlighten a high proportion of their subscribers who are conservative white population with deep seated racial prejudices. The press presents alternative ways for racial reconciliation and restrict coverage of the more virulent racist thought.

Summarizing the role of the press in the Delta, we can state that these institutions play an extremely important and distinguished role. They encourage progressive ideas and reconciliation between the races and try to find common ground for both races on heated topics. The editors offer space to various views and provide good forums for open and civil debates. The focus on economics shows that the press understands that economic development is a common ground that will benefit both races.

### **G. The Judicial System and Law Enforcement**

Recently the crime rate in the Delta and western Tallahatchie County has become alarmingly high. In all areas of the world struck by stark poverty the black market has become an alternative form of earning money. As we have mentioned, in the Roma populations of eastern Hungary the smuggling of gasoline, cigarettes, and refugees are forms of alternative income. The same situation exists for drug trafficking in the Delta. Ironically, there is no racial segregation in this black market. Black and white, Roma and non-Roma traffickers closely cooperate for huge profits in both regions.

The judicial system and law enforcement agencies are extremely important in the empowerment process. One reason is that in these areas of public service we find the traditional grounds for racial profiling. Also, because of the unfavorable economic situation of the county, crime rate is high, and these agencies must cope with new challenges.

As a result of blatant racial profiling, whites have little experience with mistreatment by police. But Blacks have had these experiences in the past, but as more Blacks have roles in law agencies they have worked to end racial profiling. (Interview # 31 Sanders).

As a result of this work, the picture now is different. In Tallahatchie County, of the two justice court judges, one is Black. There is a white judge in the east; and a Black judge over the river. There is also the elected county sheriff, whose elected constable is Black. (Interview # 29 Eastridge).

But this process happened gradually. First, Black lawyers opened practice. Then they were eligible for election to the judiciary. Another important achievement was an act which mandated that if a defendant was Black, at least one jury member must be Black. All these events help to provide a fair trial for African Americans. (Interview # 31 Sanders). Similar judicial practice exists in Europe and in Hungary. Of course the judicial system is different, but in the example of Hungary, appointed judges make their decisions with the help of at least two volunteer judges who are appointed by the local governments. It would be more logical that in areas of large gypsy populations, perhaps 20 percent of total population, at least one of the volunteer judges should be Roma. It seems that the judicial system is working better since Black elected officials are in positions.

Of course there are significant achievements, but also there are many complaints raised by the white community. One such complaint was raised at a Tutwiler town board meeting. One person charged that the law is not enforced for everyone in the same way. (Book of Minutes, Tutwiler, June 4, 2002). At this same meeting, which was open to the public, a white woman claimed her daughter got a ticket for not stopping at a stop sign in Tutwiler. The ticket was paid, but she implied that some Black violators do not pay their fines. Robert Grayson, the Black mayor, and Harvey Henderson, the white city attorney,

said that Judge Whitten III, a white man, is responsible for enforcing those violations. Which means that the woman's complaint was unfounded. She had assumed that Black authorities were biased without taking the trouble to become informed about the local procedures.

There is also a perception among whites that, since the end of appointment of white officials the quality of service in the town has gone down. This is not shared by all whites. In Tallahatchie County there are two Blacks on the board of supervisors, a Black tax assessor, a Black justice court judge, and a Black constable. There is no evidence that the services have declined. (Interview # 29 Paul Eastridge) These same arguments were raised by southern whites during the Reconstruction Period following the Civil War. The whites used these perceptions to defend the repression of the Blacks after the Northern troops left. In Tallahatchie the African-American judges have provided fair and equal treatment to everybody. [Interview # 31 Betty Sanders).

Another concern has been that Black elected officials in the system would favor Blacks over whites for government jobs. It is true that when Blacks are in positions of authority they may help other Blacks climb the ladder, but Blacks have not tried to drive whites out of their jobs. Rather the Blacks have tried simply to join local government and be responsible members of the community. The African Americans want to become a part of the process that affects their lives. One example to support this is that after a Black mayor was elected in June of 1996, he did not remove John W. Whitten, the white judge. In fact, he even gave the white judge a pay raise. Whitten is still the municipal court judge in Tutwiler today. [Book of Minutes, Tutwiler, Volume 6, page 55.]

The other evidence is that Black judges have the confidence of white votes. The voting is based largely on the qualifications of a candidate, not his or her race. Sometimes many African Americans oppose the candidacy of the Black candidate. Whites also will vote for a qualified candidate regardless of race. Circuit court judge Betty Summers, a Black woman, representing Sunflower, Washington, and LeFlore counties earned votes from both white and Black communities. She could not have won the election without the white votes. (Interview # 31 Betty Summers). This was also true for the tax assessor of Tallahatchie County, Dorothy Martin, a Black woman. Martin had as much white support as Black. (Interview # 29 Paul Eastridge.)

It is important for Black elected officials to be influential persons who do not abuse their leadership for their own benefit, but seek continuous feedback from the people who trust them. In some cases, however, there is at least the appearance that Black officials will protect other Blacks in cases involving charges of misconduct in office. In February 2002 there was an interesting case in the second judicial district of Tallahatchie County. The justice court judge, a Black man who has served since 1992, had to answer to a series of accusations in a hearing before the Mississippi Commission on Judicial Performance in Jackson. There were several allegations. Meanwhile one of the two Black supervisors of Tallahatchie County, Jerome Little, made a motion for the county to pay a Clarksdale attorney, Azki Shah, \$1800 to represent the judge in the upcoming hearing. The other Black is an example of Black solidarity. Without knowing the results of the ongoing investigation of the judge's conduct, we cannot decide on the fairness of this kind of solidarity, but it is a phenomenon that exists supervisor, Bobby Banks, seconded the motion. However, supervisors Gregg Hodges, Johnny Goodwin and Stan Tribble, all whites, all voted against the county's responsibility for the judge's legal expenses. This situation among Delta Black elected officials.

Maybe the most important challenge for the judicial system is the increasing rate of crimes related to drug trafficking. There is not a single issue of the *Sun Sentinel* without news of arrests involving drugs, or sentences for drugs. Elected officials of the judicial system realize that the cause of the problem needs to be solved with strategies beyond strict law enforcement and strict sentencing. There is a plan popular among Black judges to establish a special drug court. This is because so many are convicted for making, selling, and distributing drugs. But the idea is to find alternative punishments to jail. This would include mandatory rehabilitation. This is a good example of Black elected officials bringing progressive ideas into the traditional Delta judicial system.

Prisons are, of course, a basic part of law enforcement systems. Public and private correctional institutions also play an important role in the life the county. The private firm, Correctional Corporation of America, which has a facility in Tutwiler, offers steady jobs for local people. Meanwhile the inmates of public and private prisons do public works for the county, such as garbage collecting, street sweeping, and the renovation of public buildings. This issue will also be explained in details in the next

chapter. There is a very important joint venture of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the Department of Corrections, the town of Tutwiler and the Mississippi Delta Levy Board. In March of 2002, after the flood in Tutwiler, inmates built a temporary sand bag levy to protect the homes in Tutwiler. The work was planned by the Army Corps of Engineers. They constructed a three-mile long, temporary levy to protect the water from flooding Hopson bayou [*Sun Sentinel*, March 14, 2002.]

#### **H. The Role of Commercial Enterprises**

It was almost forty years ago, in 1964, when the Civil Rights Act entered into force and enfranchised African Americans in the southern states. In 1967 Juanita Blackwell of Myersville became the first Black woman mayor in Mississippi. It was not until 1974 that the first Black alderman in Tallahatchie County, Johnnie B. Thomas, was elected in Glendora.

Ironically, parallel to the slow paced political empowerment process in Tallahatchie County and Mississippi, an unfavorable slow paced decline in the agriculture had started in the Delta. The Delta has traditionally been an agricultural area, with very little industry. The plantation system has its roots in the nineteenth century. For example, families moved from the Oakland, Water Valley, and Coffeerville hill country to Tallahatchie County. They bought the timber land for \$1 or \$2 an acre, acquiring thousands of acres. They cut the timber and hauled the lumber to the mill in Charleston. (Interview # 22 Michael Flautt). A typical farm family owned almost 1,000 acres.

After the timber was depleted they turned to farming. The main crop is cotton, but soybeans, corn, wheat, and sunflowers are also grown. The price of cotton and other agricultural products has been declining since the 1960s. Most farmers have lost money in the past three or four years. Previously these depressed prices came in eight year cycles, but after the 1960s, the bad years came much closer together (Branson, 2002). More farmers are getting out of the business and most of the bigger farmers are thinking about quitting farming. Another important fact related to farming in the last forty years is that raising cotton and other traditional Delta crops has been increasingly more capital intensive than labor intensive. This means that expensive but much more efficient

machines like cotton pickers, tractors, combines, have been bought by farmers. These changes have resulted in a higher rate of unemployment in the Delta, because farm hands and sharecroppers were not needed anymore. Ironically the people who have been laid off have been mostly African Americans. These changes have had a disastrous effect on the economy of the Delta region. In western Tallahatchie County most of the Blacks in the agricultural sector are the few who work in middle management. Most of the Black labor is used in cotton gins. In the Swan Lake cotton gin, for example, there are two Black assistant managers, both capable of running the cotton gin. (Interview # 22 Michael Flautt).

Other unfavorable factors also affect the economy of western Tallahatchie County. The Illinois Central Railroad wanted to expand but they couldn't buy land in the neighborhood. This is probably because the local planters were afraid that expanding the railroad would bring industrialism to the area, which would create a competition in the labor market, and they would lose their extremely cheap farm hands. This was the typical behavior of the Delta plantocracy in the midst of the twentieth century. (Wirt, pages 161-162.)

In 1945 Tutwiler had drugstores, three restaurants, three department stores, hardware stores, a Kroger store, four Chinese groceries and four doctors. The nice little town also had two hotels, and a movie theatre. Over the years, however, it has dwindled away like all the little Delta towns (Interview # 14 Jennings). Each Delta settlement in Mississippi has its own story of the decline of traditional farming and the low level of industrialization. These stories tell a sad tale of economic decline in the Delta. Nevertheless there are some exceptions. Good examples are the city of Batesville and the casinos in Tunica County, where the local economy is booming.

In sharp contrast to the success in some Delta counties, 33 percent of the population of Tallahatchie County live under the poverty level. 28 percent have a basic education of nine years or less. The yearly average of unemployment is 12.5 percent. The rate of unemployment in Tallahatchie changes with the seasons. It is the lowest in September and October at harvest time when it falls to 7 or 8 percent. In February, however, unemployment raises to more than 15 percent. In 2002 it reached 15.8 percent. Tallahatchie County unemployment at that time was the fifth highest among the 82

counties in the state, trailing only Isaqueena and Sharkey (20 percent), Holmes (18.6 percent), and Humphreys (16.5 percent). (February 7, 2002, *Sun Sentinel*.) The unemployment rate has increased over the last five years. There are no statistics available concerning the racial distribution of unemployment rates in Tallahatchie County. It is estimated, however, that one in two Blacks live in poverty, compared to one in eight whites. (M. Wirt, Page 159.) This estimation is supported by the results of our survey. In our informal sample 5.5 percent of African Americans polled were unemployed as opposed to only 2.5 percent of whites. Our survey also showed that forty-eight percent of the African Americans were receiving some kind of federal government welfare programs, while only 10 percent of the whites participate in similar programs.

One of the most important tools coping with this unfavorable economic situation in west Tallahatchie County is the availability of government welfare programs to needy people. But these programs help only for everyday survival. It seems obvious that one solution would be job creation, which requires the cooperation of the private commercial enterprises. If we take into account the maximum ratio jobs provided by the traditional farming culture in the Delta, it is only about 5 percent of total jobs needed. We have to conclude too that new openings can be offered only by enterprises related to industry, services, and trade. During the last two decades there were a tremendous number of efforts on the federal, state, and local levels, to create new jobs. A federal agency, the Small Business Administration (SBA), offers support for small and minority businesses. Another very important program is the Minority Business Development Program, offered under the framework of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Mississippi Department of Economic Development. This program supports the growth and expansion of minority and socially and economically disadvantaged businesses with tailored packages of technical, capital, and managerial assistance. One key feature of the program is the minority business development loan fund (MBDLF), a revolving loan fund that provides for loans ranging from \$50,000 to \$500,000 depending on available funds. The MBDLF promotes job creation and stimulates capital investment to support the increased participation of minority owned businesses in the Delta. A stipulation for accessing this fund, is that the owner must have at least 5 percent equity interest in the business enterprise. The maturity of these loans range from five to ten years, but in the case of

buying equipment or construction, the maturity can go up to 25 years. The interest rate of this loan is usually 2 percent plus the prime rate. The borrower provides at least 5 to 10 percent of project's financing. A private sector lender provides 50 percent and the Small Business Administration fully guarantees. The venture capital bond markets provide the remaining maximum of 40 percent. To participate in the minority loan programs, the 51 percent of the business must be owned and operated by a racial or ethnic minority, or by women.

There are several other types of Small Business Administration loans to promote small businesses. There is no time or space to list them, but the main purpose of these loans is to help small businesses create new jobs in the state of Mississippi. These loans are usually available through organizations such as the Planning and Development Districts or certified development companies. These nonprofit organizations are authorized to make loans to small businesses under Section 502 and 503 and 504 of the Small Business Investment Act, and to provide economic development (low interest) loans from a revolving loan program. (October 18, 2001, *Sun Sentinel*).

Another federal initiative to create jobs in areas of disabled economies, are the "empowerment zones" and "enterprise communities." These programs were established by the U.S. Department of Agricultural and Rural Development in the USDA office of community development in Washington, D.C. The difference between zones and communities is that zones cover larger areas including many counties to find better conditions for business. The program offers tax breaks for selected businesses. The enterprise communities work on a smaller scale providing small grants for education, small businesses development, and crime prevention. These enterprise communities can help those applicants who are not able to match their grants. The North Delta Mississippi Enterprise Community is headquartered in Sardis, Miss., and works for Panola, Quitman, and Tallahatchie Counties. One of its most successful projects is the Community Training Institute which began in March 1999 and has hosted numerous workshops covering various topics of interest, such as stress management, fair housing laws, keeping and organizing scrapbooks, how to start your own business, race relations, grant writing, basic computing, and the nationally acclaimed Algebra Project, just to name a few. The

institute concerns itself with empowering people with the basic skills to grow, to learn, to earn, to own, and to become the best that they can be. (Interview # 3 Avant)

On the state level there are several measurements to create jobs in undeveloped Delta areas and to help people to find opportunities in the job market. Governor Ronnie Musgrove launched such a program in August 2002. It is called the Workforce Investment Network (WIN). Launching the program, Musgrove stated, "Mississippi's greatest resource is its people." The WIN program includes job centers in twelve Delta communities for education, training, and human services. (August 20, 2001, *Clarksdale Press Register*.)

The Delta Regional Authority (DRA), which is a joint authority of the federal government and the states for the development of the Delta region, also funds projects to create jobs. There are sixteen guidelines, which serve as criteria for evaluation of grant proposals. They include: a percent of local contribution, the unemployment rate of population served by project, the number of jobs created, the range of economic impact, and the percent of people living below poverty level in the area served. The DRA works closely with two philanthropic organizations: the Kellogg Foundation and the Walton Family Foundation. (April 27, 2002, *Clarksdale Press Register*).

On the county level there are also efforts to create new jobs. In the Delta area county supervisors are engaging in efforts to attract private and non-private enterprises to create new jobs in their area. Gregg Hodges, county supervisor of district 1, and Sykes Sturdivant, a member of Tallahatchie County Prison Board headed a delegation to the Federal Bureau of Prisons in Washington D.C. to negotiate the construction of a new prison. Because of their efforts, and a \$35,000,000 investment, a new federal prison was built and opened near Tutwiler, creating jobs for 208 local workers. There are 300 federal inmates and 120 local inmates from Tallahatchie, DeSoto, Quitman, and Bolivar counties in the new facility. The county supervisors also played a role in attracting a private prison facility to Tallahatchie County, which is owned by the Correction Corporation of America. It opened in the spring of 2000 as a medium security facility with a capacity for more than 1,000 inmates. (January 3, 2002, *Sun Sentinel*).

Supervisors and local elected officials cooperate on business development projects. Robert Grayson, mayor of Tutwiler, and Johnny Hale, vice mayor, had a

meeting in February 2001 in Clarksdale with Shelly Rice, chief executive officer of Waterfield Cabinets, Inc. The purpose of the meeting was to reopen the ACME frame product building in Tutwiler, which had closed in 1994, laying off 140 local workers. Jerome Little, a county supervisor, is applying for a grant to purchase the building and its surrounding 30 acres, to repair the building, and to create a parking lot. It was hoped that the Waterfield Cabinets, Inc., would open a cabinet factory in this building. (March 1, 2001, *Sun Sentinel*.)

A very special local level initiative, the Glendora Economic and Community Development Corporation, is detailed in an earlier section of this paper entitled, *The non-governmental institutions*. The corporation is now engaged in an attempt to raise and sell sweet potatoes. The organization won a federal grant, and, with the help of this money the corporation started growing sweet potatoes on 63 acres. They also established a potato washing facility which provides 20-25 temporary jobs in a year. The problem now is now selling the sweet potato, because there are very limited market. The federal grant, besides establishing the washing facility, pays the rent for the land and bought a sweet potato combine. In 2002 a small minority owned firm, the Glory Food in Pennsylvania, were going to buy the crop. To evaluate the significance of the 25 temporary workplaces in Glendora, one must take into account that there are 265 people in the village and 97 percent are on welfare.

An example of the role of private and public corporations is the Emerging Markets Partnership (EMP), a comprehensive effort to stimulate economic development in the Delta regions of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. The major goals of the EMP are to promote job creation, retention, and advancement, as well as to stimulate entrepreneurship and business development, foster asset development among low and moderate income individuals, and strengthen infrastructure that enables Delta businesses and workers to successfully compete in the new economy. As an extension of the Kellogg Foundation's Mid South Delta Initiative, EMP is underwritten by the Kellogg Foundation, and bolstered by the commitments of other private and public partners. EMP is managed by the Enterprise Corporation of the Delta (ECD), a community development financial institution that serves the Delta region. The ECD provides grants in the following areas: enterprise development, fostering entrepreneurship and business

development; workplace development preparing individuals for successful employment; community infrastructure (childcare, healthcare, housing, telecommunications); and providing businesses and individuals with the resources to pursue economic advancement. The Glendora Economic and Community Development Corporation recently applied for a grant from the EMP. (Interview #9 Johnny B. Thomas).

One of the most important private enterprises that provides steady jobs at competitive wages to African Americans in the north Mississippi Delta is the Hollywood Casino in Robinson, Mississippi. The casino employs workers from Tunica and Tallahatchie County. Many African American work there at the gaming tables and some find opportunities in hotel management as well. Food and beverage services also employ many people. The employees have many privileges, including the right to eat at a cafeteria where the prices are quite reasonable. The casinos also offer training programs. The management of the casino would like to see more minorities in high qualification jobs such as finances and accounting. (Interview # 19 Robert Moister).

The affirmative action program for minority owned businesses requires contractors who do business with federal, state or local governments must subcontract at least 5 percent of their work to minority business. (Interview # 6 Michael G.Vanderlip).

The local banks also play a crucial role promoting small and minority businesses. They can do this in are several ways. Local banks can offer competitive loans with better conditions such as the very attractive Small Business Administration loans. (Interview # 13 Van Key Ray). Unfortunately only a few African Americans take advantage of these programs. Most local Black customers typically need home repair loans and home improvement loans rather than business loans. On occasion, however, a wealthy Black customer will contact an authorized local bank to handle real estate business. (Interview # 18 Thomas R. Hurdle).

**In conclusion** we can state that during the last two decades in the Delta region and in Tallahatchie County, the labor market for commercial enterprises is open to African American peoples. Most banks and businesses no longer discriminate against Blacks. Banks will never deny loans to qualified applicants. The main problem is the high unemployment rate which results from the general economic decline in the Delta. Despite different kinds of federal subsidies for individuals involved in minority owned

businesses, there is no significant development in the economical empowerment of African American people in western Tallahatchie County.

It seems that these joint efforts, private and public together, are not enough to solve the general problem. Providing infrastructure via local government institutions is not enough to attract new commercial enterprises. With the help of Community Development Block Grants, in most of west Tallahatchie County there are new sewer systems, water supply systems, and electricity systems, but businesses are still closing. This phenomenon is very similar to those undeveloped regions in eastern Hungary, which are populated by the Roma minority.

A good solution might be the example of the rapid economic development of Batesville in the southern part of Panola County. What happened there was that the local political and business leaders decided to work closely together, mayor and banker, businessman and supervisor, Black and white, and with their joint effort they attracted external capital and businesses to settle down in their neighborhood and provide new job opportunities for the local population. The further need for this successful practice is also reinforced by the corresponding results of our survey. This means that economic behavior is determined by community spirit and local government variables. /See in appendix#4/ In Tallahatchie County there are two county seats, one in Charleston and one in Sumner, but there is no Chamber of Commerce in either county seat.

There is a strong tradition of leadership among the planter class in the Delta. Instead of sticking to the mono-cultural cotton raising, they could turn to the possibility of industry using the different kinds of affirmative actions provided by the federal government and working closely together with local Black officials and following the example of Batesville, they could lead the Delta region to a new economical boom. No one but the Delta people can accomplish this task.

### **I. The Role of the Individual**

This role can be estimated by personal opinions. The questionnaire of our survey was constructed to gain this kind of information. From the results of the survey, which are described in detail in Appendix #4, we tried to estimate the effects of the empowerment process on the individual level.

The results partly reinforced our expectations, for example Black people are still less educated, have a lower social status, have a smaller interpersonal network and use mainly the public school system.

At the same time we had some unexpected findings. The two most important ones are as follows:

1. Whites are more satisfied than Blacks do with their community, despite the fact that they are led by Black majority local elected officials. The significance of this finding is discussed in the next chapter.

2. A significantly higher proportion of Blacks feel that their life conditions have been improved during the last ten years, comparing this figure among whites. This fact leads the authors to believe that those events and measurements on governmental and institutional level we described in the previous eight chapters had a beneficial effect on the living standard of African-Americans in western Tallahatchie county. It seems that the fourth of our basic goals, namely “To learn more about the effect of the political empowerment of the African Americans and the Roma on the social condition, education and health status of all racial and ethnic groups in the community”, is almost fulfilled with positive result in the case of Blacks.

Other important expected and unexpected findings of the survey are mentioned in the previous eight chapters.

These were the good news, but the survey has highlighted some bad news too. It means that **interracial prejudices** still exist. Computed variables named as BLACKSUM and WHITESUM (in details in Appendix#4) were created to measure interracial attributes. Our most important findings in this field were as follows:

Gender creates a real difference between the two, meaning that women have less sharp attitudes towards those of another race. White males and females both have negative attitudes towards black people.

If we see the racial distribution of these two computed variables it is not surprising that blacks look at blacks positively while they look at whites negatively. Interestingly whites see themselves more positively than blacks do. Also blacks see themselves with a more negative attitude than they see whites. One explanation of this phenomenon, that blacks have internalized the prejudices against themselves.

In our sample, Presbyterians have the most explicit attitudes towards race; they prefer whites over blacks. This is similar also in the case of Baptist. The only denomination with positive attitudes towards both races is the Full Gospel church, or charismatic blacks.

It was not a surprise that it is the authoritarian personality, measured by F-scale, which determines variables related to aversive prejudices. We found relatively small number of variables which have had a significant effect on authoritarian personality. The most important predictors were the denominational computed variables described in details in Appendix#4. This fact reinforces the responsibility of local churches regarding their actual and possible role in racial reconciliation. It also establishes the foundations of further research.

To measure attitudes toward **interracial relations** we created the cluster named as INTERKLAS. By cluster analysis, the sample has been grouped into two significantly different populations based on answers given for questions relate to interracial relationship. Out of the fourteen questions of this kind, 8 questions received answers that reflect significant differences. The cluster analysis was the best method to group the interviewees. We have two groups in this cluster. In the first the interviewees prefer the integration of African Americans and express more tolerance to them and regard their situation than others. These are “*optimistic*”. In the second “*pessimistic*” group interviewees prefer less integration, and are less tolerant and regard their situation worse than others. In the optimistic group there are 87 interviewees, and 23 in the pessimistic group./ see also in Appendix#4/

It was the discriminate analysis which showed us the most important determinants of these two groups. Thus, those who are black, with a higher occupational status talking partner, with a better satisfied opinion of their community and an improved lifestyle are more likely to be optimistic about solving interracial issues./also see in Appendix#4/

The role of the this optimistic types of individuals who compose actually the majority of our survey sample, can be regarded as model for other persons in further empowerment process.

## **VI. CONCLUSIONS BASED ON THE COMPERATIVE RESEARCH IN USZKA AND MISSISSIPPI**

Two of the goals of this study were to look for strategies which would reduce racial tensions and would facilitate the empowerment of minorities. The authors of this study concluded that they are closely related goals. Once the African Americans of Tallahatchie County and the Roma of Uszka were empowered the racial tensions were significantly reduced. When the minorities gained access to political power they began to interact with the majority on an equal status basis. One product of this personal interaction was a better understanding between the racial groups. Frederick Wirt concluded that as the participation of Black voters in Mississippi increases “leaders of both races learn the need to cooperate to deal with problems common to both. In the case of voting, then, the law changed one reality of the traditionalist outline and gave rise to new perceptions and new cognitions in both races” (Wirt 1997: 83).

The main factor that is vital for the empowerment process is the support of the national government. In the United States the laws that guarantee voting rights and protect the minorities from all forms of discrimination played a determining role. The federal government also provides economic aid through grants for education, community development and minority owned businesses. These kinds of affirmative action programs could make a difference in the case of the Roma as well. Once again we have to emphasize, that without the definite, consistent and detailed actions of law enforcement, the ethnic-racial minorities have no chance for political and social empowerment.

The large majority of African Americans across the United States decided to work through the existing majority parties rather than attempt to organize exclusive Black Power parties. The brief success of the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s and the limited success of the Black Muslims today encouraged the African American leaders to seek a power base within the Democratic Party. Although the Roma and the African Americans represent a small percent of the total voting population, in a close national election such as the recent ones in Hungary and in the United States, a strong minority turn out could have played a deciding role in the election. The leaders in majority parties in both countries are becoming aware of this potential. The American experience

indicates that the Roma can play a similar role in the local and national politics in Hungary. They can become important players in the party politics in Hungary and in the Hungarian Parliament.

The primary strategy to gain power used by the Uszka Roma and the Tallahatchie Blacks was to become involved in the political process in their local communities. Those old fears inherited from the time of Reconstruction were disproved by the practice of the Black majority local governments. No quality of public services declined. They actually improved in Black residential eras. The results of our survey, however, clearly demonstrated that there is a great need for much more improvement. It is important to note that the white interviewees were more satisfied with their communities than the Blacks were with theirs. There is no theoretical or empirical evidence to suggest that there will not be a successful future for the Roma majority governments in local communities in Europe.

The primary vehicle for establishing a unified political base continues to be the local churches. This was true in the Hungarian village of Uszka where the Free Christian church serves as a unifying force for the Roma voters and candidates. In Tallahatchie County the churches played a role in helping prepare the voters to take part in the elections and gave encouragement and support to Black candidates. The crucial historical role of local churches in the empowerment process of minorities is also demonstrated by the results of our survey. Thus those who are interested in the church have an optimistic attitude about solutions for interracial problems, and have a higher social network status. This means that churches are the main institutions affecting the life of these communities. For the open question E16 that asks suggestions for improving interracial relationships, 35 percent of the Blacks mentioned religious related elements, while only 11 percent of whites mentioned religion. Those who are regular churchgoers deny institutional solutions for interracial problems; those who do not attend church prefer them. Blacks attend church on a more regular basis than do whites. If we see this model in the white part of the sample, the surprising result is that churchgoers are less likely to view Blacks in a negative light. /See in Appendix#4/

The minority groups can not rely on the government alone to solve their problems. They must establish other organizations which can address specific community needs,

such as education, housing, and health. The non-governmental organizations such as the Tallahatchie Ministerial Alliance provide a mechanism for community self education and interracial communication. The Tallahatchie experience suggests that those NGO-s are successful which provide basic social services and offer roles for deprived minority persons to act as full members of the society. These civic organizations usually are church affiliated.

The right to vote and the initial involvement of Roma in the political process will not have long term impact unless there are significant improvements in the educational systems in both countries. President Lyndon Johnson in his “War on Poverty” program introduced several important educational reforms. Hungarian educators should consider the teacher aide program that was part of the Johnson program. This program brings women from the local minority community into the schools to aid the teachers in the classroom. Their presence provides a positive role model for the minority children. It also establishes a liaison between the minority community and the school system. The Roma School Success Program (RSSP) sponsored by the Americans Friends Service Committee, a NGO established by Quakers, has introduced programs designed to meet the same educational needs in Hungary.

In our Mississippi sample 92 percent of blacks surveyed use public schools. The average for the total sample is 69 percent. As it was mentioned previously, for the open question E16 that asks suggestions for improving interracial relationships, 35 percent of blacks mentioned religion related elements, while only 11 percent of whites mentioned religion. Whites on the other hand mention education – 54 percent compared to 25 percent of blacks. Only one quarter of blacks have the opinion that interracial relationships should be improved with educational measures compared to one half of whites. This indicates that Blacks prefer other solutions to solve conflicts, such as reliance on religion. Whites appear to be more secular, relying on the education system. At the same time, the story of the segregated academies of the Mississippi Delta suggests that the white flight from integrated public schools leads to a dead-end-street. It is a clear message for those crypto segregationist local elected officials in Hungary who are on their way to establish private elementary and secondary schools with the covert,

sometimes overt, goal to get rid of the Roma students. Recently in the town of Jászladány, Hungary, there was an attempt to follow this unfavorable American model.

One of the most pleasant surprises of this study was to learn about the progressive role of the local Tallahatchie county media. The local daily and weekly papers distributed in the area have a racially balanced editorial manner. Without disturbing the democratic value of freedom of speech, these tabloids are even able to teach their racist subscribers to accept more tolerant racial attitudes. One of their methods is to employ African-American journalists, who regularly write articles from the African American point of view. Another important factor is that their photos feature positive images of Blacks. In Hungary there is a great need for newspapers to present their readers with a friendlier view of the Roma. The positive impact of the media is demonstrated by one result of our survey. More than two-thirds did not agree with the statements in questions E-13 and E-14, implying that during the last two years blacks have received more economic advantages than they deserve, and that during the last two years the government and the media have treated blacks with more respect than they deserve.

Another significant difference between the African-American and Roma empowerment process is the relatively small number of educated Roma professionals. This problem is even more pronounced in the judicial and law enforcement systems. There needs to be a provision in the Hungarian courts that requires the presence of at least one Roma on a jury in cases where a Roma is accused of a crime. The ratio of Roma jurors should reflect the percentage of Roma in the nation. By the Hungarian law it is the local government who should make nominations for the lay jury positions! Racial profiling, which is common police practice in Eastern Europe, should also be banned. There should be race and ethnic relations workshops for all policemen. Affirmative action programs should be designed to increase the number of Roma on the police force.

Last but not least lesson is what we have learned from the present condition of the Delta economy. There are two common features of the African-American and Roma populated regions investigated in this study. The first is that the agriculture itself, even when backed by governmental subsidies, is not able to offer enough jobs to reduce the high

unemployment rates. The second is that even the successful local governmental efforts to establish up to date community infrastructure and services is not enough to attract investors. Effective community marketing based on a partnership between private ownership and public agencies have solved many problems in Batesville, Miss. Here the joint effort of federal, state, and local initiatives to improve the socio-economical status of Delta Blacks has had a measurable effect. Similar tendency can be traced by the results of the survey in western part of Tallahatchie County. Although 68% of our total respondents felt that their living conditions had been improved during the last ten years, among Blacks, this figure is 80 percent as opposed to 45% among whites.

The 5 percent mandatory share to be offered for minority businesses on the occasion of public bids is highly recommended for introduction into the financial practice of the European Union's member states with ethnic minorities.

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## **APPENDIX 1**

### **Interviews**

#### **A. Uszka Interviews**

- (Interview, Matild Mursa, 05.04.1999)
- (Field notes 19.12.1998)
- (Interview with Sértő-Radics, Debrecen, 05, 01, 2000)
- (Field notes, 05.04. 1999)
- (Interview No. 8 Olga Mursa, Uszka, 04.04.1998)
- (Interview No. 78. Borbély Lászlóné, Uszka 09.20,2000)
- (Pers. Com. Gizella Orgován, Uszka, 05.04. 1999).
- (Interview No. 1, Kiss Bela, 11. 18. 1998).

## **B. Mississippi Interviews**

### Interview strategy

We conducted personal interviews with white and African-American participants in the transition process and with present day leaders. These interviews focused on their definitions of problems and successes. We looked for ethnic perceptions in both groups.

Typical questions were:

What was your main activity during the transition process and at present time?

What were and what are your main problems?

What were and what are your main successes?

What kind of racial conflict you have been involved with and how did you resolve it?

What was your reaction when Black started to vote.?

What was the reaction of other people-- Black and White?

What kind of changes you have experienced in politics since that time?

### **List of interviewees:**

1. Sept. 17, 2001 Lela Keys, Project Director. Delta Community Partners in Care.
2. Oct. 1, 2001 Robert Grayson, Mayor of Tutwiler.
3. Oct 2, 2001 Robert Avant, District Supervisor of the North Delta Mississippi Enterprise Community, Panola County (includes description of the program.)
4. Oct. 6, 2001 Sister Maureen Delaney, Tutwiler Community Education Center
5. Oct. 15, 2001 David Hughes, Secretary of the Tallahatchie Ministerial Alliance.
6. Oct. 16, 2001 Michael G. Vanderlip, Director of Small Business Development Center, Univ. of Mississippi.
7. Oct. 20, 2001 Wardell Leach, Mayor of Yazoo City, Miss.
8. Oct. 20, 2001 Jack D. Varner, only white alderman in Yazoo City, Miss.
9. Oct. 25, 2001 Johnny B. Thomas, Mayor of Glendora. Interview interrupted when the Mayor was called to the sweet potato patch. Resumed on Dec. 2, 2001
10. October 26, 2001 Rev. Ilanda Pimpton, Ph.D.
11. Nov. 2, 2001 Charles E. Fulgam (last white mayor of Yazoo City).
12. Nov. 28, 2001 Lucinda Berryhill, member of School Board of West Tallahatchie School District, and secretary at the Tutwiler Education Center.

13. Nov. 30, 2001 Van Key Ray, Executive Vice President of a local bank in Yazoo City, Miss.
14. Dec. 4, 2001 Barbara Jennings, Alderman on Tutwiler City Council
15. Dec. 6, 2001, Sylvia Robertshaw, pastor of Episcopal Church of Advent, Sumner, Miss.
16. Dec. 10, 2001 Howard Hollins, Superintendent of West Tallahatchie School District.
17. Dec 12, 2001 Jack Webb, Mayor of Sumner
18. Dec. 13, 2001 Thomas Hurdle, President of South Bank on the Oxford Square, Oxford, Miss.
19. Feb. 15, 2002 Robert Moister, Vice President of Hollywood Casino in Robinsonville, Miss.
20. Feb, 27, 2002 Neil Sherman, pastor of Presbyterian Church of Sumner.
21. March 6, 2002 Bob Flautt, local farmer.
22. March 20, 2002 Michael Flautt, farmer and owner of Swan Lake Gin.
23. April 14, 2002 Sister, Dr. Anne Brooks, Director of Tutwiler Clinic.
24. April 19, 2002 Berry Allison, principal of Strider Academy (all white private school in western Tallahatchie County).
25. April 22, 2002 Harvey Henderson, town attorney of Tutwiler and Sumner.
26. April 22, 2002 Sister Marilyn Pearson, Director of Finances for the Tutwiler Clinic.
27. April 22, 2002 Dr. Gregory Braggs, pastor of Silver Star Missionary Baptist Church, Rome, Miss.
28. June 4, 2001 Virginia Powell, election commissioner of Glendora, Miss.
29. June 18, 2002 Paul Eastridge, Circuit Clerk of Tallahatchie County.
30. June 18, 2002 C. Anne Boyd, past president of NAACP in Charleston, Miss. and secretary at the Sun Sentinel Newspaper.
31. June 19, 2002 Betty Sanders, Circuit Court Judge for Sunflower, Washington, and LeFlore Counties, Miss.

32. December 22, 2001 Tibor Farkas, the President of the County Gypsy Self-Government of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, Hungary at that time. Interview took place in Nyiregyhaza.

## APPENDIX 2

### Newspaper Analysis

#### Coding protocol used by the research team:

We have used three local papers published in the Delta area. *The Sun-Sentinel* /Charleston is a weekly paper. *The Clarksdale Press Register*, and *The Greenwood Commonwealth* are published daily. The latter two also have on-line editions. Our focus has been two years: 2001 and 2002. We have been interested in everything that is related to the empowerment of the African-American population of Western Tallahatchie County.

We recorded those articles, which are related to at least one of Western Tallahatchie county communities in terms of conflict coverage, economic stories, local politics, racial coverage and language, social changes, personal featuring, educational system, institutions, churches, and non-governmental institutions (NGO-s). We used the form on the table below. The researchers were instructed to also include articles, which might not connected directly to the settlements, but in their opinion was related to our research.

#### Coding Sheet

1.Title:
2.Author
3.News Paper: 1. Sun-Sentinel, 2.Clarksdale Press Register 3. Greenwood Commonwealth
4 Type of the article: 1Editorial 2.Letter to Editor 3. Columnist. 4other
5,Publishing date: Month, Day, Year, / /
6.Subject:
1.Local Gov., 2 Church, 3.School-School board, 4 Local economics, 5Justice /court,

police, crime/ 6. Social issues and institutions, 7.Health issues and institutions 8. Racial issues and racial conflict coverage, 9. NGO-s 10. Natural disasters. /flood and tornado etc./ 11Federal intervention 12 Sport. 13. Elections /on any level/
7.Keywords:
8.Summary of Text: /100-120 words
9.Picture. 1. yes 2. no
Featuring: 1Black 2.White, 3.Both
10.City related to: 1.Tutwiler, 2.Glendora, 3.Sumner 4.Webb 5. Swan Lake

We have used a purposive sample instead of probability one. Our sampling unit was a single issue of newspaper. The different type of articles can be regarded as context units in terms of study units. Among content units, a referential unit is the group of articles, which are related to one particular city in Tallahatchie County. (Riffe, Daniel, Stephen Lacy, and Frederick G. Fico.\_1998 *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative content Analysis in Research*, Mahwah, NJ and London)

Table 1. Number of articles related to different topics

II. Subject of the article	III. Number of articles
Local government	5
Church	1
School-School board	1
Local economics	8
Justice (court, police, crime)	2
Social issues and institutions	2
Health issues and institutions	1
Racial issues and conflict coverage	1
Non Governmental Institutions	1
Natural disasters	3

## APPENDIX 3

### Survey Technique

#### The Method and Sample

The surveys were conducted by ten research assistants, students of the Croft Institute for International Studies of the University of Mississippi. These students completed 147 structured interviews using a standardized questionnaire that was developed by Dr. Sertő-Radics based on the instructions of István Murányi to obtain information about social status, self image, health conditions, expectations for the future, and attitudes about race and ethnicity. The people being interviewed were selected from specific gender, age, and occupational categories of the Western part of Tallahatchie County. No random sample has been taken; rather we targeted 3 prototypical groups: 1.members of white churches 2. members of Black churches. 3.selected group of professionals, office holders / Black and white/

The survey started on March 3, 2002 and was completed on May 19, 2002

The following locations were the places of the survey:

Grayson Chapel Missionary Baptist Church, Glendora, Miss. /Black/

Episcopal Church of Advent, Sumner, Miss. /white/

Faith Temple Word of Faith Christian Church, Tutwiler, Miss. /Black/

Silver Star Missionary Baptist Church, Rome, Miss. /Black/

Tutwiler Clinic Inc., Tutwiler, Miss.

Tutwiler Library Club, Tutwiler, Miss.

Tutwiler Women's Club, Tutwiler, Miss.

Sumner Rotary Club, Sumner, Miss.

Strider Academy, Western Tallahatchie County, Miss.

After reviewing the data gathered by these individuals, it was determined that 31 questionnaires were inadequate. Therefore these 31 were excluded from further study, leaving 116 questionnaires for the data analysis process performed by István Murányi.

## Statistical Methods

### K-Means Cluster Analysis

This procedure attempts to identify relatively homogeneous groups of cases based on selected characteristics, using an algorithm that can handle large numbers of cases. However, the algorithm requires you to specify the number of clusters. You can specify initial cluster centers if you know this information. You can select one of two methods for classifying cases, either updating cluster centers iteratively or classifying only. You can save cluster membership, distance information, and final cluster centers. Optionally, you can specify a variable whose values are used to label casewise output. You can also request analysis of variance F statistics. While these statistics are opportunistic (the procedure tries to form groups that do differ), the relative size of the statistics provides information about each variable's contribution to the separation of the groups.

Example. What are some identifiable groups of television shows that attract similar audiences within each group? With k-means cluster analysis, you could cluster television shows (cases) into k homogeneous groups based on viewer characteristics. This can be used to identify segments for marketing. Or you can cluster cities (cases) into homogeneous groups so that comparable cities can be selected to test various marketing strategy.

### Chi-Square Test (Crosstabs)

Tests the hypothesis that the row and column variables are independent, without indicating strength or direction of the relationship. Pearson chi-square, likelihood-ratio chi-square, and linear-by-linear association chi-square are displayed. For 2x2 tables, Fisher's exact test is computed when a table that does not result from missing rows or columns in a larger table has a cell with an expected frequency of less than 5. Yates' corrected chi-square is computed for all other 2x2 tables.

The Chi-Square Test procedure tabulates a variable into categories and computes a chi-square statistic. This goodness-of-fit test compares the observed and expected frequencies in each category to test either that all categories contain the same proportion of values or that each category contains a user-specified proportion of values.

Examples. The chi-square test could be used to determine if a bag of jellybeans contains equal proportions of blue, brown, green, orange, red, and yellow candies. You could also test to see if a bag of jellybeans contains 5% blue, 30% brown, 10% green, 20% orange, 15% red, and 15% yellow candies.

## The Structure of the Questionnaire

It has **6 blocks of questions** marked: **A, B, C, D, E, F**,

**The first and the second blocks are containing basic information. (A and B)**

**The block C** Has been composed for calculating the so-called community solidarity index.

Eight major areas of community behavior are examined:

1. Community spirit
2. Interpersonal relations
2. Family responsibility toward the community
4. Schools
5. Churches
6. Economic behavior
7. Local government,
8. Areas of tension.

These eight areas are covered in a series of  $8 \times 3 = 24$  statements that are rated by the respondent on a five-item scale according to his judgment of how the statements apply to his community. The items range from “very true” to “definitely untrue” with scores ranging from 5 for the “very true” response to 1 for the “definitely untrue” response. The standard deviation of the scores of all the schedules for the community is taken as a measure of the degree of consensus and, therefore, of solidarity in the community. The smaller the SD, the greater the solidarity is assumed to be. The mean of the total score is considered to be an index, of the members’ opinion of the quality of the community. For comparison with other communities an octagonal profile may be used. (Fessler 1952: 144-52.)

**Block D**, called personal environment, is prepared for network analysis, which is a relatively new concept in sociology and helps to explain the origin of aversive prejudices. (Granowetter 1982: 105-130)

**Block E** is for interracial relationship, to measure traditional and aversive prejudices, and attributes. (McConahay 1986)

**Block F** called ' public issues ' is really for measuring the so-called F-scale, which is related to authoritarian personality. (Meloan 1993)

**Authoritarian personality (F) scale:** This is the shortened scale, which has been used in Hungary (Fábián Zoltán, and Ferenc Erős 1996). The items are rated on a seven-point scale, from +3 to -3, according to the subjects' agreement or disagreement with the statement.

No.

**The Empowerment of Marginal Peoples  
Questionnaire**

**The University Of Mississippi**  
**Dear interviewee,**

Please read carefully the following information before answering the questions. Your answers are important for a research study conducted at The University of Mississippi. The results will strictly be used only for scientific purposes. The main reason of this research is to develop strategies that might help to solve and prevent ethnic and racial conflicts in the world. Responding to the questions is based on your voluntary cooperation. Neither your name nor your other personal data will be kept or given to another person.

The researchers are interested in a group of people known as Roma or Gypsies in Hungary, the home country of the principle investigator, Dr. István Sértő-Radics.

Some people in this country are working with them towards their achieving equal rights which they are entitled to as citizens of that country, much as what we have been doing in this country since the 1960's. As you probably know by now, we are conducting this study among several communities here in the Delta to see if we cannot learn something from your experience that will help us in this process.

We would like to ask you, if you would be willing, to participate in this survey. The questionnaire contains 83 questions. It should take approximately 30 minutes to answer them. Some of these questions are perhaps quite personal, some are sensitive asking for racial beliefs, but your answers will be kept private. You do not have to answer any that you feel uncomfortable with and you may stop the interview at any time without it being a problem.

Would you feel comfortable in joining us in this study? If not, we thank you for the time you spent reading this page, if yes please start to answer the questions.

**Thank you for your cooperation!**

Date:	Month:.....day .....	2002.
Interviewer's	name:	
Name of the Institution where interview was made:		
1-church	2-education center	3-club 4-other
City:.....	1-Tutwiler	2-Glendora 3-Summer
4-Webb	5-other	

IV. A. DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC INFORMATION

A1. Date of Birth	19.....	00 - XX-
A2. Race	1 - African-American 2 - White 3 - Other: ..... 0 - X -	
A3. Gender	1 - male 2 - female	
A4. Where were you born?	1 - City: ..... 2 - County: ..... 3 - State: ..... 1- same as where we are now      2- other place      0 - X -	1: 2: 3:
A5. Where do you live now?	1 - City: ..... 2 - County: ..... 3 - State: ..... 1- same as where we are now      2- other place      0 - X -	1: 2: 3:
A6. Since what year have you lived in the county where you live now?	Since 19 _____ Since 20 _____	0 - X -
A7. What is the highest grade of education you have completed? (record actual years; 00=never attended; 12=high school diploma; 14=associate degree; 16=bachelors degree or equivalent or higher.).....	0 - X -	
A8. What is your marital status?	1 - married      2 - widowed 3 - divorced or separated      4 - living together as not married 5 - never been married      0- X-	



A17. What type of schools have you and/or the family members who live in your home/house attended?									
1 – public schools			2 – private schools				0- X –		
A18. There are rich and there are poor people, while others are somewhere between them.. Where would you put yourself on a scale where 1 means very poor and 10 means very rich ?									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
0- X -									
A19. What was your estimated total income before taxes last year (2001)?									
1-less than \$5,000					2- \$5,000-\$9,999				
3-\$10,000-\$14,999					4-\$15,000-\$19,999				
5-\$20,000-29,999					6-\$30,000-39,999				
7-\$40,000 or more					0 - X –				
A20. Do you have health insurance currently?									
1 – yes			2 – no			9- not applicable			0- X –
A21. There are several ways how people usually define their identity. How do you define your identity?									
_____								0 - X –	
A22. Are your life conditions better now than they were 10 years ago?									
1 – yes			2 – no			3- same			0- X –

## B. HEALTH STATUS

B1. Would you say your health in general is ... (read categories)?				
1 – excellent	2-very good		3- good	4- fair
5- poor				
0- X -				
B2. Do you have diabetes?				
1 – yes		2 – no		0- X -
B3. Do you have heart disease?				
1 – yes		2 – no		0- X -
B4. Do you have hypertension (high blood pressure)?				
1 – yes		2 – no		0- X -
B5. Have you had stroke?				
1 – yes		2 – no		0- X -
B6. Do you smoke cigarettes on a regular basis?				
1 – yes		2 – no		0- X -
B7. Do you regularly drink any alcoholic beverages?				
1 – yes		2 – no		0- X -

### C. COMMUNITY

Now we are interested in how you feel about your community. Think of each of the statements below as relating to the people of your entire community both in town and on neighboring farms. If you think the statement fits your community very well after the statement, circle 5 (very true); if it applies only partially, circle 4 (true); if you cannot see how it relates one way, or another to your community, circle 3. (not decided); if you think it is not true, circle 2 (untrue); and if it definitely is not true circle 1 (definitely untrue). Please record the impression that first occurs to you. Do not go back and change your answers.

C1.Real friends are hard to find in this community.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C2.Our schools do a poor job of preparing young people for life.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C3.The community is very peaceful and orderly.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C4. Families in this community keep their children under control.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C5. The different churches here cooperate well with one another.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C6.Our schools do a good job of preparing student for college.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C7.Everyone here tries to take advantage of you.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C8.People will not work together to get things done for the community.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C9.Parents teach their children to respect other people's rights and property.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C10.Most of our church people forget the meaning of the word brotherhood when they get out of church.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C11.This community lacks real leaders.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C12.People give you a bad name if you insist on being different.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C13.A few people here make all the money.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C14.Too many young people get into sex difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C15.The churches are a constructive factor for better community life.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C16.The mayor and councilmen run the town to suit themselves.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C17.I feel very much that I belong here.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C18.Many young people in the community do not finish high school.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C19.You must spend lots of money to be accepted here.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C20.The people as a whole mind their own business.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C21.Local employers expect their employees to live on low wages.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	

C22.No one seems to care much how the community looks.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C23.If their children are kept out of the way, parents are satisfied to let them do whatever they want to do.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	
C24.The town council gets very little done.	1	2	3	4	5	0	X	

#### D. PERSONAL ENVIRONMENT

Now we are interested in your personal environment, what people are you connected to.

D1. See below a list of occupations.

Please indicate which positions your acquaintances and friends might hold.

	YES	NO	0	X
Plumber	1	2	0	X
Physician	1	2	0	X
Driver	1	2	0	X
Shop assistant	1	2	0	X
Teacher	1	2	0	X
Policeman	1	2	0	X
Housewife	1	2	0	X
Technician	1	2	0	X
Nurse	1	2	0	X
Cleaner	1	2	0	X
Office manager	1	2	0	X
Engineer	1	2	0	X
Farmer	1	2	0	X
Waiter/waitress	1	2	0	X
Businessman	1	2	0	X

D2. How many people do you know in person ( family members, acquaintances and friends )?, Please indicate the approximate number.

.....  
0 - X -

D3a. Do you regularly send greeting cards for Christmas and New Year?

1 - yes                      2 - no                      0- X -

D3.b. If yes, how many? Please indicate the approximate number.

.....  
0 - X -

D4.a. Suppose you and your family is leaving your house for a couple of weeks for a vacation. Would you ask someone in your community to look after the house, water the plants, and pick up your mail?

1 - yes                      2 - no                      0- X -

D4.b. If yes, whom would you ask? Profession or occupation of the person asked.

.....  
1- low status 2- lower middle status 3- upper middle status 4- high status 0 - X -

D5.a. Most people talk frequently about work and workplace related issues. Have you recently talked to somebody about such issues? 1 – yes                      2 – no    0- X -	
D5.b. If yes, indicate the last three persons' occupation or profession whom you talk to. Profession or occupation of the person(s) talked to. 1-person:..... 2-person..... 3-person..... 1- low status 2- lower middle status 3- upper middle status 4- high status 0 - X	1: 2: 3:
D6.a. Have you hosted guests for dinner or been invited for dinner during the last 3 months? 1 – yes                      2 – no    0- X -	
D6.b. If yes, indicate the profession or occupation of the last three persons you hosted, were invited by, were going out with.. 1-person:..... 2-person..... 3-person..... 1- low status 2- lower middle status 3- upper middle status 4- high status 0 - X	1: 2: 3:
D7.a. There are people whose opinion can be very important for us. Sometimes we need their advice. Do you ask for somebody else's advice? 1 – yes                      2 – no    0- X -	
D7.b. If yes please indicate the profession or occupation of the last three person(s) whose advice you have taken. 1-person:..... 2-person..... 3-person..... 1- low status 2- lower middle status 3- upper middle status 4- high status 0 - X	1: 2: 3:

E. INTERRACIAL RELATIONS

Now we are interested in how you look at people of different races and how you relate to them. Please read the following questions and mark one of the four options:

4-for definitely true; 3-for more true than false; 2-for more false than true; 1-for definitely false

E1.Blacks are getting to be too demanding in their struggle for equal rights.	1	2	3	4	0 X	
E2.The discrimination of Blacks is not a problem anymore in the United States.	1	2	3	4	0 X	
E3.A better understanding and tolerance among races in the United States and/or in the world could prevent such attacks like September 11.	1	2	3	4	0 X	
E4.Whites are usually afraid of Blacks.	1	2	3	4	0 X	
E5.White people are sincere about integration and ending discrimination.	1	2	3	4	0 X	
E6.White people do not like to send their children to multiracial schools.	1	2	3	4	0 X	



Unsympathetic	1	2	0 X
Friendly	1	2	0 X
Aggressive	1	2	0 X
Peaceful	1	2	0 X
Parasite	1	2	0 X
Proud	1	2	0 X
Superficial	1	2	0 X
Rich	1	2	0 X
Hypocritical	1	2	0 X
Reliable	1	2	0 X
Cheerful	1	2	0 X
Lazy	1	2	0 X
Educated	1	2	0 X
Unreliable	1	2	0 X
Clever	1	2	0 X
Uneducated	1	2	0 X
Loyal	1	2	0 X
Overconfident	1	2	0 X
Sympathetic	1	2	0 X
Selfish	1	2	0 X
Helpful	1	2	0 X
Dirty	1	2	0 X
Diligent	1	2	0 X
Poor	1	2	0 X
Neat	1	2	0 X
Divisive	1	2	0 X
Hospitable	1	2	0 X

## F. PUBLIC ISSUES

Now we are interested in your opinions about different issues such as politics, ideals, family values, and the future... Please rate your opinion on a seven-point scale answering the following questions. 1-for full disagreement and 7-for full agreement

F1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn. Full disagreement    1   2   3   4   5   6   7                      Full agreement	0 X	
F2. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down. Full disagreement    1   2   3   4   5   6   7                      Full agreement	0 X	
F3. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith. Full disagreement    1   2   3   4   5   6   7                      Full agreement	0 X	

F4. What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.										0	
Full disagreement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Full agreement		X	
F5. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feeble-minded people.										0	
Full disagreement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Full agreement		X	
F6. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.										0	
Full disagreement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Full agreement		X	
F7. Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.										0	
Full disagreement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Full agreement		X	
F8. Most people do not realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.										0	
Full disagreement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Full agreement		X	

## APPENDIX 4

### Results of the Survey

#### I. Results and Statements for the Whole Sample

##### 1. Basic information

###### Place of the interviews

76 percent of the interviews were conducted in churches, most of which were in the Tutwiler community.

###### Age

Half of those interviewed were older than 48 years old, 20 percent were 35 years old or younger.

###### Race

Two-thirds of the sample was African American.

Table 1. Racial distribution of the sample  
(Percentage)

African-American	66
White	34

###### Gender

70 percent were women.

###### Place of birth

One quarter of those interviewed were born in the places where the interviews were conducted. One-third, or 34 percent, was born in the same county, and 83 percent in the same state.

###### Domicile

Two-thirds of the sample was interviewed live in their hometown. More than two thirds, 71 percent live in the same county, and 91 percent in the same state where the interviews were done. 73 percent of those interviewed have lived permanently at their present address for at least twenty years.

###### Education

16 percent have no earned diploma, 27 percent have earned a high school diploma, and 55 percent have earned higher education, including associate's, bachelor's degree, etc.

###### Marital status

62 percent of those interviewed are married.

### **Occupation**

12 percent of those interviewed are retired. 2 percent of the sample is not able to work due to disability and 55 percent of the sample work full time, as self-employed or for wages. 33 percent of the sample has low status occupations, leaving 77 percent for upper-middle or high status occupations.

### **Welfare**

34 percent of the sample participates in governmental programs like AFDC-welfare, USDA Food Stamp program, WIC- woman, infant, children, SSI-disability, or other welfare initiatives.

### **Religion**

93 percent of the sample is regular church-attendants. The religion is predominantly Christian.

26 percent of the sample belongs to the Baptist Church. Only 4 percent to the Catholic Church, and the remaining are members of other Christian churches. 27 percent belongs to charismatic Christian churches.

74 percent of the sample is active in their church, as Sunday school teachers, deacons, rectors, church counsel members, etc.

### **Schooling**

70 percent uses the public school system, either individually or through family. 17 percent prefers the private schools, while 13 have interaction with both public and private.

### **Social status:**

49 percent of the sample earns less than \$20,000 annually. 40 percent earns less than \$15,000, but 9 percent earns \$40,000 or more annually.

One-third of those interviewed are active on some kind of social or service clubs.

One-fifth, or 23 percent, has no health insurance of any kind.

68 percent of the sample, more than two-thirds, stated that their life conditions improved during the last ten years, and only 12 percent answered that their life conditions have worsened in the same period.

### **Identity**

For the open question, A-21, *How do you define your identity?* Two-thirds answered while 36 percent had no reply. 18 percent of the whole sample noted elements related to national identity and 38 percent to ethnic identity, 28 percent mentioned factors related to gender, 32 percent mentioned social status or religious identity, 9 percent mentioned physical characteristics, and 36 percent mentioned non-physical characteristics.

### **Health status**

81 percent of the sample stated that their health is good or very good.

17 percent has diabetes, and 12 percent has heart disease. High blood pressure is suffered by 40 percent.

11 percent claimed to be smokers, and 17 percent claimed to consume alcohol regularly.

## **2.Community**

There were a large number of interesting responses for block C of the questionnaire. C-13 was, *A few people here make all the money* often denied to answer. It is a commonplace but interviewees do not accept it. It is question C-14; *Too many get into sex difficulties*, to which agreement was overwhelmingly high among responders.

## **3.Personal environment**

For question D-1 there was a high percentage of responses. 51 percent of the sample knows 200 or less people. 23 percent sends greeting cards regularly for Christmas or New Year's.

## **4.Interracial relationship**

Only 52 percent of the sample denied that blacks are growing to demanding in their struggle for equal rights, meanwhile two-thirds of the sample is black. 67 percent of this sample denied that the discrimination of blacks is not a problem anymore in the United States.

72 percent of the sample agreed that white people do not like to send their children to interracial schools. There is a high agreement among the responders, 84 percent, that blacks make a considerable contribution to the arts and to American culture. There is similarly high agreement among responders that black should not abandon their traditions.

Less than half of the responders, 45 percent, promote the statement that the government should do more for blacks. More than two-thirds does not agree with E-13 and E-14 statements, implying that during the last two years blacks have received more economic advantages than they deserve, and that during the last two years the government and the media have treated blacks with more respect than they deserve.

For open question E-16, that needs suggestions to improve racial relations, almost the half of the sample responded. Religious-related suggestions were given by 20 percent of the sample, but 25 percent has given suggestions related to the educational system. There was a high rate, 48percent, of the sample that mentioned suggestions related to inter-personal connections. 24 percent mentioned governmental or judiciary suggestions. Suggestions related to prejudices and intolerance had a quiet high presence, 47 percent.

At question E-17, there was a high ratio of non-responders, even for responding to attributes that have emotional meaning, such as stupid or unsympathetic.

Two-thirds, 67 percent, have heard about the Roma, or Gypsies. Those who have some information about these peoples claim to know less than average. Only 18 percent negative attitudes towards Gypsies, while 61 percent has neutral attitudes and 21 percent has positive attitudes.

## 5. Authoritarian personality

A high number of interviewees responded to Block F. The analysis of this block can be found in the cluster analysis.

### II. Cluster Analysis

Analyzing our data we decide to use the method of quick-cluster analysis. The short description of the method, please see in Appendix#3.

The first cluster we created is the community cluster. In cluster analysis the answers given to the questions of block C, which means “community”, were used. In the process we have included the answers for questions C1 to C24. As a result two clusters have been created. In the first group there are 53 persons; in the second there are 60 persons – a nearly equal percentage. The two groups may be characterized by the averages of the values of the answers given to questions in this C block. In the 24 questions, 16 showed significant differences in their answers.

Those who belong to the first cluster are more unsatisfied and more critical toward their community; the second group is more satisfied and optimistic. The first is called “*unsatisfied*”. The second is called “*satisfied*”. The shortened name of the community cluster is “**COMKLAS.**”

Another very important cluster was computed from the answers given to question D1. It is the “**PERSONKLAS.**” The sample by this method was grouped into two clusters: first, members who listed occupations of a lower range are called “*network-poor*”, and second, with higher range of mentioned occupations are called “*network-rich*”. The cluster is based on significant differences found in the chi-square method. Out of the 15 occupations listed, the difference was significant regarding 14 occupations – only in the case of the farmer occupation was the difference insignificant. In network-poor there are 48 people, and network-rich there are 64 people.

The third cluster regards **INTERKLAS**, or interracial relations. By cluster analysis, the sample has been grouped into two significantly different populations based on answers given for questions from E1 to E14. Out of the fourteen questions, 8 questions received answers that reflect significant differences. In the first group the interviewees prefer the integration of African Americans and express more tolerance to them and regard their situation than others. These are “*optimistic*”. In the second “*pessimistic*” group interviewees prefer less integration, and are less tolerant and regard their situation worse than others. In the optimistic group there are 87 interviewees, and 23 in the pessimistic group.

We created a fourth cluster using the answers on questions A7, A10, A11, A17, A18, A19 and A20. We integrated into this variable the above-mentioned questions, which are related to the occupational status, annual income, subjective feeling of wellness, the presence of health insurance, educational level, and the type of schools attended (public or private). All of these questions reflect the socioeconomic status of the

interviewee. We call this cluster “**OVSTAT.**” It divides the sample into two groups, which contain very similar numbers of persons. The first group, with a low status, consists of 54 people; the second group, with a higher status, has 62 members. The creation of this cluster was very useful for further analysis, but it does not explain the distribution of the INTERKLAS clusters and the F-scale.

### III. Creation of Computed Variables

The first computed variable we created is the health summary variable (**HEALTHSU**). This is a computed variable, which has a value of one if the interviewee gave “yes” for one of any questions B2 to B7. By this method 57.8 percent of whole sample had at least one “yes,” indicating that they have one of the disease listed in the questions.

Computed variables in block D: These variables related to question D5-B, D6-B, and D7-B, which have four values: low status, lower-middle status, upper-middle status, and high status. / See in detail in questionnaire. /

**TALKSUM** is the name of the computed variable for answers D5B.

**DINSUM** is the name of the computed variable for answers D6B.

**OPINSUM** is the name of the computed variable for answers D7B.

The value of these three computed variables ranges from three to 12 and reflects the level of the occupational status of the persons who were mentioned by the interviewees as talking partners, or dining partners, or advisors in the last three months.

Least, but not last, the most important computed variable covers answers in block F. In the block “public issues,” there are eight questions, which indicate the shortened version of the **F scale**. In this block of questions titled “public issues” 8 questions produced, total values of variable from 8 to 56. The lower the value of this computed variable, the lower the level of likelihood of an authoritarian personality, the higher the value, the higher the level of the probability of an authoritarian personality.

The results of the analysis of the survey have proven our expectations. On the other hand, we needed a new base for further research.

One part of the results complied with other empirical research related to this issue and fulfilled our general expectations. For example, the social status of the black interviewees is lower than for whites. The white interviewees are more satisfied with their communities than blacks. The blacks offered more pragmatic answers for question A-21, regarding personal identity. Blacks describe a smaller social network (**TALKSUM**, **DINSUM**) than whites.

But surprisingly, the F-scale, which is used to measure authoritarian personalities, revealed no significant difference with most variables. It was insignificant with the network variables, clusters, black/white distribution, and education levels. So we tried to find a variable, which can explain to some extent the distribution of the F-scale variable.

Also, regarding the INTERKLAS cluster as a dependent variable, we see only one independent variable, which significantly altered this distribution: membership in social or service clubs. The results show that those who are active in social and service clubs are more likely to have an optimistic attitude towards interracial issues.

We assumed that the distribution of the optimistic/pessimistic interracial clusters and the F-scale could be explained by social status and perhaps religion.

Thus we created new variables.

It is important to determine the denominational distribution of the interviewees. From the answers given to question A14B and question A2, we have created three computed variables, which divide our sample into racial and denominational groups.

The first computed race/denomination related variable is **“WHITE-DENOM”** which indicates white people. It has two groups: the first group is the “liberal white,” meaning white Catholic, Episcopal, Church of God, Methodist, or Presbyterian. The second group is the “conservative white,” meaning Baptist.

The second variable is the **“BLACK-DENOM”** which represents black people. The first group of this variable is the “black charismatic churchgoers,” meaning the Full Gospel Church, and those black interviewees who indicated that their denomination was “other “ /other means charismatic church in practice such as the Temple Word of Faith/ The second group of BLACK-DENOM are the black Baptists.

The third variable is the **“NEWDENOM”** which breaks into two groups: one, conservative, including the white Baptists, the Full Gospel Church, and the so-called “other” churches. The second group is the “liberal,” including white Catholic, Episcopal, Church of God, Methodist, or Presbyterian, and the black Baptists.

The authors consider that members of the Catholic, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, and the Church of God churches expressed views considerably more liberal than members of the Baptist church, often known as the First Baptist Church, whose white attendees have more conservative social and racial attitudes.

The classification of black churches is based on the personal experiences of the authors, based on the knowledge of the opinion of the charismatic church members and the text of their preacher’s services.

We have also created a new computed variable for network analysis. The name this new variable is **“NEWNETWORK,”** and it involves answers to D3, D4A, D6A, and D7A. The value of the answers for D3 was 1 for yes, 0 for no; for D4A, 1 for yes, 0 for no; for D6A, 1 for yes, 0 for no; and for D7A, 1 for yes, 0 for no.

The fifth variable involved in this NEWNETWORK variable was not an answer to a single question, but a previously created cluster named as PERSONKLAS. The value belonging to network-rich cluster is 1, and for network-poor 0.

The value of the NEWNETWORK variable ranged from 1 to 5. Further analysis leads us to decide that the NEWNETWORK computed variable will have a value of 0 if the sum of the values of the involved variables are 1, 2, or 3, and the value of the new computed variable called NEWNETWORK was 1 if the sum of the values of the five

original variables are 4 or 5. The 0 group was called “low network” and the 1 group was called “high network.”

This means that the NEWNETWORK computed values have two groups: 0 for low network and 1 for high network.

The answers on question E 17 led to the creation of two computed variables. The following method was used: if the interviewee named an attribute of positive nature for blacks, one point is earned; if negative, one point is deducted. Zero is awarded in all other cases. The value of 32 attributes was summarized. The same logical steps were followed for whites. We ended with two variables, “**BLACKSUM**” and “**WHITESUM**.” The value of the BLACKSUM ranged from -8 to +8, for the WHITESUM -7 to +10. The BLACKSUM average was -0.37; the WHITESUM average was +1.04. This means that the self-picture of blacks is more negative than for whites. There is a significant negative coefficient between the two variables. This means that those who are think of blacks as having negative attributes, look at white with positive attributes, and vice versa.

#### **IV. Principal Component Analysis**

There are two open questions used from the questionnaire, A21 and E16.

A21 deals with identity, indicated by his or herself. In E16 we needed answers and suggestions related to the improvement of interracial relations.

The answers given to **question A21** were grouped into seven groups by the content and the meaning of the answers. These seven groups are as follows, by what the interviewee mentioned:

1. Black or white identity;
2. American national identity;
3. Non-American national identity;
4. Gender identity;
5. Social status or religious identity;
6. Physical identity; and
7. Non-physical identity

Out of these seven sub-variables, we computed six ones into the principal component analysis. Group three was excluded because it was a low number, containing only three of the interviewees.

Table 2. Results of principal component analysis related to question A21  
 Score—averages of identity prototypes  
 (Mean of score > 0.5)

	<b>STATUS IDENTITY</b>	<b>ETHNIC- NATIONAL IDENTITY</b>	<b>CHARACTE RISTIC IDENTITY</b>
Black or white identity		<b>0.88</b>	
American national identity;		<b>0.88</b>	
Gender identity	<b>0.83</b>		
Social status or religious identity	<b>0.85</b>		
Physical identity			<b>0.92</b>
Non-physical identity			<b>0.50</b>

The results of the principal component analysis showed three main components to determine the identity:

1. -Gender/social/or religious identity, we call “**status identity**”, (explains 28 percent of the variance)
2. Racial/American national identity, we call “**ethnic/national identity**”; (explains 27 percent of the variance)
3. Physical/non-physical or mental identity, we call “**characteristic identity**.”(Explains 19 percent of the variance)

These three factors could explain 75 percent of the variance.

The second principal component analysis was related to **question E16**. We created five categories according to the content of the answer was related to:

1. Religion;
2. Education;
3. Interpersonal connections;
4. Legal, political or governmental action;
5. Tolerance, intolerance or any sociological factors.

The results find that the suggestions to improve interracial connections were based on few typical opinions. We can explain 71 percent of the variance with two main components: the first emphasizes interpersonal connections, religion and socio-psychological elements, called “**personal connection factor**”; the second is based on institutional suggestions concerning education, governmental, political, and law enforcement action, called “**institutional factor**.”

## V. Interpretation of Basic Results

### 1. Black and white distribution

#### Age

The average age for all surveyed is 50 years. Among blacks, the average age is 44 years, and among whites 61 years.

#### Education

The blacks sampled are by comparison less educated. The average education for all surveyed is 13 completed education years. For blacks, the average is 12 years, and for whites 15 years.

#### Welfare

There is also a marked difference between black and white interviewees who participate in government welfare programs. The sample average is 35 percent, but only 10 percent among whites. Among blacks, 48 percent.

#### Schooling

92 percent of blacks surveyed, but only 27 percent of whites surveyed use public schools. The average for the total sample is 69 percent.

#### Social status

23 percent of the sample does not have health insurance. 15 percent among whites, and 34 percent among blacks.

Interestingly, responders who felt that their life conditions had been improved during the last ten years amount to 68 percent of the total sample. Among blacks, this figure is 80 percent, and 45 percent among whites.

The average yearly personal income of the total sample is an average of \$15-25,000. Among whites this figure is higher.

The sample average for membership in social clubs is 29 percent. For whites, this average is 59 percent, and for blacks only 12 percent

#### Personal Environment

Analysis of questions in block D: We can state that blacks have significantly less interaction with higher social status persons than whites.

Whites noted a wider interpersonal network, reflected by questions D2, D3, D4-A, D4-B, D3-B, D6-A. Whites have more interpersonal relations, and we can assume that whites are more likely to invite guests for dinner, to be invited to dinner, and to discuss their personal issues with others.

#### About the Roma

The black attitude to Roma gypsies was markedly more positive than that of whites. Among blacks, 30 percent noted positive impressions while among whites only 4 percent. The sample average is 21 percent.

### **Identity**

Responses to the question A21, *How do you define identity?* Among blacks, 35 percent answered with religious themes, while of 15 percent of whites.

### **Interracial relationship**

For the open question E16 that asks suggestions for improving interracial relationships, 35 percent of blacks mentioned religion related elements, while only 11 percent of whites mentioned religion. Whites on the other hand mention education – 54 percent compared to 25 percent of blacks. Only one quarter of blacks have the opinion that interracial relationships should be improved with educational measurements compared to one half of whites. This indicates that blacks prefer other solutions to solve conflicts, such as reliance on religion. Whites appear to be more secular, relying on the education system.

For question E-17, regarding attributes, blacks were more evasive, notably on responding to attributes that were negative. At the same time both races equally responded to the objective type attributes.

### **Health status**

HEALTHSU, among whites is higher, 70 percent, compared to 51 percent for blacks. The sample average is 25 percent. This means that whites are more likely to have diabetes, heart disease, and strokes. White responders have a higher average age.

Who are the drinkers? Among whites, alcohol is more popular – with 39 percent drinking regularly. The same figure among blacks is only 5 percent. What could be the explanation? Maybe whites can afford more of this kind of dependency. African Americans have less total yearly income (see table).

Table 3. Racial distribution of drinkers

(Percentage of those who answered “yes” for question B7 “Do you regularly drink alcoholic beverages?”)

African-American	5 percent
White	39 percent

### **Community**

Analysis of questions in block C: There are significant differences between white and black answers. Taking in account only the significant differences, we can state that whites have more solidarity to each other.

Whites are more satisfied with their community, 74 percent of whites are satisfied, while only 42 percent of blacks. The sample average is 53 percent. 58 percent of blacks belong to the unsatisfied group, only 26 percent of whites.

### **Personal network**

Whites from the sample have a wider interpersonal network – with a number of greeting cards sent by 70 percent; only 44 percent for blacks.

Whites have a better connection to their next-door neighbors, reflecting this network. For instance, they would ask someone to look after their home if they were absent. 100 percent of whites would do this, while only 81 percent of blacks would do this. Maybe blacks are too suspicious to ask such a favor of someone else. Also those asked to look after a home by whites have a higher occupational status than those that would be asked by blacks.

Whites are more active networking at their workplace, indicated by the fact that 90 percent talked to someone in the last three months about issues related to their work. The same value among blacks is only 63 percent (see on following table).

Table 4. Racial distribution of workplace connections  
(Percentage of those who answered “yes” for question D5a “. Most people talk frequently about work and workplace related issues. Have you recently talked to somebody about such issues?”)

African-American	63 percent
White	90 percent

The average of those persons known by the interviewee is higher for whites, which know on average 450 people, only 306 for blacks.

More whites invite dinner guests or dine as guests than blacks; for whites the average is 85 percent; 65 percent for blacks. Question D-6 and its analysis: Using DINSUM to interpret the distribution of responses, we can state that the social status for guests hosted for dinner in the homes of white responders is higher than that among Blacks.

### **Occupation**

White responders were generally older, but still blacks reported a higher average, 18 percent, of disabilities, compared to only 3 percent among whites. 23 percent of whites answered that they are retired, 7 percent of blacks.

Whites noted higher occupational status, 95 percent reporting an upper-middle or high status job. This number among blacks was only 51 percent. The sample average is 67 percent.

### **Religion**

Most blacks belong to charismatic and missionary Baptist churches while only 25 percent of whites are Baptist and the rest are distributed among other churches. Blacks attend church on a more regular basis.

### **F scale**

The F scale has not been distributed significantly between white and black.

## 2. Differences by computed denominational variables

### WHITE-DENOM variable

Liberal whites constitute 29 persons, who are 75 percent, and white Baptists are 10 persons, which means 25 percent. White liberal churchgoers have a higher occupational status than white Baptists, with a value of 3.21 compared to a value of 2.80. The average of this sample is 3.1.

### BLACK-DENOM variable

Charismatic blacks constitute 31 persons, who mean 43 percent, and black Baptists are 42 persons, which means 57 percent. By BLACK-DENOM variable, charismatic black church members have a higher level of education than black Baptists, with an average number of years of education is 13 compared to 11.

### NEWDENOM variable

Conservatives, including white Baptists and Full Gospel black church, constitute 41 persons, who mean 37 percent, and liberals are 71 persons, which means 63 percent.

Importantly, the F scale computed variable was only significantly ( $p < 0.5$ ) different in the case of computed variable WHITE-DENOM. Among white liberal churchgoers the value of the F scale variable is 36, while the corresponding value among white Baptists is 43. This means that white Baptists have a more authoritarian personality than liberal white churchgoers do.

Looking at the distribution of the INTERKLAS clusters with the independent denominational variables for blacks, we see that charismatic churchgoers are significantly more optimistic than black Baptists.

The next distribution is very important. There is a significant difference related to the community cluster /COMKLAS/ among charismatic blacks and black Baptists. 68 percent of black Baptists are unsatisfied, while the same number for charismatic blacks is only 40 percent. The liberal whites are more satisfied with their community than conservatives. If we see this relation for the whole sample of black and white together we find that among conservative churchgoers, more respondents are satisfied.

The personal cluster /PERSONKLAS/, which refers to the small or wide social networks, can also be explained by the religious type variables. The liberal white churchgoers have a wider social network than the white Baptists do. Among black Baptists there are a higher proportion of those who have a wide social network than among those who have are charismatic churchgoers, but in this case the differences are not significant. When we look at the situation for the sample, black and white together,

we can state that among liberals, there are more people with wider social network than among those grouped into conservative classification.

### **3. Distribution by identity prototypes: status, ethnic/national, and characteristic Question A 21**

African Americans accept, but whites deny, the ethnic/national identity factor on question A21. For those who are regular churchgoers, the ethnic/national identity is more prominent – meaning that active religious practice is related to ethnic/national identity factor.

Importantly, relating the cluster named as PERSONKLAS to ethnic/national identity factor, we find that the network-poor cluster is more likely to have ethnic/national identity while the network-rich cluster accepts a status and characteristic identity.

Another difference is found when we relate community clusters to different types of identities. We find that members of the unsatisfied cluster are more likely to have ethnic/national identity, while those who are satisfied are more likely to have status identity.

Relating the interracial cluster, which has the abbreviation INTERKLAS, to the different kinds of identities, we find that those who are pessimistic are more likely to have ethnic/national identities while those who are optimistic are more likely to have a status identity.

Relating the denominational computed variables to the identity factors we find that the liberal whites, determined by WHITE-DENOM computed variable, are more likely to have status identity. Charismatic blacks are more likely to have status and ethnic/national identities, while black Baptists are characterized by status identities.

The identity type factors by the computed variable NEWDENOM, find that liberals have no dominant identity while conservatives prefer status and ethnic/national identity and deny characteristic type identity.

The F scale, which reflects authoritarian personalities, is not significantly connected to any type of identity factors.

The correlation between computed variables related to the attributes, which we call “BLACKSUM” and “WHITESUM” to the prototypes of identity factors: Only ethnic/national identity factors relate significantly to the attribution-computed variables, meaning that those who characterize blacks in a positive light are more likely to have ethnic/national identity. Those who have positive attitudes towards whites are less likely to ethnic/national.

Interesting is the connection to answers to A21 and E16. The prototypical groups of identity characterize the first answers; the second answers are characterized to factors due to main component analysis, including personal connection and institutional factors (see previous chapter). There is a significant correlation in two ways: first, between the personal connection factor and status identity factor, meaning that those who define themselves by social status or religious practice are more likely to solve interethnic conflicts with interpersonal connections; second, between those who prefer institutional solutions are more likely to have a characteristic identity.

## V. 4. Answers to question A22

Are you life conditions better now than ten years ago? Yes, No, Same?

Basic distribution: 68 percent answered with yes; 12 percent with no; and 20 percent same (see table).

There is a significant difference between races answering this question (see table), which we have described in a previous chapter.

Table 5. Racial distribution of answers to question A22 (percentage)

RACE	YES	NO	SAME
African-American	80	8	12
White	45	20	35

If we see the correlation between A22 with the WHITE-DENOM computed variable we can state that the liberal white churchgoers admit improvement in their economic status in higher proportions than white Baptist .

## 5. Status cluster /OVSTAT/

After a cluster analysis involving answers given for A7, A10, A11, A17, A18, A19, and A20 we found two different clusters: first, low status containing 54 people; and the second, high status with 64 people./see in previous chapter/

Who are in these two different clusters? What are the significant differences between them?

Race makes a difference. The ratio of blacks in low status is 61 percent, compared to 38 percent for whites. The distribution of these clusters by WHITE-DENOM variable shows that white liberal churchgoers are mostly high status; 78 percent are found in that cluster compared to 75 percent of white Baptists. Still the case number is low for low status among whites, we cannot draw real conclusions from these facts.

If we look at the BLACK-DENOM variable, we see that among charismatic blacks have a higher average in high status, 62 percent, compared to black Baptists with 40 percents. The difference is significant.

Comparing community cluster and status cluster: those in the unsatisfied cluster are more likely found in low status cluster.

Members of the higher status cluster are more likely to have a high WHITESUM score and a low BLACKSUM score, meaning that in the case of attributes (question E17), higher status people prefer whites and deny blacks.

In the case of solving interethnic conflicts, lower status interviewees deny institutional solutions, but those with higher social status prefer institutional solution.

There is no significant difference between the two status clusters with relation to identity type factors.

### **6.Distribution by the two principal component factors related to question E16**

What are the three most important suggestions for improving racial relations in the U.S. and in the world?

As stated in previous chapters, there are two principal components derived from the answers: first, “personal connection”; and two, “institutional.”

How are the groups of community clusters /COMKLAS/ related to these two factors? It doesn’t make any difference.

In the case of interracial clusters, there is one important difference in that the optimistic cluster prefers the personal connection factor, but the pessimistic cluster does not prefer personal connection.

If we look for the relationship between denominational computed variable NEWDENOM, we see that conservatives are more likely to value the personal connection while liberals prefer institutional factors. It is interesting that looking at the situation with the help of BLACK-DENOM we can state that charismatic blacks prefer personal connection while black Baptists deny personal connection. Perhaps charismatic blacks emphasize the interpersonal connection in their services – participation in worship services may help one realize the importance of interpersonal and physical connection in all problems, including those of race.

If we view these questions we can state that whites do not prefer personal connection solutions, but prefer institutional solutions. Meanwhile blacks do not like institutional solutions (see table).

Table 6.

Score-averages of “Personal connection” and “Institutional” principal components related to question E16 by race

<b>Race</b>	<b>Personal connection</b>	<b>Institutional</b>
White	-0.142	0.381
African-American	0.007	-0.200

Those who are regular churchgoers deny institutional solutions; those who do not attend church prefer them.

What is the connection between the network-poor and the network-rich cluster and the two types of main component factors? Those who are network-rich prefer personal connection and those who are network-poor do not .

### 7. Distribution of computed variable related to question E17, the attributes

The creation of BLACKSUM and WHITESUM computed variables were previously described. Gender creates a real difference between the two, meaning that women have less sharp attitudes towards those of another race.

Males and females both have negative attitudes towards black people. If we see the racial distribution of these two computed variables it is not surprising that blacks look at blacks positively while they look at whites negatively. Interestingly whites see themselves more positively than blacks do. Also blacks see themselves with a more negative attitude than they see whites. One explanation of this phenomenon, that blacks have internalized the prejudices against them.

This important table shows denomination with BLACKSUM and WHITESUM variables. It shows that Presbyterians have the most explicit attitudes towards race; they prefer whites and do not prefer blacks. This is similar also in the Baptist case. The only denomination with positive attitudes towards both races is the Full Gospel church, or charismatic blacks./see on following table/

Table 7.

Average values of computed variables BLACKSUM and WHITESUM in connection with denomination.

DENOMINATION	BLACKSUM	WHITESUM
Baptist	-0.50	0.90
Catholic	-1.50	2.25
Church of God	-1.00	0.00
Episcopal	-0.15	1.23
Full Gospel	0.30	0.30
Methodist	-1.00	2.28
Presbyterian	-5.50	6.25
Other	1.05	-1.11
Total sample	-0.36	1.02

Looking at the community clusters / COMKLAS/ related to the BLACKSUM and WHITESUM variables we can state that those who are unsatisfied have positive attitudes to black and white, but those who are satisfied have negative attitudes to blacks and positive attitudes to whites..

Looking at BLACKSUM and WHITESUM variables related to the WHITE-DENOM variable we see that white Baptists have a strong negative attitude towards blacks and a strong positive attitude towards whites while white liberals have a less negative attitude towards blacks and less positive attitude towards whites (see table).

The F scale does not show differences related to most of the variables but BLACKSUM and WHITESUM variables make a difference in this case. Those who have positive attitudes towards whites are more likely to have authoritarian type of

personality and at the same time those who have positive attitudes towards blacks are less likely to be authoritarian.

### 8. Knowledge about gypsies

This question was discussed in detail in previous chapters. Now we can state that 62 percent of the whole sample has heard about gypsies. 48 percent of the sample has a less than average knowledge; 17 percent has an average knowledge; 8 percent more than average. Considering attitudes towards gypsies, we see that a majority is neutral.

There is a difference by race. Whites know more about gypsies than blacks. At the same time blacks have a more positive attitude towards gypsies than whites.

There are two significant differences concerning the Roma. First, the F scale shows that those who have neutral attitudes towards the Roma are the least likely to have authoritarian personalities, but those who have negative attitudes have a high score on the F scale.

The other variable that affects this point is the personal connection factor. Those who prefer personal connection solutions to interracial conflicts have a positive attitude towards the Roma; those with a negative attitude prefer less personal connections as solutions (see on following table).

Table 8.

Averages of F-scale, „Personal connection” and “Institutional” principal components and attributes related variables.

Score-averages in connection with attitudes toward Gypsies

Type of attitude	F-scale	Personal connection	Institutional	BLACKSU	WHITESUM
Negative	42	-0.31	-0.18	0.50	0.42
Neutral	36	0.05	0.20	-0.42	1.20
Positive	42	0.69	-0.17	0.11	0.00

### 9. Personal environment

What are the significant differences found if we look at the effects of other independent variables on our **NEWNETWORK** variable.

Related to racial distribution we find that black people are less often in the high network group than whites (see on following table)

Table 9.

Racial distribution of NEWNETWORK computed variable (percentage)

Category	White	Black
Low network	25	53
High network	75	47

Related to computed status variables we find that those who belong to the low network group are more frequently found in the low status group, and vice versa .

It's not surprise that those who belong to the high network group are also frequent churchgoers.

## **VI. Regression Analysis (Stepwise Models)**

The dependent variable is the BLACKSUM variable. First we involve hardcore socio-economical variables such as gender, age, race, social status, and HEALTHSU. Second we involve the regularity of church attendance, then WHITE-DENOM and BLACK-DENOM variables and the NEWDENOM variable. Third we involve the NEWNETWORK variable, the answers to the D2 question, computed variables like DINSUM, TALKSUM, OPINSUM, and the community clusters. Fourth we involve the three identity factors including status, ethnic/national, and characteristic identities. Fifth we involve the two factors related to suggestions on improving interracial conflicts, personal connection or institutional solutions. Sixth we involve INTERKLAS clusters, optimistic and pessimistic. Seventh we involve the F scale, measuring the authoritarian types of personalities.

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### **1. The results of regression analysis of BLACKSUM variable.**

By the model we see the most important predictors are the WHITESUM, judgment of the community and status clusters, COMKLAS and OVSTAT. By the stepwise model these three predictors can explain 83 percent of the variance with a strong significance. Of course the WHITESUM variable has a negative effect, and those with a positive judgment on their community are more likely to have negative attitudes towards blacks. Still those with a higher economic status are more likely to have a positive attitude towards blacks.

.Table 10.

The results of regression analysis. Dependent variable: BLACKSUM  
(coefficients)

Predictors	Beta	t	Sig.
WHITESUM	-0.889	1.39	0.000
COMKLAS	-0.181	-13.21	0.014
OVSTAT	0.142	-2.62	0.043

Looking at this model only among the black part of the sample we can conclude that there is only one predictor, the WHITESUM, with a negative  $\beta$  coefficient, almost 90 percent.

If we see this model in the white part of the sample, the surprising result is that churchgoers are less likely to view blacks in a negative light.

## 2. Results of the regression analysis for F scale

The adjusted R squared value is 0.24, which explains 24 percent of the variance with this model. The only predictor is the BLACKSUM variable, and its  $\beta$  coefficient value is -0.515.

The remaining results show that those in the sample who have a negative attitude towards blacks, as shown in E17, are more likely to have an authoritarian personality.

When we look at this model among black interviewees, and look at the dominant predictor in the NEWNETWORK variable, we see an explanation for 45 percent of the variance, with a  $\beta$  coefficient of 0.71.

This means that those black people who have a high network status are more likely to have authoritarian personalities measured by F scale.

In the case of white people, we find that the most important predictor is the NEWDENOM variable, explaining one third of the variance with a  $\beta$  coefficient of -0.592. The results mean that those whites that belong to conservative churches are more likely to have an authoritarian personality (see on following tables).

Table 11.

Results of regression analysis. Dependent variable: summarized F-scale (coefficients)

Predictor	Beta	t	Sig.
NEWDENOM	-0.592	-3.02	0.008

## 3. Sub-variables of community clusters

These include community spirit, interpersonal relations, family responsibility, school and church related issues, economic behavior, local government, and tension areas sub-variables.

We have analyzed these variables with the regression model (see table).

It is important to emphasize that **economic behavior** is determined by community spirit and local government variables. This finding supports empirical results described in the chapter on the role of commercial enterprises. The main effectors of community spirit are economic and government factors. So this factor also has an important role in the economic life of communities.

Table 12.

Regression analysis of community sub-variable “economic behavior”

### Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,681 <sup>a</sup>	,464	,442	2,27
2	,785 <sup>b</sup>	,616	,582	1,96

a. Predictors: (Constant), community spirit

b. Predictors: (Constant), community spirit, local government

Table 13.

Regression analysis of community sub-variable “economic behavior”

### Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2,060	1,425		1,445	,161
	community spirit	,783	,172	,681	4,557	,000
2	(Constant)	-,196	1,442		-,136	,893
	community spirit	,656	,154	,571	4,246	,000
	local government	,365	,121	,405	3,014	,006

a. Dependent Variable: economic behavior

Also important are the findings related to **local government**, which reinforces the findings in the chapter on local government. It shows that those interested in solving tension areas await solutions from the local government, and those with a lower social status demand better services of local governments.

This is similar to what we find with **churches**; results reinforce empirical findings in the chapter on local churches. Thus those who are interested in church have an optimistic attitude toward solutions for interracial problems, prefer status-identity and have a higher social network status – meaning that churches are the main institutions affection the life of communities.

#### 4.Regression analyses of other dependent variables

When we look at the regression model for the WHITESUM variable, reflecting attitudes towards white attributes, we can state that the most important predictors are the BLACKSUM and the race variables.

There is no real significant difference between whites and blacks within the regression model. Only that the BLACKSUM variable has a negative  $\beta$  coefficient.

Remembering open question E16 concerning solutions, we only need a brief opinion. From the answers to these questions we calculated two factors: personal connection and institutional factors.

If we analyze the first factor, personal connection, with the regression model we see that the main predictor is the NEWNETWORK variable, then the status identity variable. If we analyze the second factor, institutional factor, we see that there is one main predictor, the characteristic identity.

Now we analyze with regression analysis the three identity factors, related to question A21, or identity definition.

The principal component analysis allowed us to create three factors: status, ethnic/national, and characteristic identities.

Results of the regression model and status identity: there is one predictor, personal connection factor related to answers in E16. If we see this model among blacks alone we find the same main predictor. There is some difference among whites, with a main predictor of NEWNETWORK variable, then the judgment on community. We can say that those whites that have a higher network status are more likely to have a status identity.

Result of the regression model and the characteristic identity: the main predictor is the institutional factor, then the A22 question concerning life conditions, and then thirdly the health status of the respondent. This all means that those who have characteristic identity are more likely to think about institutional solutions for interracial problems, while their life conditions have also improved during the last ten years although their health status is not better.

If we look at this among blacks, we find that the institutional factor, HEALTHSU variable, gender, and personal factor are all important.

Among whites the main predictor is answers to question A22, meaning that whites that characterize themselves with personal, physical, and nonphysical characteristics are more likely to have had a better life in the last ten years.

## **VII. Results of the Discriminate Analysis**

Answers to A22, improvement of life conditions the last ten years, were affected by four different variables: age, race, characteristic identity, and OPINSUM. This function has a high canonical correlation value of 0.798, meaning that this model can explain almost 80 percent of the variance. We can state that age has a negative effect for the improvement of life conditions, meaning that the older the person the less improvement. For race, we can state that whites are less likely to have better life conditions. Those who have characteristic identity are more likely to have better life conditions. But those who invite a higher status person for advice are more likely to have better life conditions.

When we control this model by regression analysis, dividing the sample for blacks and whites we see that among blacks there is no significant difference. But among whites we see the characteristic identity is a stronger factor, which reinforces the model.

Results for interracial clusters (**INTERKLAS**) the find that the four main variables are race, TALKSUM, judgment of community, and answers to question A22 – all with positive function coefficient. Thus, those who are black, with a higher

occupational status talking partner, with a better satisfied opinion of their community and an improved lifestyle are more likely to be optimistic about solving interracial issues.

The results for social status /**OVSTAT**/ show four main variables: DINSUM, TALKSUM, OPINSUM, and race. It is likely that the DINSUM, OPINSUM, and TALKSUM variables are closely related to the social status of the responder, and this is why we exclude these three from the model and we find that race, characteristic identity, new denomination, and church attendance variables are more important. Thus, “liberal” whites and those who lean towards a characteristic identity are more likely to have higher social status, as are all churchgoers.