18 - THE CAROLINA TIMES AT., SEPT. 3, 1977

Researchers Link Anti-Busing To 'Symbolic' Racism

Opposition to school busing is based more on racial attitude than on any real concern for the quality of education, two Duke University researchers said Sunday.

However, these attitudes are not founded on familiar racist, anti-black feelings so much as they are based on a fear among whites that the traditional values of a white-dominated society will be undermined.

For example, the researchers cited what many whites fear will be the weakening of the Protestant work ethic.

Drs. John B. McConahay and Willis D. Hawley, members of Duke's Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs, termed antibusing opposition a manifestation of "symbolic" racism in a paper prepared for delivery at a meeting of the American Psychological Association in San Francisco.

McConahay is an associate professor of psychology at Duke. Hawley is an associate professor of political science.

The Duke researchers reported the findings of a yearlong study of busing desegregation in Louisville, Ky. The study included a Louis Harris survey of 1049 adult residents of the city and surrounding Jefferson County.

Among the study's conclusions were:

-Symbolic racism is a much greater factor in busing opposition than conventional racism based on negative stereotypes of blacks.

-Racial attitudes are "closely related to antibusing attitudes....the more racist, the more opposed to busing."

-The inconvenience of busing and concern for quality education were only weakly associated with opposition, contrary to the belief of some researchers.

Court-ordered busing came to Louisville violently two years ago, McConahay and Hawley said, and "It was not quality education or neighborhood schools or inconvenient bus schedules or neighborhood property values that were the

"Neither was it niggers or Negroes of days gone by. It was the blacks."

NcConahay and Hawley said they regard busing as a sym-bolic issue for whites, akin to the prohibition debates of the last century or anticommunism in the 1950s in the depth of passion it arouses.

"Parties to the debate argue as if they were concerned with harm to children or to the family or the community....but only shout past one another because the debate is really over whose values will domi-

nate public life," they said.
McConahay and Hawley
said the Harris survey found that only 16 per cent of the whites in Louisville and Jefferson County preferred full segregation.

They described the Louisville area as part of a state that "is more southern than northern in culture, however, it could by no means be said that segregationist sentiment was rampant there."

But when the survey teams began to probe attitudes toward busing, whites quickly expressed their distaste for that method of school desegregation, the Duke Researchers

"They favored desegregation, but they did not want busing," McConahay and Hawley noted.

Some moderate opponents of busing base their opposition on parental inconvenience and other non-racial factors, Mc-Conahay and Hawley said, while many supporters of bus-ing charge that all opposition is motivated by virulent racism.

The Duke researchers said the real racism is rooted in symbolic values held dear by whites, and it is a new force in American life that bears little resemblance to the ugly antiblack discrimination once prevalent in the nation and espec-

ially the South.

They said racism attracts whites who believe they are preserving important values and looking out for the best

interests of society.

"Opponents of busing in Louisville draw heavily upon that view," McConahay and Hawley said.

"Unfortunately, the society they have in mind is the mythical white society they learned about" when they were growing up, the pair said. "In that society, blacks were mostly invisible and not being racist meant not doing anything personally to harm them."



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