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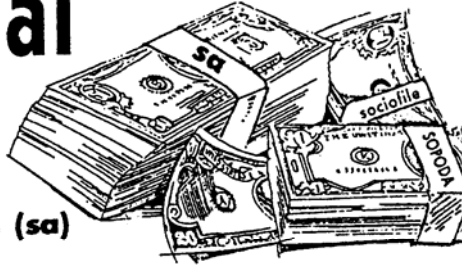
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POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

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EXPLORING BLACK POLITICAL INTOLERANCE

Darren W. Davis

Forty years of research in political tolerance has produced only tangential evidence of blacks' commitment to the principles of democracy and their willingness to apply them to specific situations. Implicit in this literature is that blacks' socialization into a rigid culture stressing authoritarian values, low levels of education, and certain psychological deficiencies interfere with the acquisition of democratic values. As a result, black intolerance is accepted as uncontrollable and involuntary. In this paper, I challenge this view of black intolerance. In particular, I consider how black political intolerance is used as an emancipatory strategy to protect blacks from groups who directly threaten their physical and psychological security. The analysis reveals that blacks identify the historical and current attempt of the Ku Klux Klan to terrorize and demean them, and

thus, attempt to restrain its behavior. Black intolerance is a conscious and focused decision that allows blacks to distinguish between everyday racists and bigots, and the anxiety and fear generated by the Klan.

INDIVIDUAL VALUE PRIORITICS, EDUCATION, AND POLITICAL TOLERANCE

Ewa A. Golebiowska

Extensive research on political tolerance identifies numerous social, psychological, and political sources of attitudes toward political dissenters. Much of this research underscores the salutary influence of education on greater acceptance of diversity, although some sophisticated work questions the strength of the linkage between education and tolerance. This study has two principal goals. First, it attempts to point to an alternative source of tolerance that has been given very little attention in the extant literature. Specifically, it argues that increases in political tolerance may be tied to the broad-based values shift allegedly sweeping through advanced industrial society. Second, research reported in this paper provides more evidence for the robustness of the education-tolerance relationship and offer one possible explanation for why this relationship exists. It suggests the one of the reasons higher education tends to be linked with greater tolerance is because it leads to individual value priorities that are conducive to greater openness to political diversity. A multivariate model of political tolerance is estimated that demonstrates modern versus traditional values contribute most to variation in tolerant attitudes, followed by education. The explanation of indirect effects of education on tolerance through its direct impact on values receives empirical support as well. The endeavor concludes by outlining some tentative predictions concerning the attainment of a more tolerant polity that would fare well when evaluated by the liberal democratic theory yardstick.

REFERENCES TO RACIAL ISSUES

Michael G. Hagen

This paper explores the readiness with which the issue of race comes to the minds of ordinary Americans—the «accessibility» of racial issue— by assessing the frequency with which ordinary Americans refer to racial issues when talking about politics. Explicitly racial issues have declines dramatically in accessibility among the general public over the past thirty years. Coinciding with the decrease in the accessibility of issues explicitly involving race there has been some increase in the accessibility of other issues—crime, poverty, and welfare—that some regard as code words with which whites communicate, in socially acceptable language, continued anxiety about race. There is little evidence, however, that many white Americans use references to such issues to express hostility toward black Americans. Contrary to some interpretation of res-

cent presidential elections, moreover, the increased accessibility of such issues has not produced a windfall of votes for the Republicans.

MODES OF PARTICIPATION OVER THE ADULT LIFE SPAN

Thomas B. Jankowski and John M. Strate

Sidney Verba and Norman Nie, in their 1972 work *Participation in America*, advance the notion that political participation is not unidimensional, but is comprised of different modes. In recent years, the availability of panel and cross-sectional time series data has led to greater interest in the temporal dimension of political participation. Using data from nine American National Election Studies, we confirm the Verba and Nie findings with respect to voting and campaign participation and expand upon them. We examine the factor structure of indicators used in composite indices of voting and campaign participation and find the structure of participation is stable across age groups, cohorts, and periods, confirming the composite indices of voting and campaign participation are not confounded by age, cohort, or period effects.

COMPETING VALUES IN PUBLIC OPINION: A CONJOINT ANALYSIS

Michal Shamir and Jacob Shamir

Values have been conceptualized as inherently comparative and competitive. As such they require the setting of priorities and value trade-offs, and we suggest that conjoint analysis provides an appropriate operationalization of values so conceptualized. Compared to the commonly used rating and ranking methods, conjoint analysis is less obtrusive, and its task design simulates real life considerations more closely. We suggest that it provides value importance scores that are more realistic, less abstract, less declarative, and less tainted by social desirability. Moreover, conjoint measurement offers a fuller description of value systems, including value balancing and weighting, combinations, and interaction among values. We discuss the advantages and disadvantages of conjoint analysis in the measurement of values, and apply it to competing values in current Israeli politics. This analysis yields new findings on the value structure of Israeli Jews. We find that two values override in Israeli Jews' considerations the most basic notion of Zionism—Israel as a Jewish state with a Jewish majority—and peace. Democracy is found to have no significance on its own, but in interaction with the other values that count, it is cherished. Greater Israel has only marginal significance.