

ON THE "BUT ONE OF MY BEST FRIENDS IS..." SYNDROME:

THE SOCIAL CORRELATES OF HYPOCRISY*

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INTRODUCTION

The call for a new imaginative research orientation to the seemingly much studied issue of race relations has been made in light of the recent mobilization of the Negro into what has been called the Negro Protest Movement.¹ Much the same as others concerned with this new source of political struggle, Peter Rossi has written, "We are passing from a period in which prejudice was the main focus of concern to a period in which the political management of formal equality is at the center of attention."²

Our focus is on the attitudinal value orientations which serve as the basis for the above mentioned "political management."

This paper is concerned with a much talked about phenomenon, the "But one of my best friends is..." syndrome.³ The point is this: a much discussed but seldom systematically investigated topic is the seeming incongruence of some people to take opposite positions on different dimensions of the same general issue, particularly something as controversial as race relations. The meaning of this topic is perhaps best presented in the second title: The Social Correlates of Hypocrisy. In other words, this paper is going to discuss the structural constraints of sociological variables on attitudinal balance and imbalance concerning attitudes about the current Negro Protest Movement and attitudes about the goals of the movement.⁴ The data to be presented were collected by the National Opinion Research Center from a national probability sample of 1,413 adults concerning their general knowledge of and attitudes toward the Negro Protest Movement.

METHODOLOGY

The first step in our procedure was to isolate two groups of questions which would be combined into two indices representing different orientations towards the movement. The first ^{group} ~~set~~ chosen was to represent dispositions toward democratic rights for Negroes, the declared goals of the Movement.

Shows the interrelations among
~~As shown in Table 1, they represented positions to be taken on the first group of questions with the thought of four (4) rights and have~~ ^{of association} Q-values ranging from .80 to .94. The distribution of the Index as compiled gives some indication of the functionality of the index, ~~that~~ ^{of responses were} a majority being consistently positive on all four items (See Table 2).

(INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE)

(INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE)

The second ^{group} ~~set~~ of questions involved a direct measure of how the Respondents perceived the movement, i.e., ~~in terms of~~ how they evaluated what they had been observing (Table 3).

(INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE)

second group of This ~~set of~~ questions deals with both what is seen ~~as well as~~ ^{and} reactions to what is seen. The Q-values of association for this ^{group} ~~set~~ of questions are also rather high, ranging from .59 to .91. Unlike the Disposition towards Rights Index, this Perception Index must be seen in light of a highly questionable assumption, ~~i.e., a major assumption is that what~~ ^{is} ~~ever~~ variance in the real world concerning the actual events involving the Movement is held constant, ^{is} and ~~not~~ considered as being an important variable. One can easily recognize that when a person in Oregon says the Movement is peaceful and a person in Birmingham does likewise, it is ~~not quite clear whether~~ ^{far from clear that} the two seemingly identical responses are in fact actually identical.

The distribution of the Perception Index is rather equally spread and gives the appearance of being highly functional for analysis (Table 4).

(INSERT TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE)

It is apparent that with such a different distribution on the two indices that some differences will be forthcoming, but it remains to be shown what the significant differences are and what variables can be used to explain them. In order to have a simple measure of consistency or balance between the two indices, we chose to dichotomize the Disposition and Perception Indices respectively, and match them according to their sign.

(INSERT TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE)

As would be expected, the dominance of the Disposition scale toward positive scores and the Perception scale toward the Negative yields a very uneven distribution. The Negative Balance of 38.0 per cent gives some indication relative to the other percentages of how the total population is distributed.

ANALYSIS

But the stated goal of this paper is to investigate the structural constraints on this phenomenon. This problem was stated most succinctly by Peter Blau: "the question is whether the prevalence of social values in a community also exerts social constraints upon patterns of conduct that are independent of the influences exerted by the internalized orientations."⁵

The major structural variable selected in light of former research is region of the country.⁶ It was initially assumed that if one controlled for region of the country, different kinds of effects would be found (Table 6).

(INSERT TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE)

Clearly Table 6 shows that in the south the majority of people are those with a negative balance score, and in the non-south the tendency is to be imbalanced with positive dispositions and negative perceptions. But in order to fully investigate these differences it would be necessary to compare the Balance Index distribution by Region as well as the distributions of the Disposition and Perception Index by Region. It is now clear that

(INSERT TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE)

the differences found in Table 6 are more evident in the Disposition Index than in the Perceptions Index. There is a percentage difference on positive scores of 62.6 on the Disposition Index and of only 12.9 on the Perception Index. This difference is meaningful in at least two ways:

- 1) it shows that the real difference between the non-south and south is the way in which one affirms the democratic rights which Negroes ought to have; and
- 2) that there is a significant difference between level of affirmation for positive disposition, 19.5 per cent for the south and 82.1 per cent for the non-south, and degree of affirmation on the Perception Index, 14.1 for the south and 27.0 for the non-south. It should be recognized that the non-south difference is really the most significant one, being 55.1 as compared to 5.4 for the south.

Realizing that the above mentioned differences are what appear as the significant relationship to explain, we turned to the variables found to be significant by other studies, namely, status, age, and education.⁷ In Table 8, the table showing the percentage distribution by

(INSERT TABLE 8 ABOUT HERE)

region of three age groupings, only the age group 25 - 44 in the non-south varies significantly from the total distribution shown in Table 6. The total distribution for the non-south is 23.0 for the positive balance, whereas the 25 - 44 age grouping is 39.3 per cent positive balance.

But on further consideration another interesting relationship can be found. In the non-south the most incongruous age grouping is that below 25 years. The respective scores for this group are 75.9 on the Dispositions Index, but only 17.2 on the Perceptions Index. On the other hand, the most consistent grouping is the one mentioned above, 25 - 44. They score 65.2 on the Dispositions Index and 43.0 on the Perceptions Index. The meaning of this disparity is open to many interpretations but all interpretations would need wait on further analysis.

Table 9 shows the distribution of two groups with different educational attainment. As would be expected from the previous findings

(INSERT TABLE 9 ABOUT HERE)

of other studies, there is a consistent deviation from the mean distribution of the total regional scores. The less-than-high school graduates are 4.5 per cent below on the positive balance for the south and the high school graduates 4.5 above. In the non-south the less-than-high school group is 5.0 per cent below on the positive balance whereas the high school-and-more group is 3.3 per cent above.

But the interesting finding in this table is the difference higher education makes in the south as compared with the difference it makes in the non-south. In Table 5 showing the total distribution of the Balance Index by region, we can have some point of comparison for the effect of higher education on the Disposition Index and Perceptions Index respectively. By looking at only those people with high school or more, there is little difference in the difference on the Perceptions Index as the south is 2.8 per cent more positive and 2.2 per cent more positive in the non-south. The difference lies in the distribution along the Dispositions Index. Higher education, relative to the respective scores on the total distribution, improves those in the south by 21.3 per cent in the south, but improves the scores of those in the non-south by only 9.9 per cent. This finding is revealing, but must be held in perspective by the finding in the table showing total distribution, i.e., it must be remembered that southerners have a much greater range to improve relative to the non-south.

In Table 10 the indicator of socio-economic status is the occupational prestige scale developed by Odis Dudley Duncan.⁸ The occupations are grouped into three classes, with the low group having the lower three

(INSERT TABLE 10 ABOUT HERE)

deciles, the middle group with the middle four and the high group with the top three. It seems to us that the interesting findings of this table are the following:

1. The differences between the south and the non-south, as shown in Table 7 are not in the Perceptions Index but in the Disposition Index. The differences are much more significant in the lower and middle occupations than in the high prestige occupations. The difference between the south and the non-south for the high prestige occupations on the positive score is 25.9, but for the middle group it is 43.6 and for the low group it is 45.7.

And:

2. The high prestige occupation group in the south has greater Positive balance, 26.7 to 11.7 and 6.1 for the middle and low occupation groups respectively. And as expected this is reversed for the Negative balance scores; for the high prestige group the score is 33.3, but for the middle and low groups it is 69.2 and 76.8.

Another well known, and many times verified proposition is that interaction or exposure to Negroes leads to positive feelings, attitudes, and/or dispositions. Gordon Allport states this proposition in what is perhaps the most generally acceptable way: "Only in situations where different groups meet on equal footing, enjoying equal status, does prejudice diminish; the effect is greatly enhanced if the groups holding such equal status engage in joint participation in a common task."⁹

(INSERT TABLE 11 ABOUT HERE)

(INSERT TABLE 12 ABOUT HERE)

In Tables 11 and 12, extreme kinds of exposure are percentaged by region for the distribution on the Balance Index. Our data reveal little positive effect of everyday exposure for the non-south, but with a negative impact on the non-south. Via negativa, this affirms the proposition stated above, that interaction under unfavorable conditions leads to negative feelings.

In the same discussion of prejudice as the above quoted statement, Allport discusses what he calls the cultural and subcultural approach.

This position states that while the official credo of America is one of equality and freedom, in reality there is a given distribution of prejudice depending upon subcultural groupings like family structure and regional patterns, normative expectations, and mores. Our discussion has been revolving around the differences between the south and the non-south. The implicit point being, that this is a very important aspect of any study of race relations, if only as a referent to study the non-south.

If our assumption holds true, then it can be said that the normative expectations of the south and non-south are quite different. We would hold that the south is bound not only by a different set of local legal patterns but chrysalized mores which directly effect the probability of having positive dispositions toward and perceptions of the Negro Protest Movement. In the non-south, due to a different kind of legal framework and historic-cultural heritage, there is less "structural constraint," hence the greater probability that one's internalized value orientation will prevail over against the social climate in which one is living.

The one variable relevant for this kind of discussion on which we had data available, concerned whether our respondents in the non-south had ever lived in the south and likewise whether those that lived in the south had ever lived in the non-south. As we would expect from the above stated assumption living outside of one's respective region has a greater

(INSERT TABLE 13 ABOUT HERE)

effect on those living under the more restrictive social structure of the south than on those living outside of the south. Referring again to the total distribution by region it can be shown that those now living in the south that had at one time lived outside of the south are 15.9 percentage points more positive on the Disposition Index, whereas all other scores which can be computed from Table 13 vary to a considerably lesser degree.

DISCUSSION

After presenting the above data in such a cursory fashion, it is reasonable to expect that the burden of explaining the topic of this paper is yet to be relieved. The topic, to reiterate for the sake of clarity, is the marked disparity between approval of democratic rights for Negroes in the non-south as compared with approval of the Negro Protest Movement, with no real disparity in the south between these two items. As an aside, it should be noted that in light of what the paper is about the second title is most revealing, the social correlates of hypocrisy.

Most social scientists, as well as generally most everyone else, would readily agree that there is a significant difference between the south and non-south concerning the issue of race relations. Indeed, our most important finding is one that Southerners have been espousing for a great number of years, namely that Southerners are much more honest, meaning consistent, in their general approach to this problem, whereas the people in the north are generally dishonest and hypocritical. What usually isn't said so plainly is that this difference manifests itself in the way stated above.

The basic approach in this paper was to use the regions of south and non-south as socio-cultural structures which maintain different degrees of constraint on the people living therein. This assumption was indirectly shown in the data presented on inter-regional residence experience. There was little difference between the two groups now living in the north, but a sizable difference between those now living in the south, i.e., those southerners who had at one time in their lives experienced living outside of the south.

This suggests to us one additional point, one which for the present must remain without some degree of empirical verification. The point is this: it seems to us that the differences between the southerners and northerners is not one of individual dispositions, that term meaning one's ego-orientation, but the differences are the different internalized norms of

the socio-cultural environment, the super-ego or moral conscience. A general impressionistic manifestation of this is the observation by one social scientist interested in school desegregation decisions and the corresponding degrees of tension in the communities, that in school systems which did not include the general populace in on the decision to integrate, there was much less controversy and a more immediate affirmation of the decision. This seems to indicate to us that when an issue is determined by the two conflicting socio-cultural structures there is a greater tendency to have the kind of conflict so currently being exploited intermittently in the mass media. But when community decision makers arrive at a decision and initiate its realization as an administrative move, taking the lead in the community, the tendency is for the populace to have a greater option in terms of translating into action any ego-oriented values, not to be censored by one's moral conscience.

Above we presented brief analysis of three structural variables, age, education, and occupational prestige. After briefly discussing the significance of each variable separately, it is now upon us to suggest how they fit together into a meaningful picture, if you'll excuse the blatantly questionable functionalist type approach. The most plausible analysis of these phenomena taken together seems to indicate that the strain of entering the world of work during the early years and/or being involved in the culmination of one's education tends to have a negative effect on how one perceives the movement, the concrete action being taken, while it has the opposite effect on the position taken on the Dispositions towards democratic rights for Negroes Index. But if age specific analysis of the south at one point in time can be used as a crude measure of future trends, it seems that as the less than 25 year olds move into the 25 to 44 year group, which also would involve the personal transition from education to becoming securely established in the world of work, there is a tendency to have a more balanced position with positive scores. In light of the fact, generally, the younger people are going to be better educated, and even now hold positive dispositions not too terribly different from those generally held in the non-south, that the south is

becoming much more positive. The question which will ultimately have to be left unresolved at this time is that when the south changes and approaches the level on the positive scores on the Disposition Index held by the non-south, will it only result, as in the non-south today, as a disparity between Dispositions and Perceptions? Some say that the already initiated practice of token school integration and bad faith in negotiations are pointing to a similar non-south dilemma, i.e., the south will merely move from de jure to de facto segregation as the non-south has been exposed as doing, the Hauser Report being a classic case in point. But another view would hold that due to the national scope of this controversy, while the south may move immediately into a non-south style de facto segregatory position, the changes initiated in the non-south will also be directed to the south, so that while there will certainly be less regional differences, the total level of positive score will be the final outcome. (Parenthetically it should be noted that when we refer to the outcome in terms of positive scores, the assumption is that inextricably tied to positive scores is a change in the socio-cultural institutional framework of the county as legitimated by both national and local legal codes.)

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have tried to analyse and discuss the implication of the south and the non-south in terms of how each, in terms of its respective white adult population, is reacting to the theoretical claim for democratic rights and the concrete actual attempt to initiate the realization of those rights. The one discouraging thing about research of this type is that while the call is research now, in the midst of the dynamic change through which the people of the United States are currently going, social science is not responding. The real analysis of this issue is currently found in the poems, novels and interpretative essays of people like James Baldwin, William Faulkner, Ralph Ellison, Cary McWilliams, Harry Golden and the like. But then, perhaps it is still a meaningful question to consider whether this can ever be any other way.

FOOTNOTES

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¹Everett Hughes, "Race Relations and the Sociological Imagination," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, 1963, pp. 879-890.

²Peter, Rossi, "New Directions for Race Relations Research in the Sixties," (A paper presented at a Conference on Research in Race Relations in New York City, December 5, 1963.).

³The essence of what is meant was summarized by Brink and Harris on the basis of a survey sponsored by Newsweek magazine: "...when the white man looks at the Negro he is torn by a conflict between his emotions and his intellect. His intellect tells him that the Negro has indeed suffered years of discrimination, directly contradicting the American creed of equality for all. But his emotions make him feel uneasy at the prospect of such equality for the Negro." (Brink and Harris, The Negro Revolution in America, Simon and Schuster, 1964).

⁴For background material on the Negro Protest Movement see the following: W. Haywood Burns, The Voices of Negro Protest in America, Oxford University Press, 1963; Louis Lomax, The Negro Revolt, New American Library, 1962, and a quarterly journal Freedomways.

⁵Peter M. Blau, "Structural Effects," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25, 1960, pp. 178-193.

⁶See "The Demography of Desegregation" (Journal of Social Issues, 1959, Vol. 15, pp. 61-71) by T.F. Pettigrew and M.R. Cramer, the work by Davis and Dollard, Dollard, and the essays of James Baldwin.

⁷A particularly important treatment of these variables can be found in Social Change and Prejudice by Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz. The relevant analysis can be found on pages 14-25.

⁸Duncan's scale is presented in Albert J. Reiss Jr., Occupations and Social Status, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962, pp. 263-275.

⁹Gordon Allport, "Prejudice: A Problem in Psychological and Social Causation," contained in Toward a General Theory of Action, Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, eds., Harper and Row, 1951.

TABLES TO ACCOMPANY:

ON THE "BUT ONE OF MY BEST FRIENDS IS..." SYNDROME:
THE SOCIAL CORRELATES OF HYPOCRISY*

By

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TABLE 1

ITEMS CONCERNING DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR
NEGROES AND Q-VALUES OF ASSOCIATION

1. Do you think white students and Negro students should go to the same schools or to separate schools?
2. Generally speaking, do you think there should be separate sections for Negroes in streetcars and buses?
3. Do you think Negroes should have as good a chance as white people--that is, can they learn things just as well if they are given the same education and training?
4. Do you think Negroes should have the right to use the same parks, restaurants and hotels as white people?

	1	2	3	4
1		.92	.80	.94
2			.82	.94
3				.85
4				

TABLE 2

INDEX OF DISPOSITION TO DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR NEGROES

Number of Indicators Positive	N	Per Cent	Index Description
Four	659	58.2	Positive Disposition
Three	155	13.7	Intermediate Disposition
Two	99	8.7	Intermediate Disposition
One	125	11.0	Negative Disposition
None	<u>94</u>	<u>8.3</u>	Negative Disposition
TOTAL	1,132	99.9	

N = 1,132

Not indexed= 98

Negroes = 183

TOTAL = 1,413

TABLE 3

ITEMS CONCERNING PERCEPTION OF NEGRO
PROTEST MOVEMENT AND Q-VALUES OF ASSOCIATION

- A. During the past year or so, would you say that the actions Negroes have taken to get the things they want have been generally violent or generally peaceful?
- B. Do you think the actions Negroes have taken have, on the whole, helped their cause, or, on the whole, hurt their cause?
- C. How do you yourself feel about these actions--do you generally approve of them or generally disapprove of them?
- D. All in all, do you think Negro groups are asking for too much, too little, or just about what they should be asking for?

	A	B	C	D
A		.80	.89	.59
B			.91	.64
C				.76
D				

TABLE 4

INDEX OF PERCEPTIONS OF NEGRO PROTEST MOVEMENT

Number of indicators Positive	N	Per Cent	Index Description
Four	222	23.3	Positive Perception
Three	121	12.9	Intermediate Perception
Two	269	28.9	Intermediate Perception
One	91	9.5	Negative Perception
None	<u>251</u>	<u>25.3</u>	Negative Perception
TOTAL	954	99.9	

N = 954

*Not indexed = 276

Negroes = 183

TOTAL = 1,413

*Includes those not indexed on Dispositions Index (N=98)

TABLE 5

BALANCE INDEX OF DISPOSITION AND PERCEPTION INDICES

Disposition Scale	Perception Scale	Sign	N	Per Cent	Balance Index Description
Positive	Positive	+ +	184	19.2	Positive Balance
Positive	Negative*	+ -	369	38.7	Imbalance
Negative*	Positive	- +	38	4.0	Imbalance
Negative*	Negative*	- -	363	38.0	Negative Balance
	TOTAL		954	99.9	

*Negative means not-positive

TABLE 6

BALANCE INDEX, BY REGION OF THE COUNTRY

Sign of Balance Index Score	Region of the Country*	
	South	Non-South
Positive Balance + +	10.1 (28)	23.0 (156)
Imbalance + -	17.0 (47)	47.6 (322)
Imbalance - +	4.0 (11)	4.0 (27)
Negative Balance - -	68.9 (191)	25.4 (172)
TOTALS	100.0 (277)	99.0 (677) $\sum=954$

* Throughout this paper the following Census regions are included in the South: South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central.

TABLE 7

INDICES OF DISPOSITION AND PERCEPTION, BY REGION

Index	South	Non-South	
Positive Disposition	19.5 (82)	82.1 (577)	
Intermediate Disposition	45.7 (192)	8.0 (62)	
Negative Disposition	34.7 (146)	10.0 (73)	
TOTAL	99.9 (420)	100.1 (712)	$\Sigma = 1,132^*$
Positive Perception	14.1 (39)	27.0 (183)	
Intermediate Perception	36.5 (101)	43.0 (291)	
Negative Perception	49.5 (137)	30.0 (203)	
TOTAL	100.1 (277)	100.0 (677)	$\Sigma = 954^*$

* Sums refer to total number of Respondents scored on each respective Index (See Tables 2 and 4).

TABLE 8

BALANCE INDEX, BY AGE AND REGION OF THE COUNTRY

Balance Score*	South			Non-South		
	< 25	25-44	44+	< 25	25-44	44+
Positive Balance + +	7.7 (2)	10.0 (11)	10.6 (15)	13.8 (8)	39.3 (85)	20.3 (61)
Imbalance + -	19.2 (5)	20.9 (23)	13.5 (19)	62.1 (36)	25.9 (56)	43.2 (130)
Imbalance - +	7.7 (2)	2.7 (3)	4.3 (6)	3.4 (2)	3.7 (8)	5.6 (17)
Negative Balance - -	65.4 (17)	66.4 (73)	71.6 (101)	20.7 (12)	31.0 (67)	30.9 (93)
TOTALS	100.0 (26)	100.0 (110)	100.0 (141)	100.0 (58)	99.9 (216)	100.0 (301)

* In this table and all following ones, the first column of signs refers to the Dispositions Index, the second column to the Perceptions Index.

TABLE 9

BALANCE INDEX, BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
AND REGION OF THE COUNTRY

Index	South		Non-South	
	Less Than High School	High School and More	Less Than High School	High School and More
Positive Balance	5.5	14.5	18.0	26.3
++	(10)	(18)	(53)	(100)
Imbalance	18.2	33.9	40.0	54.2
+ -	(33)	(42)	(118)	(206)
Imbalance	4.4	2.4	5.4	2.9
- +	(8)	(3)	(16)	(11)
Negative Balance	71.8	49.2	36.6	16.6
--	(130)	(61)	(108)	(63)
TOTALS	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(181)	(124)	(295)	(380)

TABLE 10

**BALANCE INDEX, BY OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE
AND REGION OF THE COUNTRY**

Index	South			Non-South		
	Occupation Prestige			Occupation Prestige		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Positive Balance	6.1	11.7	26.7	22.5	20.3	37.0
++	(9)	(11)	(8)	(65)	(58)	(34)
Imbalance	14.3	16.0	33.3	43.6	51.0	48.9
+ -	(21)	(15)	(10)	(126)	(146)	(45)
Imbalance	2.7	3.2	6.7	4.2	3.5	3.3
- +	(4)	(3)	(2)	(12)	(10)	(3)
Negative Balance	76.8	69.2	33.3	29.8	25.2	10.9
--	(113)	(65)	(10)	(86)	(72)	(10)
TOTALS	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1
	(147)	(94)	(30)	(289)	(286)	(92)

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGES WITH EVERYDAY EXPOSURE - BY BALANCE SCORE AND REGION

Balance Score	South	Non-South
Positive Balance + +	11.9 (12)	27.2 (56)
Imbalance + -	12.9 (13)	51.5 (106)
Imbalance - +	3.0 (3)	2.4 (5)
Negative Balance - -	72.3 (73)	18.9 (39)
TOTALS	100.1 (101)	100.0 (206)

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGES NEVER EXPOSED - BY BALANCE SCORE AND REGION

Balance Score	South	Non-South
Positive Balance	8.0	13.5
++	(2)	(21)
Imbalance	8.0	42.6
+ -	(2)	(66)
Imbalance	4.0	5.8
- +	(1)	(9)
Negative Balance	80.0	38.1
--	(20)	(59)
TOTALS	100.0	100.0
	(25)	(155)

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE EVER HAVING LIVED OUTSIDE OF REGION BY BALANCE SCORE

Balance Score	South		Non-South	
	Having lived Out- side the South	Not Having Lived Outside the South	Having Lived In the South	Not Having Lived In the South
Positive Balance + +	14.9 (17)	5.6 (9)	24.5 (39)	22.5 (115)
Imbalance + -	28.1 (32)	9.4 (15)	41.5 (66)	50.0 (256)
Imbalance - +	4.4 (5)	3.1 (5)	5.7 (9)	3.5 (18)
Negative Balance - -	52.6 (60)	81.9 (131)	28.3 (45)	24.0 (123)
TOTALS	100.0 (114)	100.0 (160)	100.0 (159)	100.0 (512)