

2011

Post-Racial?

**Americans and Race
in the Age of Obama**



DANIEL BYRD, Ph.D and BRUCE MIRKEN | The Greenlining Institute



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NOVEMBER 2011



About the Greenlining Institute

The Greenlining Institute is a national policy, research, organizing, and leadership institute working for racial and economic justice. We ensure that grassroots leaders are participating in major policy debates by building diverse coalitions that work together to advance solutions to our nation's most pressing problems. Greenlining builds public awareness of issues facing communities of color, increases civic participation, and advocates for public and private policies that create opportunities for people and families to make the American Dream a reality.

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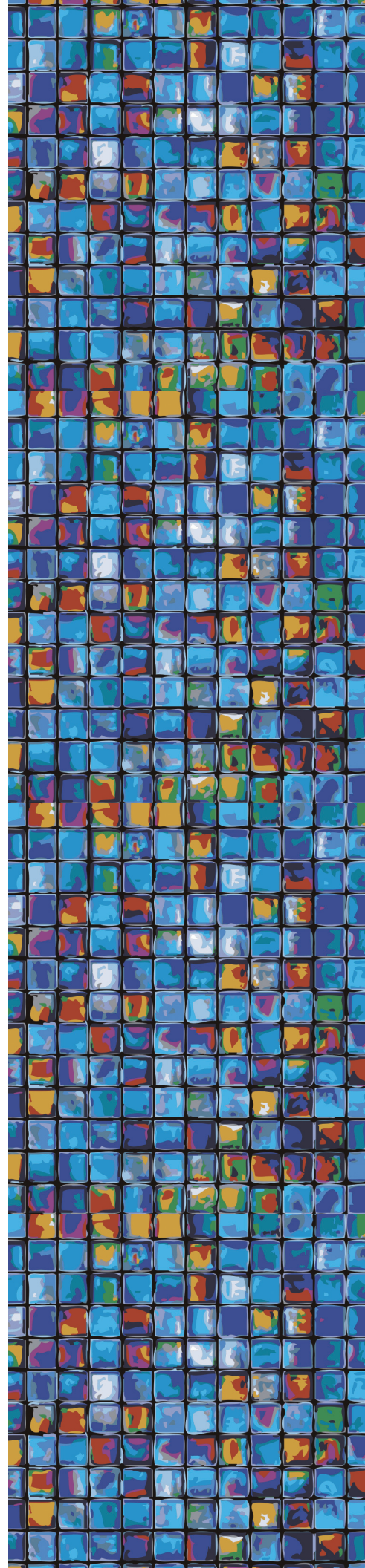
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Executive Summary

Since the election of Barack Obama as the United States' first African American president, there has been much discussion of whether this means the U.S. has become a "post-racial" society. Does race still matter in America? This question is particularly significant in light of the fact that within about three decades, people of color are projected to become the majority. Policy based on mistaken assumptions could cripple efforts to revive the U.S. economy. Using the most definitive survey data available, we investigated perceptions of race in America among different racial and ethnic groups and how those perceptions compare to measurable realities of U.S. society.

- Data from the recent 2008-2010 American National Election Panel Survey (ANES) suggest that whites and people of color differ greatly in their perceptions of race and racial inequality in America.
 - Just 16% of whites believe that there is a lot of discrimination in America today, while 56% of blacks and 26% of Latinos believe that there is a lot of discrimination in America today.
 - While many objective measures of health suggest that black Americans are in worse health overall than whites, a majority of whites believe blacks' health is "about the same" as whites. A plurality of blacks, 53%, as well as 39% of Latinos and 50% of people from other racial backgrounds, believe that blacks are in worse health overall than whites.
 - 67% of blacks and 52% of Latinos believe that blacks make less money than whites, a view that tracks with official statistics on income, wealth and unemployment. Only 37% of whites believe that blacks make less money than whites, with a narrow majority believing that blacks' and whites' incomes are about the same.
 - 56% of blacks and 30% of Latinos think that the federal government treats whites better than it treats blacks. Only 9% of whites feel that the federal government treats whites better than blacks, with a majority feeling that the government treats blacks and whites about the same. One in four whites believe the U.S. government treats blacks better than whites.
- Racial biases as measured by the "racial resentment" scale correlate with a decrease in white support for the idea there is a lot of discrimination in America today and that inequality exists between blacks and whites in income, health and government relations.
- Despite what some may wish, America is not a post-racial society. Policies that ignore these dramatic differences in perceptions among groups, and the disconnect between perceptions and reality, threaten to cripple efforts to reduce disparities and strengthen the U.S. economy for the benefit of all.
- **Recommendations:**
 - Our political leaders must be willing to acknowledge the continuing role of race in American society and refrain from making statements that perpetuate myths or inflame ethnic and racial misunderstanding.
 - The media must take an active role in informing the public about racial issues and how they impact American progress. This must include an effort to include the voices of all communities in coverage of important issues.

Introduction

The election of Barack Obama as the U.S.'s first African American president has had a profound impact on perceptions of race as an issue in American society. Indeed, on the July 21, 2010 edition of the Fox News Channel program *Hannity*, conservative commentator Ann Coulter declared, "We don't have racism in America anymore" (Media Matters, 2010). Others have expressed similar sentiments: In an October 2011 interview on CNN, Republican presidential candidate Herman Cain said, "I don't believe racism in this country today holds anybody back in a big way."

Such "color blind" logic is not exclusive to Republicans or conservatives. During an interview with BET's Emmitt Miller, Mr. Miller asked President Obama about the need for targeted policies to assist African Americans. In response the president stated, "That's not how America works. America works when all of us are pulling together and everybody is focused on making sure that every single person has opportunity" (BET News, 2011). The president's statement, while interesting, obscures the history and reality of race in America.

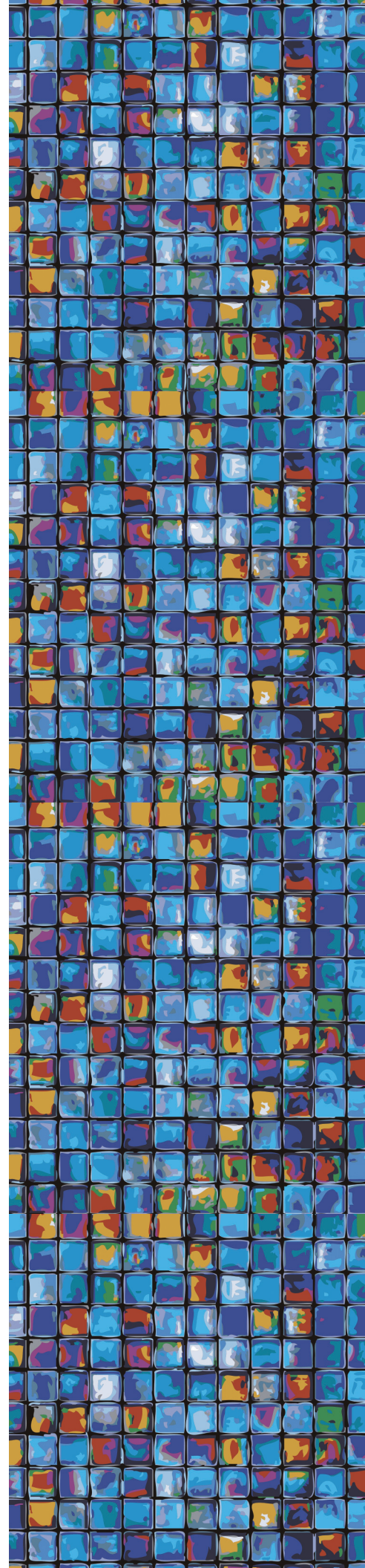
Racially discriminatory policies clearly contributed to the inequality between whites and people of color that we see today. In the book *When Affirmative Action Was White*, Columbia University Professor Ira Katznelson describes how key social reforms put in place in the 1930s and 1940s, including many New Deal programs, were implemented in a discriminatory fashion, setting in motion long-term racial disparities. More recently, Rugh and Massey (2010) sought to understand the impact of racial segregation on the foreclosure crisis. They found that racial segregation was a powerful predictor of whether or not someone would go into foreclosure. Additionally, racial segregation was found to be a more powerful predictor for the foreclosure crisis than 1) creditworthiness of a borrower, 2) housing price inflation, 3) overbuilding and 4) excessive subprime lending.

In order to move the country forward, we need to understand and address the policies that have allowed racial inequality to flourish. A rising tide does not lift all boats if some are cracked and leaky. Any attempt to gloss over these realities will not succeed in moving America forward.

That said, there is no doubt that America has made great progress since Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. famously stated, "I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal" (King, 1963), as the election of Obama showed in dramatic terms. Yet many argue that we still have a long way to go in terms of achieving Dr. King's dream of a just society. Discrimination, they argue, continues in more subtle forms that often go unnoticed or unmentioned. Vast economic and social disparities between racial and ethnic groups unquestionably persist. While some see a "post-racial" society, others look at the same scene and see a society more racially polarized than ever.

This is far from a strictly academic discussion. To pretend that the U.S. is a post-racial society if that is not actually the case would worsen racial disparities and cripple attempts to move our economy forward. According to recent census predictions, people of color will soon represent the majority of the U.S. population (Mustafa, 2011 & Policy Link, 2011). It will be enormously difficult to address the challenges facing our society overall without a solid understanding of the situation of communities of color.

To add clarity to this discussion, we sought to examine the most authoritative data that can shed light on economic and social disparities between whites and blacks as well as on black and white attitudes towards these disparities. We sought to learn how well perceptions match reality, and to what degree different racial or ethnic groups differ in their understanding of these realities.



We hypothesized that perceptions might differ greatly from reality, and that different groups might see the same picture in different ways.

If this hypothesis proves correct, it represents an enormous challenge for our evolving society, as noted above. To this end, we also examined the possible role of racial bias in divergent attitudes between whites and people of color on the state of race relations and the causes for disparities between whites and people of color in key economic indicators.

Methodology

This report utilized data from four nationally representative surveys. The American National Election Survey provided data on public opinion, while data on demographics, economics and health came from three separate U.S. Census Bureau surveys and federal health agency reports. Details of these are listed below:

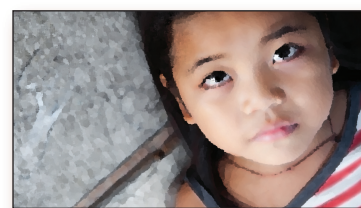
The 2008-2010 American National Election Panel Survey (ANES), led by researchers at the University of Michigan and Stanford University, is the leading academically-led survey of politics and public opinion in the U.S. The 2008-2010 ANES Panel Survey surveyed a representative sample of Americans 12 times from January of 2008 to July of 2010.

The 2009 American Community Survey (ACS) is part of the largest annual survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. The survey is sent to approximately 250,000 U.S. households each year.

The 2010 U.S. Census is a survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau every ten years in order to obtain an accurate count of the population. Data from the U.S. Census is used to allocate congressional seats and electoral votes for each state.

The Current Population Survey (CPS) is conducted each month by the U.S. Census for the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The data from the CPS is used to get an accurate count of the number of unemployed in America.

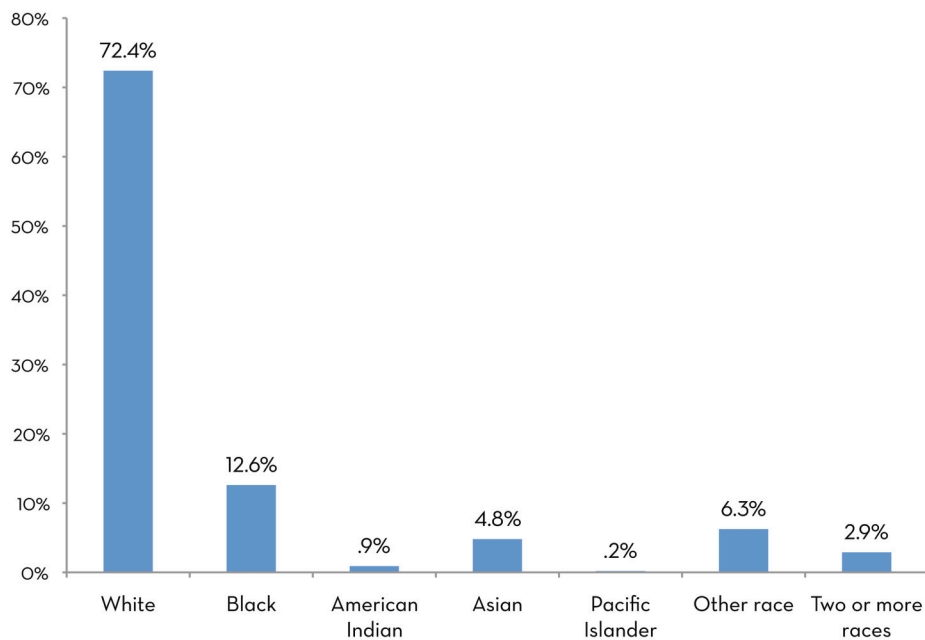
A note about the survey data: As a multi-ethnic policy organization, The Greenlining Institute examines policies with attention to all people of color. Unfortunately, the ANES survey we analyzed focused on the white/black gap, making a full multi-ethnic analysis impossible. We believe it likely that the sort of misperceptions described in this report apply to Latinos, Asian Americans and other people of color as well. We encourage researchers and advocates alike to take a multi-ethnic focus when approaching racial and ethnic issues.



America's Changing Demographics

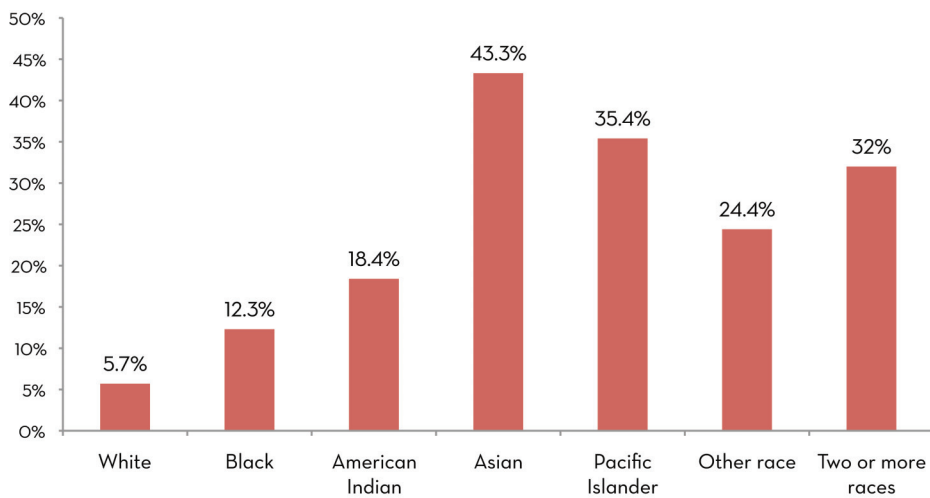
According to census data, while whites remain the single largest racial group, people of color represented most of America's population growth since 2000. (Note: because the Census analyzes race and ethnicity separately, these data are presented in two charts, one showing the various racial groups counted by the Census and a second comparing Latinos to non-Latinos.)

U.S. Population by Race, 2010

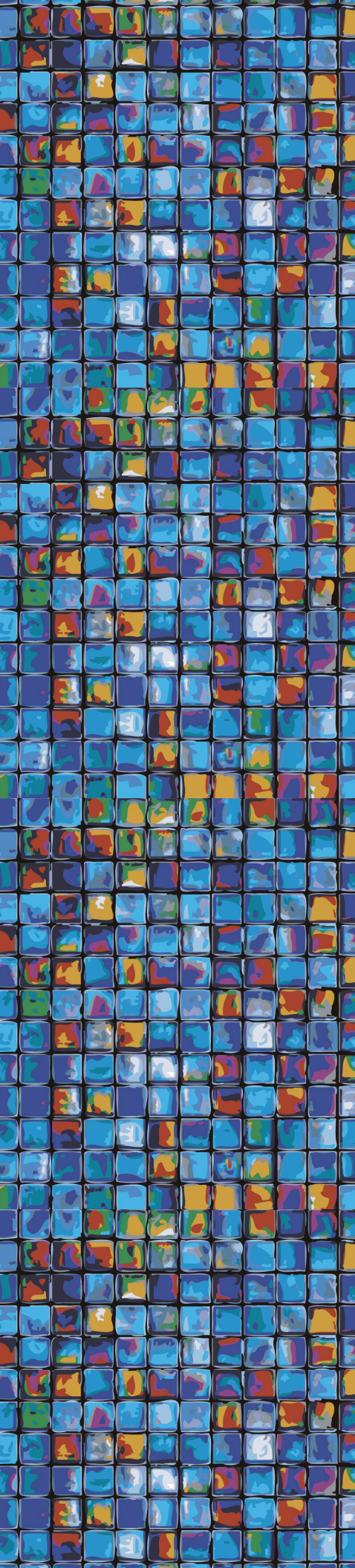


Source: 2010 U.S. Census

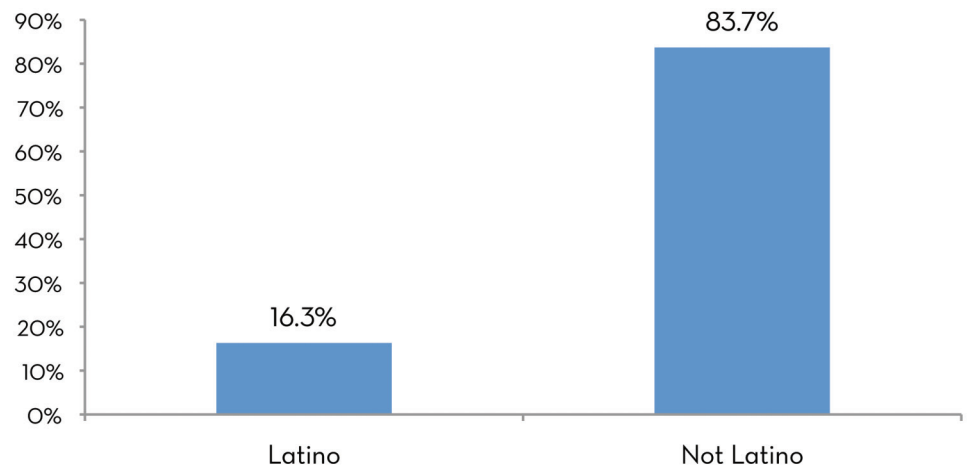
U.S. Population by Race: Percent Changes Since 2000



Source: 2010 U.S. Census

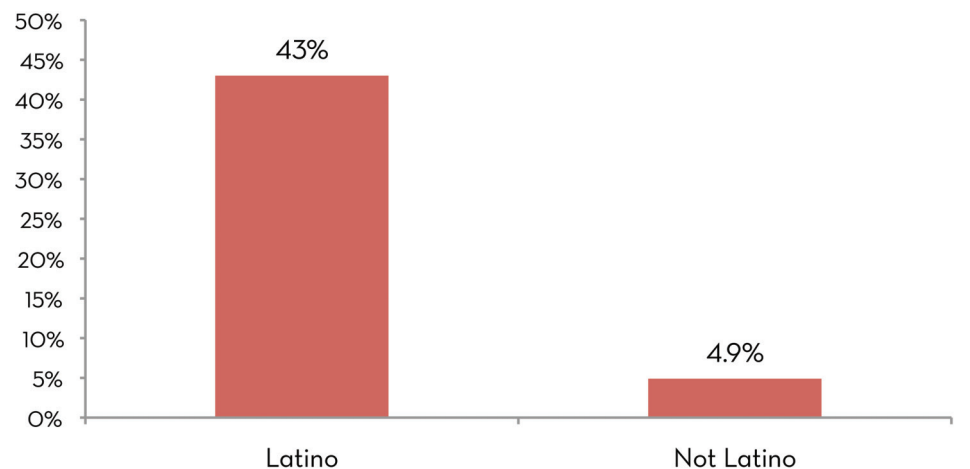


US Population by Ethnicity, 2010



Source: 2010 U.S. Census

US Population by Ethnicity: Percent Changes Since 2000



Source: 2010 U.S. Census

PolicyLink predicts that by 2042, people of color will represent America's new majority (Mustufa, 2011), an evolution that will have a profound effect on policy. What have long been viewed as "minority issues" will soon become the issues of America's majority.

Race Relations in America

In this rapidly-evolving environment, it is important to understand the state of race relations in America both at the economic level and at the level of public opinion. Does public opinion regarding race in America actually match the reality of race in America? Did Barack Obama's election as president influence the relationship between perceptions of racial inequality and the actual amount of racial inequality in America?

Tesler & Sears (2010) argue that the 2008 election was anything but post-racial and that the 2008 campaign was the most racialized presidential election in modern history. They argue that because Obama is black, race became more explicitly accessible to voters, and liberals and conservatives were more divided than ever on racial issues.

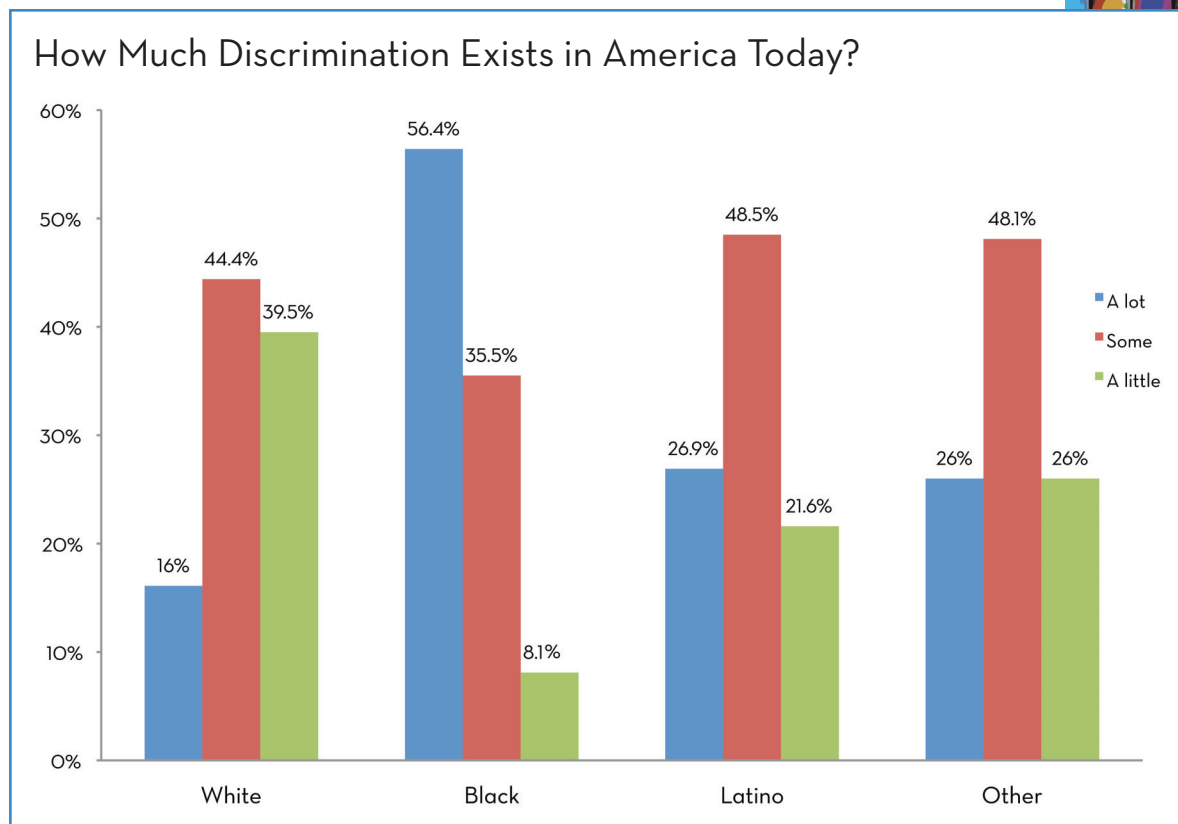
Other work by University of Michigan political scientist Vincent Hutchings (2009) suggests that whites and blacks today are just as divided on racial issues as they were in 1988. Additionally, white youth were found to be no more racially liberal than their counterparts in 1988.

Perceptions of Discrimination and Inequality in America

Kaiser and colleagues (2009) conducted a longitudinal study in order to understand how racial attitudes changed as a result of Obama's election victory. In a college student sample, they found that after the election, support for programs such as affirmative action that are designed to increase racial equality decreased. They also found that the students increased their support for the idea that America has made a lot of racial progress.

Research by Valentino and Brader (2011) suggests that in the aftermath of the 2008 election, the perceived amount of racial discrimination in America decreased across racial and ethnic lines. The study also suggests that among whites, racial biases were associated with less support for the view that racial discrimination is a major factor in American life. So, where do we stand?

Data from the August 2009 wave of the ANES survey reveal a stark contrast between whites' and blacks' perceptions of the current amount of racial discrimination in America. Only 16% of Whites believe that there is a lot of discrimination in America today, while 56% of Blacks and 26% of Latinos believe that there is a lot of discrimination in America today (see graph below).



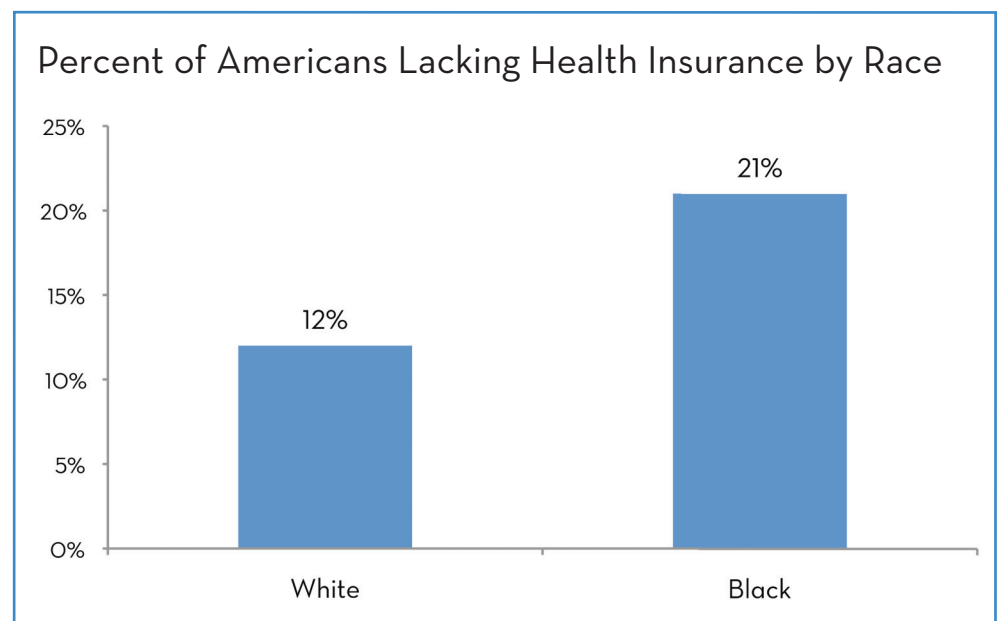
Source: August 2009 wave of the 2008-2010 ANES Survey

People of color tend to see the state of relations between whites and blacks as being far worse than whites see it. While more than twice as many whites believe there is “a little” racial discrimination in America as believe there is “a lot,” Hispanics divide roughly evenly between the two choices, while blacks overwhelmingly see “a lot” of discrimination – by a nearly four to one margin.

Race and Health

In 1966, Martin Luther King Jr. said, “Of all the forms of inequality, injustice in health care is the most shocking and inhumane” (Cullen, 2010). Given the ongoing debate about the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act – dubbed “Obamacare” by opponents – and its implementation, the reality and perceptions of racial inequality in health and health care may be significant.

Available data indicate considerable racial disparities in health. While a detailed discussion of these disparities is beyond the scope of this report, they are real and well-documented. One of the most noteworthy (and likely a contributing factor to other disparities discussed below), is the fact that blacks and other people of color are less likely to have health insurance than whites.



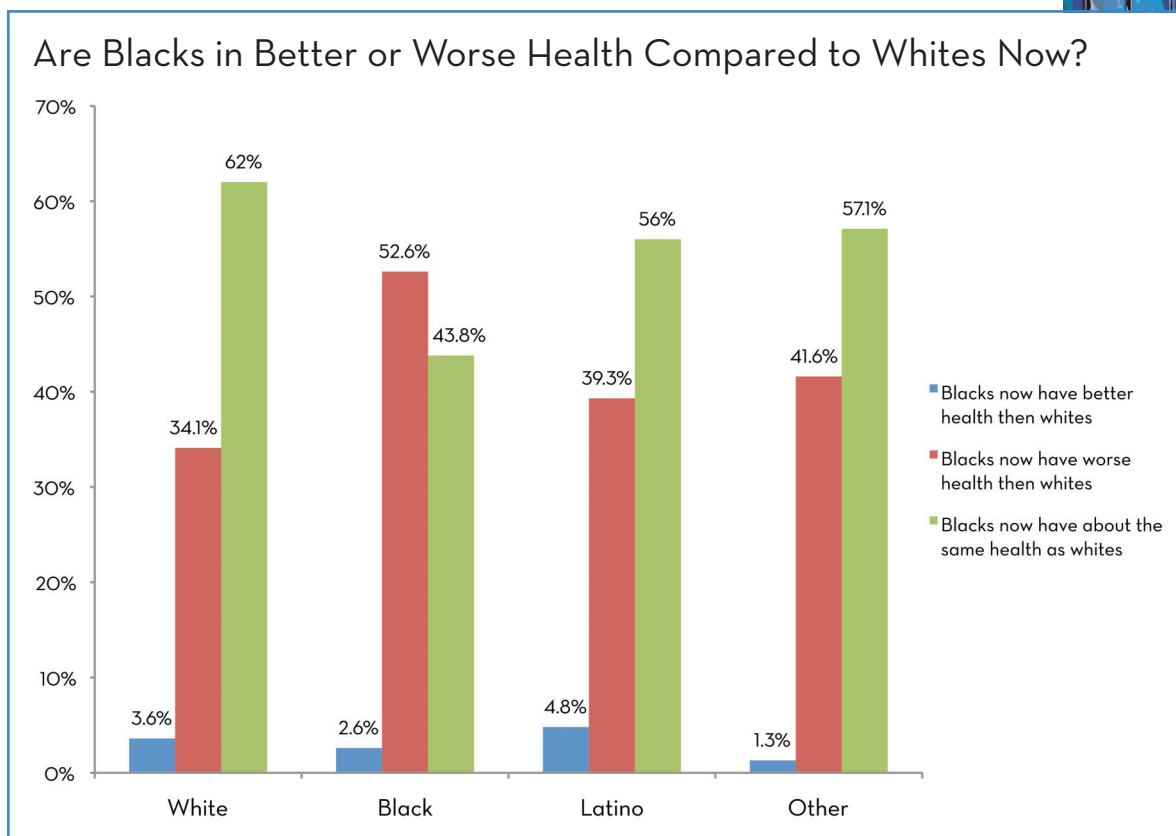
Source: 2009 American Community Survey

In addition to racial disparities in health insurance rates, blacks and other people of color tend to have poorer health when compared to their white counterparts. For example:

- As of 2007, whites’ life expectancy at birth exceeded blacks’ by 4.8 years (National Center for Health Statistics, 2010).
- Black men are twice as likely as white men to have stomach cancer (Office of Minority Health, 2011).
- The asthma rate among black children is double that of white children (National Center for Health Statistics, 2010).
- The infant mortality rate for black women is 2.4 times higher than it is for white women (Office of Minority Health, 2011).

While racial disparities in health are substantial, whites and people of color differ greatly in their understanding of these inequalities. While 52% of blacks, 39% of Latinos and 41% of people from other racial backgrounds believe that blacks are in worse health overall than whites, only 34% of whites agree that blacks are in worse health than whites. A majority of whites believe that blacks' health is "about the same" as whites'.

Unfortunately, the ANES survey did not ask about beliefs regarding the health of Latinos, Asians or other groups. This gap in the data also exists for questions about income and treatment of groups by the federal government, discussed below.



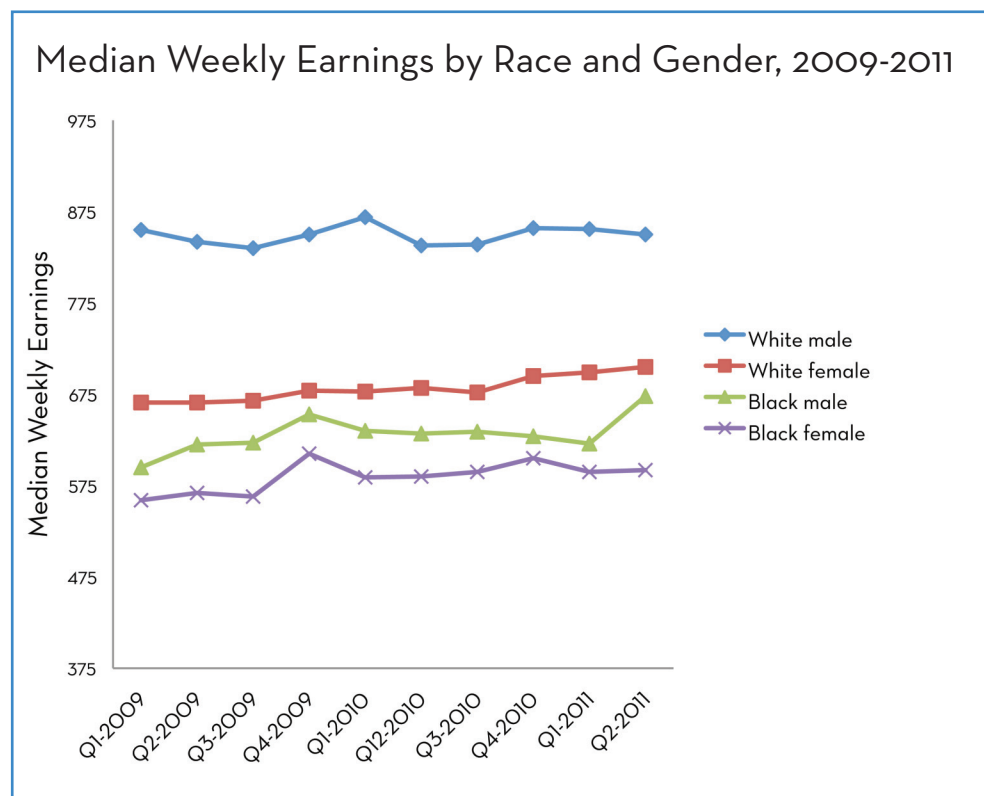
Source: August 2009 wave of the 2008-2010 ANES Survey



Race and Income

Dr. King said, “True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar; it is not haphazard and superficial. It comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring” (Nickel, 2007). To the degree that the U.S. economy produces beggars, it does so with considerable differences between races.

Data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that as of the second quarter of 2011, whites take home a substantially higher median weekly salary than their black counterparts (see graph below).

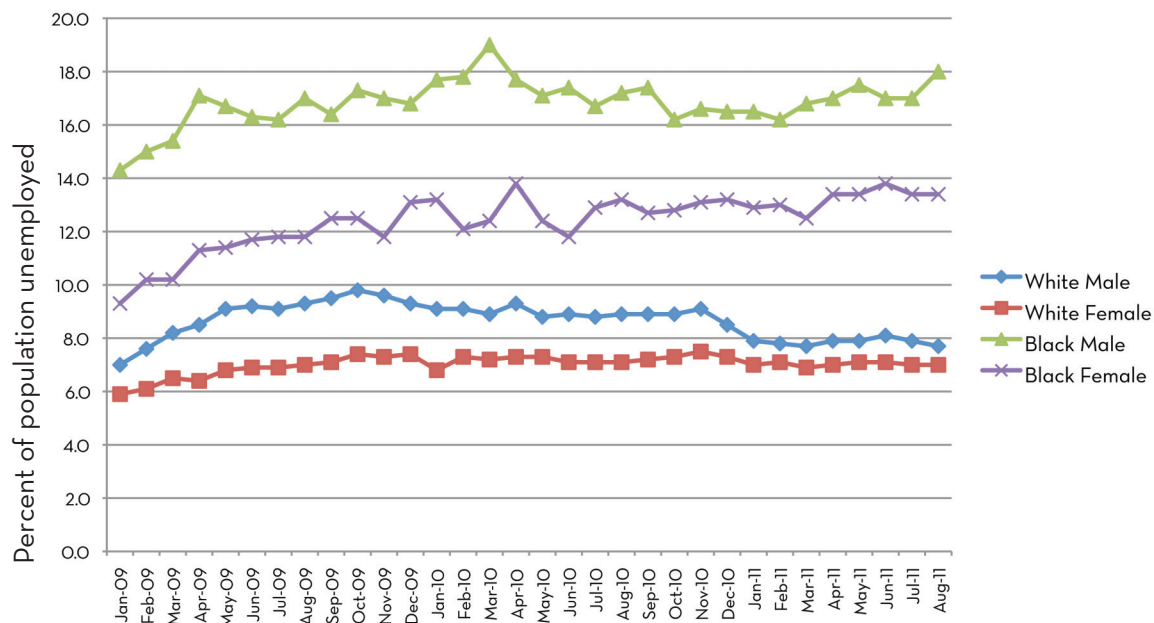


Source: U.S. Department of Labor Statistics



In addition to making less money than whites, blacks (as well as Latinos) have much higher unemployment rates than whites. While the national unemployment rate for whites in August of 2011 was 7.7% for males and 7.0% for females, black males had a national unemployment rate of 18% and black females had an unemployment rate of 13.4%.

National Unemployment Rate by Race and Gender, January 2009 Through August of 2011



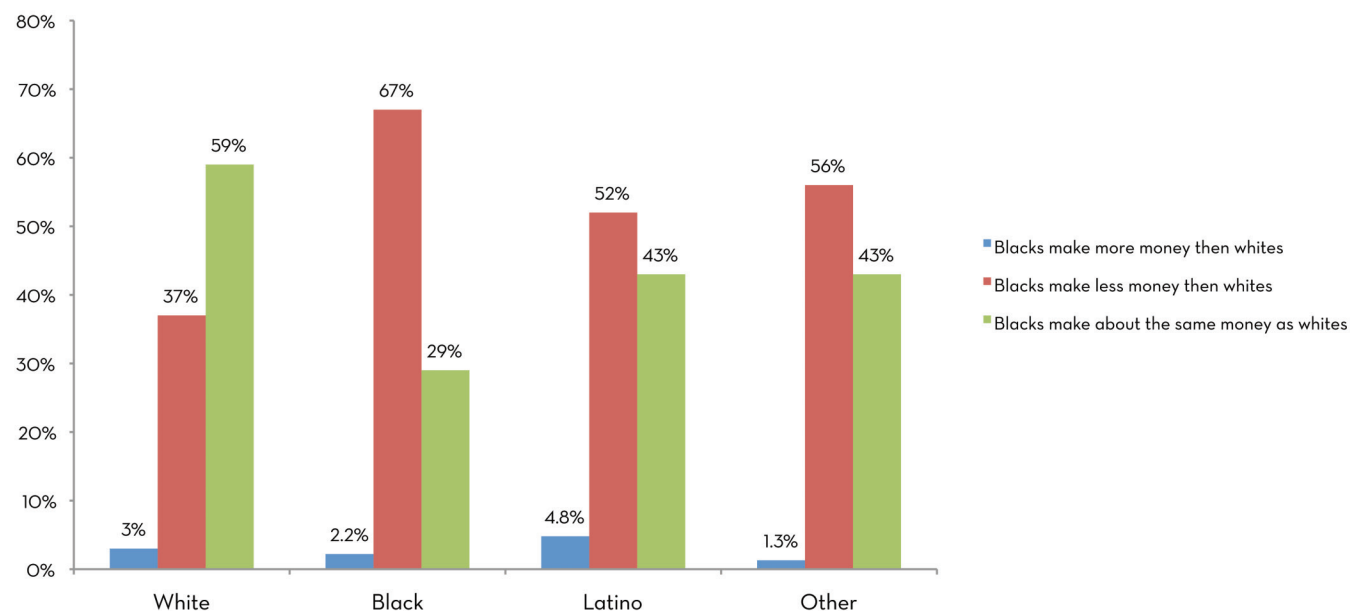
Source: U.S. Department of Labor Statistics



Another corroboration of the economic gap between racial groups comes from a recent Pew Research Center analysis of federal data on assets. Pew researchers Taylor, Fry and Kochmar (2011) reported, “The median wealth of white households is 20 times that of black households and 18 times that of Hispanic households” (Taylor, Fry and Kochmar, 2011). Put another way, for every dollar of wealth a white family owns, the median Latino family has about six cents and the median black family has a nickel.

As with views regarding the health of the black community, racial differences exist in how whites and people of color see these substantial income differences between whites and blacks. While 67% of blacks and 52% of Latinos correctly believe that blacks make less money than whites, only 37% of whites believe this is the case. A narrow majority of whites erroneously believe that black income is “about the same” as that of whites.

How Much do Blacks Make Now Compared to Whites?



Source: August 2009 wave of the 2008-2010 ANES Survey

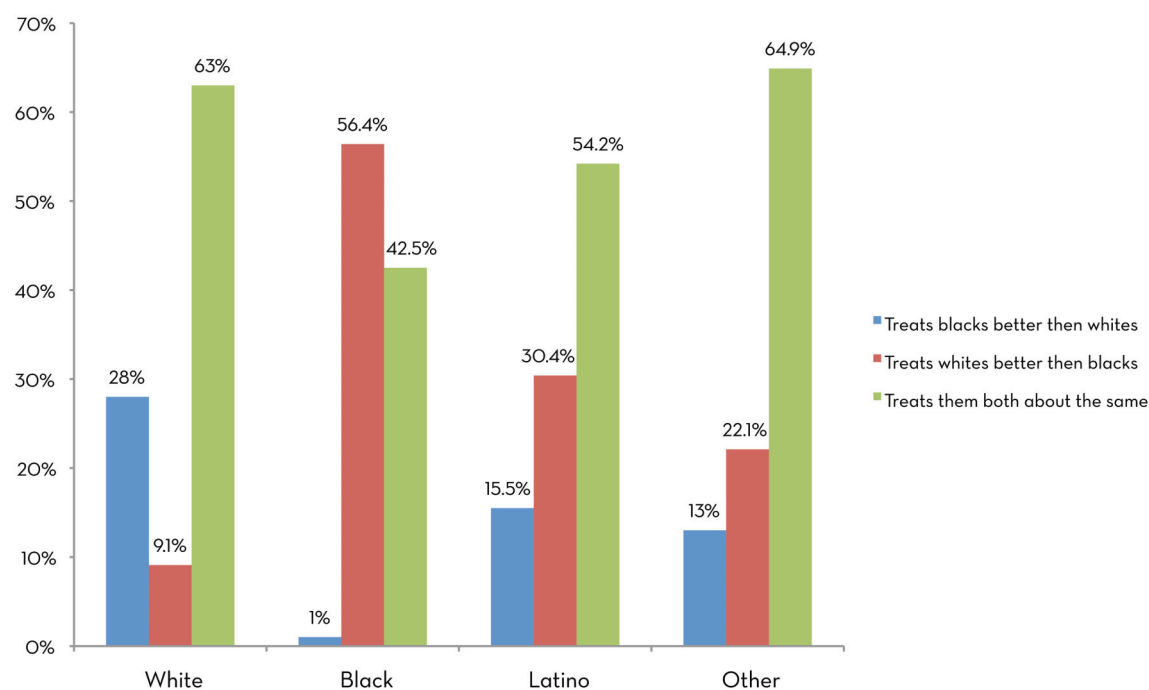
Race and Treatment of Groups by the Federal Government

Lastly, data from the 2008-2010 ANES panel survey suggest that whites and people of color disagree as to how they view relations between the federal government and black Americans. A majority of blacks believe that the federal government treats whites better than blacks, while 42 % believe it treats blacks and whites “about the same.” Virtually no blacks believe the government treats them better than whites.

A majority of whites, on the other hand, believe that the federal government treats blacks and whites about the same, and one in four whites believes the government treats blacks better than whites. Less than 10 % of whites believe the government treats them better than blacks. As with other questions, other ethnic groups fall in between blacks and whites in their views.



How Does the U.S. Government Treat Blacks Now Compared to Whites?



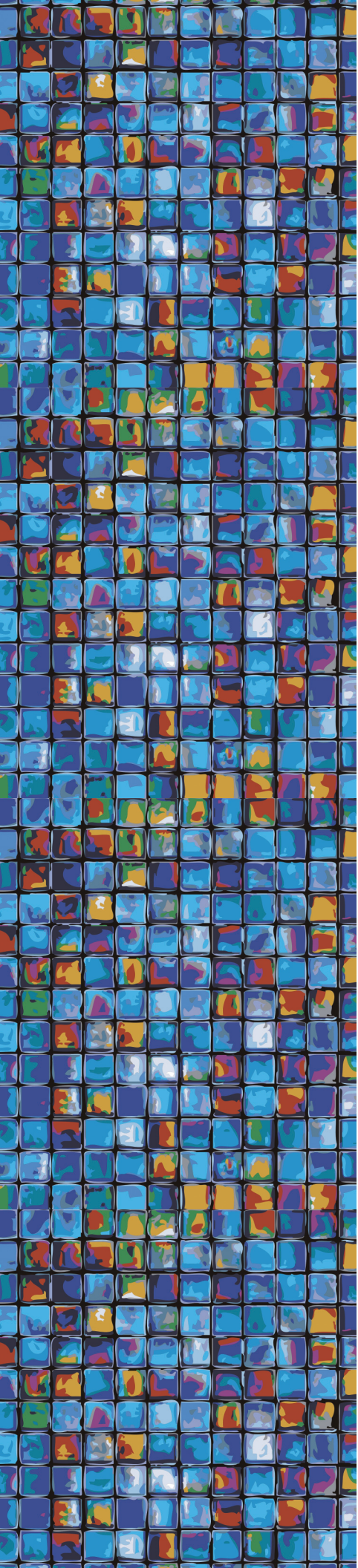
Source: August 2009 wave of the 2008-2010 ANES Panel Survey

Unlike questions about which group is healthier or who makes more money, the question of how the federal government treats different racial or ethnic groups cannot be answered with a relative handful of statistics. Government touches Americans' lives in a huge variety of ways, some more obvious or more easily quantified than others.

Some laws clearly benefit minority groups. Federal civil rights statutes, for example, were enacted with the explicit purpose of ending the legal, institutionalized discrimination which had too often relegated blacks and others to second-class status. Laws designed to mitigate the effects of discrimination have sometimes been controversial, criticized as "racial preferences."

One such law that has been in the news in recent years is the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA). The CRA was passed in 1977 to combat redlining, the illegal practice of refusing to lend or invest in communities of color, and to encourage banks to lend in low and moderate income neighborhoods (Vissa and Briones, 2009). A steady drumbeat from conservative media voices has blamed CRA for the subprime housing collapse and subsequent recession. Although such claims have been repeatedly debunked, they have been prominent in the media.

For example, as the economic crisis climaxed in 2008, *Boston Globe* columnist Jeff Jacoby wrote, "The pressure to make more loans to minorities (read: to borrowers with weak credit histories) became relentless. ... Lenders responded by loosening their underwriting standards and making increasingly shoddy loans." A week and a half earlier, Fox News Channel host Neil Cavuto said on the air, "Loaning to minorities and risky folks is a disaster" (Media Matters for America, 2008). Such arguments continue to appear regularly in the media and have recently been advanced by several candidates for the Republican presidential nomination.



Rightly or wrongly, the existence of such a strong media narrative may contribute to perceptions that the government treats blacks better than it treats whites. On the other hand, there are also areas in which federal laws and policies appear to greatly disadvantage blacks and other communities of color.

Disparities are particularly evident in the criminal justice system. Of the 62 people currently awaiting federal execution, 50% are black, while blacks make up only 12% of the U.S. population (Death Penalty Information Center, 2011). Between 1995 and 2000, U.S. Attorneys were two times more likely to recommend the death penalty in cases that involved a black defendant and a white victim than they were in cases that involved a black defendant and a black victim (Death Penalty Information Center, 2011).

Racial disparities also abound in the “war on drugs.” For example, while federal survey data indicate roughly similar drug use rates among whites, Latinos, and African Americans (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2011), arrest rates differ sharply. According to the most recent federal report, 30.2 % of Drug Enforcement Administration arrestees were black and 44.5 % were Latino (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2010). Among cocaine arrests, arrestees for crack cocaine are disproportionately black, while most powder cocaine arrestees are white. Federal prison terms for crack are 18 times more severe than for powder cocaine – a disparity that had been 100-fold until a reform measure was passed in 2010 (Abrams, 2010).

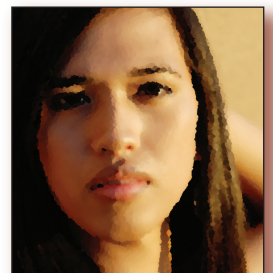
Arguably, the question of how the federal government treats different racial groups can be answered in many different ways, depending on where one looks or what issues one emphasizes. One need not judge which group, if any, has the “right” answer to be struck by the profound differences between how whites and blacks view their treatment by the federal government.

Why do whites and people of color disagree on how much racial discrimination exists in America and how much racial inequality exists in America?

There are many potential reasons why whites and people of color might differ in their attitudes towards racial discrimination and racial inequality in America today. One potential explanation, and one on which the ANES data can shed some light, is racial bias.

“Racial resentment” is a modern form of racism first documented in public opinion after the civil rights movement (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Sears & Henry, 2003). Racial resentment fuses whites’ negative beliefs about blacks as a group with traditional conservative values such as the Protestant work ethic. Whites high in racial resentment tend to argue that the reason that blacks do not get ahead in society is their failure to work hard enough, not racial discrimination (see appendix II for racial resentment scale).

We examined the ANES data to see whether racial resentment was related to whites’ beliefs regarding racial discrimination and inequality.



Results

After controlling for a respondent's age, gender, education level, income level, party identification and political ideology, racial resentment was related to how whites perceive the amount of racial discrimination in America today (see table 1). Specifically, the higher whites were in racial resentment the less likely they were to believe that there is a lot of racial discrimination in America today. This result complements the work of Valentino and Brader (2011) who also found that racial biases were related to whites' perceptions of discrimination in America right after Obama's election victory.

Additionally, after controlling for the above-mentioned demographic and ideological characteristics of the ANES sample, racial resentment was found to be related to decreased support for the beliefs that blacks are in worse health than whites (see table 2), earn less money than whites (see table 3) and that the federal government treats whites better than it treats blacks (see table 4).

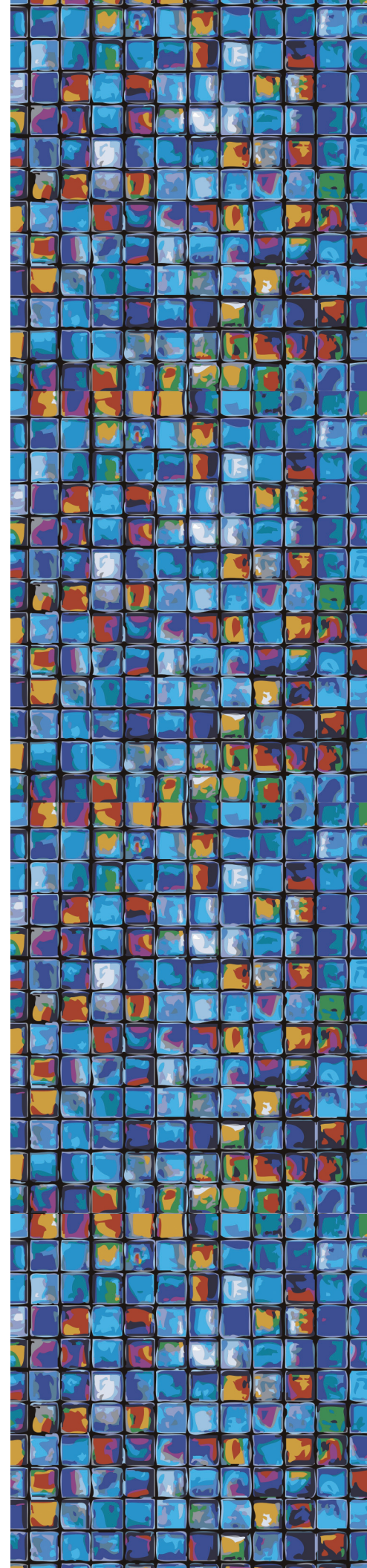
Discussion

Why is racial resentment related to whites' perceptions of racial discrimination and racial inequality in America? One key component of the racial resentment framework is the Protestant work ethic. Whites who are high in racial resentment tend to also strongly believe that hard work equals success – that anyone with ability and the willingness to work hard can get ahead in America. Such a view necessarily assumes that the system is basically fair, but racial discrimination and racial inequality challenge that notion. Thus, it is no surprise that racial resentment was found to be related to a decrease in consciousness of racial inequality and racial discrimination in America today.

Another potential reason for the discrepancy between whites' level of acceptance of the amount of racial discrimination in America today is that accepting that racial discrimination is still a factor in American life is psychologically difficult. System justification theory holds that individuals have a psychological tendency to want to defend the status quo (Jost, Banaji & Nosek, 2004; Jost & Banaji, 1994). This occurs as people strive for a positive view of themselves. How people define themselves is related to the group that they belong to and identify with, in this case Americans. Things that challenge a positive view of the group are potentially damaging to an individual's self-worth: If Americans are bad in some way, then an individual American is potentially tainted.

Because racial discrimination challenges the central tenets of the Protestant work ethic, that society is fair and hard work equals success, acceptance of the notion that racial discrimination is a problem in American society can potentially threaten an individual's self-worth. To buffer against threats to one's self-worth people tend to either 1) try to find race-neutral ways to explain inequality (e.g., blacks do not work hard enough) or 2) negatively evaluate those who claim racial discrimination.

In an example of this, Kaiser & Miller (2001) sought to understand if people in stigmatized groups refrain from claiming discrimination due to potential negative evaluations from others. Through laboratory experiments, they presented evidence to suggest that blacks who attribute failure to racial discrimination are rated more negatively than blacks who attribute failure to personal failures. This effect was found to hold up even in situations in which there was no doubt that blacks had experienced racial discrimination. In other words, a completely true claim of racial discrimination was found to reflect badly on the person making the claim.



Summary

Evidence from the current report along with the work from Hutchings (2009), Tesler & Sears (2010) and others provide empirical evidence to support the notion that America is far from post-racial. Whites and people of color still differ greatly in their perceptions about race and racial inequality in America. Whites tend to be less likely than people of color to believe that there is a lot of racial discrimination in America and that inequality exists between whites and blacks in health, income and government relations. In some cases, these differences in perception are enormous, even regarding inequalities that have been clearly shown to exist. In addition, racial biases (i.e., racial resentment) were found to be correlated with white attitudes towards the amount of discrimination in America and towards inequality in America.

As people of color move into the majority, it is imperative that Americans have an accurate picture of the state of race relations in America. If America continues to differ along racial lines as to the pervasiveness of racial inequality it will be hard for us to ever close the racial gap in wealth, health and other areas. Additionally, inequality is hampering our ability to grow our economy. If America is to be successful in an increasingly competitive world economy, we will need to have “all hands on deck.” To ignore or deny the pervasiveness of inequality is to try to move our economy forward without a large portion of the population fully participating. That is a recipe for failure.

Philippe Aghion and colleagues (1999) suggest that inequality harms economic growth as flawed credit markets prevent the poor from contributing to the economy. McKinsey & Company (2009) estimate that if the United States had closed the achievement gap between blacks, Latinos and whites by 1998, GDP would have increased between \$310 billion and \$510 billion. As the black and Latino populations are growing at a faster rate than the white population, our inability to close the achievement gap is costing us even more, and will continue to do so until the situation is corrected.

Put simply, despite what some may wish, America is not a post-racial or colorblind society. To pretend that is, and to base policies on this mistaken notion, will only increase racial disparities and cripple attempts to move the U.S. economy forward in ways that benefit all communities.



A Call to Action

Disparities between whites and people of color are pervasive in American life, but members of different racial and ethnic groups have starkly different perceptions of these realities. While inaccurate perceptions are unlikely to be changed immediately, we believe that those who have the ability to help shape public knowledge and attitudes must work to foster an honest, fact-based dialogue on racial issues.

The Media

America's news media must make a concerted effort to inform the public about racial issues, and to include communities of color in discussions of issues that affect them. While some media outlets have made commendable efforts in this regard, the overall picture has been spotty at best.

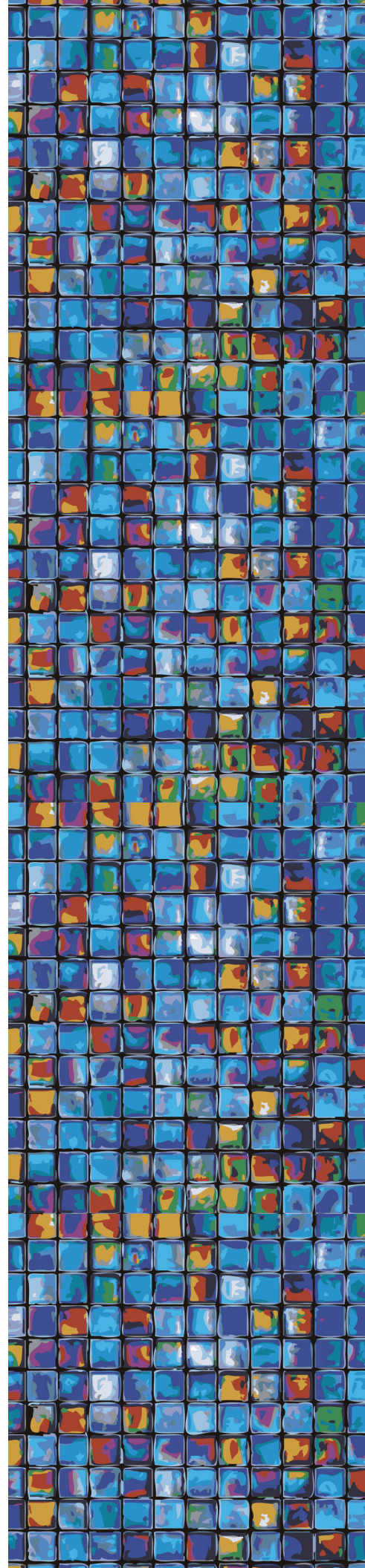
For example, in June and July of 2011, Greenlining Institute Summer Associate Annie Kim Noguchi (2011) tracked media coverage of financial reform (the Dodd-Frank Act) and its implementation. This is an issue closely tied to the question of whether the CRA and lending to minorities (as opposed to, for example, the failure of financial regulators to stop unethical behavior) triggered the financial crisis. Noguchi found that consumers and their representatives were rarely quoted or interviewed, with coverage dominated by politicians, bankers and academics. Representatives of communities of color were almost entirely absent from coverage of the issue, despite these communities having been disproportionately affected by the foreclosure crisis that was the main impetus for passage of financial regulatory reform legislation in the first place.

Such omissions from coverage of important issues leave the public with incomplete information and may foster erroneous perceptions. The media must do a better job of including the voices and experiences of all communities affected by public policies and controversies. Commentators should consider carefully the possible impact of inflammatory comments, and be sure they have checked their facts properly.

Political Leaders

Political leaders and candidates for office must be willing to acknowledge the continuing role of race in American society and should refrain from making statements that exploit or exacerbate racial tensions or perpetuate myths. While a lively, even contentious, political debate is desirable in a free society, one can forcefully disagree about policy without demonizing minority groups or using particular segments of the population as scapegoats. Political leaders must use their unique position to help foster understanding and fairness rather than resentment and division.

We are not naïve enough to believe that these steps will solve America's racial misunderstandings by themselves. As noted above, some of these attitudes may have deep-seated psychological roots. Nevertheless, a respectful and accurate public dialogue is a necessary prerequisite for increased understanding and progress toward alleviating racial inequality.



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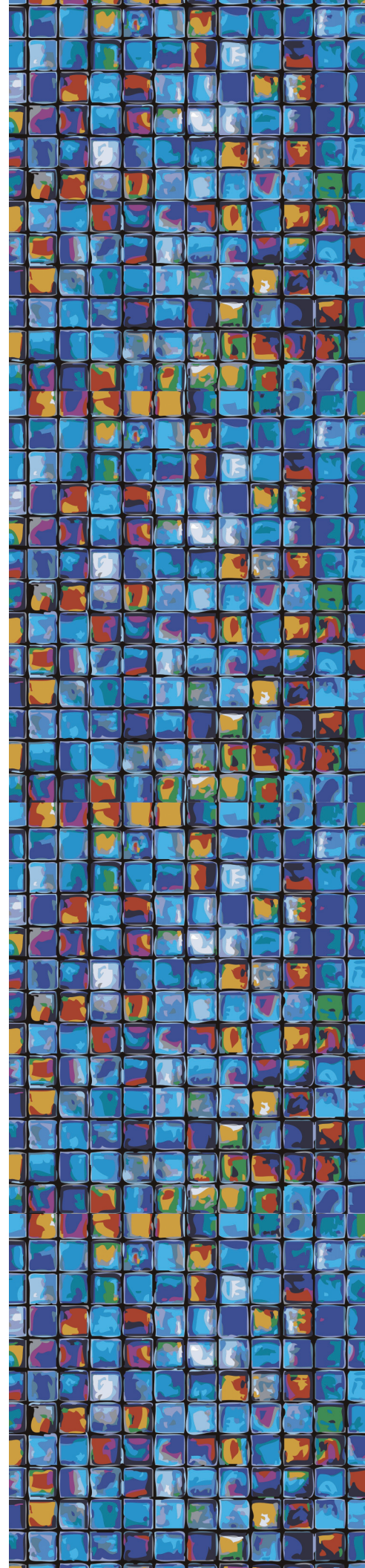
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Appendix I

Table 1

White Attitudes Towards the Amount of Discrimination in America Today (N=1062)

| | Estimate(Std. Er) | Standardized Estimate |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| <u>Demographic Predictors</u> | | |
| Age | -.01(.01) | -.16*** |
| Gender | -.07(.05) | -.05 |
| Income Level | -.04(.01) | -.21*** |
| Educational Attainment | -.05(.02) | -.06* |
| ΔR^2 | .06*** | |
| <u>Ideological Predictors</u> | | |
| Party Identification | -.03(.01) | -.10*** |
| Political Ideology | -.08(.02) | -.19*** |
| ΔR^2 | .07*** | |
| <u>Racial Bias</u> | | |
| Racial Resentment | -.05(.02) | -.07* |
| ΔR^2 | .01** | |
| Total Adjusted R ² | .13*** | |

* =p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001

Cronbach alpha for racial resentment scale =.81

Table 2

White Attitudes Towards Health Differences Between Blacks and Whites (N=1061)

| | Estimate(Std. Er) | Standardized Estimate |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| <u>Demographic Predictors</u> | | |
| Age | -.01(.01) | -.06* |
| Gender | -.08(.03) | -.08* |
| Income Level | .02(.01) | .12*** |
| Educational Attainment | .04(.02) | -.07* |
| ΔR^2 | .03*** | |
| <u>Ideological Predictors</u> | | |
| Party Identification | -.03(.01) | -.14** |
| Political Ideology | -.02(.01) | -.05 |
| ΔR^2 | .03*** | |
| <u>Racial Bias</u> | | |
| Racial Resentment | -.15(.02) | -.27*** |
| ΔR^2 | .06*** | |
| Total Adjusted R ² | .12*** | |

* =p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001

Table 3

White Attitudes Towards Income Differences Between Blacks and Whites (N=1061)

| | Estimate(Std. Er) | Standardized Estimate |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| <u>Demographic Predictors</u> | | |
| Age | -.01(.01) | .01 |
| Gender | -.14(.03) | -.12*** |
| Income Level | .04(.01) | .30*** |
| Educational Attainment | -.03(.02) | -.01 |
| ΔR^2 | .10*** | |
| <u>Ideological Predictors</u> | | |
| Party Identification | -.04(.01) | -.02 |
| Political Ideology | -.06(.02) | -.19*** |
| ΔR^2 | .04*** | |
| <u>Racial Bias</u> | | |
| Racial Resentment | -.14(.02) | -.23*** |
| ΔR^2 | .05*** | |
| Total Adjusted R ² | .19*** | |

* =p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001

Table 4

White Attitudes Towards How the Federal Government Treats Blacks Today (N=1061)

| | Estimate(Std. Er) | Standardized Estimate |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| <u>Demographic Predictors</u> | | |
| Age | -.01(.01) | -.03 |
| Gender | .13(.04) | .12*** |
| Income Level | -.01(.01) | -.01 |
| Educational Attainment | .03(.02) | .06 |
| ΔR^2 | .02*** | |
| <u>Ideological Predictors</u> | | |
| Party Identification | -.04(.01) | -.20*** |
| Political Ideology | -.21(.02) | -.07 |
| ΔR^2 | .06*** | |
| <u>Racial Bias</u> | | |
| Racial Resentment | -.20(.02) | -.34*** |
| ΔR^2 | .10** | |
| Total Adjusted R ² | .17*** | |

* =p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001



Appendix II

Racial Resentment Scale

1. Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. (agreement)
2. Over the past few years blacks have gotten less than they deserve. (disagreement)
3. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. (agreement)
4. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. (disagreement)



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