

Optimism about Black Progress Declines
Blacks See Growing Values Gap
Between Poor and Middle Class

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A Social & Demographic Trends Report

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*Survey conducted in association with
National Public Radio*

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About The Report

This report on racial attitudes was conducted by the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world. It does so by conducting public opinion polling and social science research; by reporting news and analyzing news coverage; and by holding forums and briefings. It does not take positions on policy issues.

This report is based on a telephone survey conducted from September 5 through October 6, 2007 among a nationally representative sample of 3,086 adults. In order to allow for a detailed analysis of attitudes within the African-American community, the survey included an over-sample that brought the total number of non-Hispanic black respondents to 1,007. The margin of error is plus-or-minus 2.5 percentage points for the full sample and plus-or-minus 4.0 percentage points for the African-American sample. The survey also included 388 Hispanics of any race; with a margin of error of plus-or-minus 7.0 percentage points for this group. For a full description of the research methodology, see page 64.

The survey field work was carried out by Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Journalists at National Public Radio (NPR) provided counsel to the Center as we shaped the questionnaire and analyzed the findings. So did a number of outside scholars, including David Bositis of Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Darren Davis of the University of Notre Dame, and David Wilson of the University of Delaware. But the Center is solely responsible for the analysis, interpretation and reporting of the data. The following people at Center carried out this project:

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Optimism About Black Progress Declines Blacks See Growing Values Gap Between Poor and Middle Class

I. Overview

African Americans see a widening gulf between the values of middle class and poor blacks, and nearly four-in-ten say that because of the diversity within their community, blacks can no longer be thought of as a single race, a new Pew Research Center survey has found.

The survey also finds blacks less upbeat about the state of black progress now than at any time since 1983. Looking backward, just one-in-five blacks say things are better for blacks now than they were five years ago. Looking ahead, fewer than half of all blacks (44%) say they think life for blacks will get better in the future, down from the 57% who said so in a 1986 survey.

Whites have a different perspective. While they, too, have grown less sanguine about black progress, they are nearly twice as likely as blacks to see black gains in the past five years. Also, a majority of whites (56%) say life for blacks in this country will get better in the future.

Similar race-based gaps in perception emerge on several other key topics explored in this survey. For example, blacks have much less confidence than whites in the fairness of the criminal justice system. Also, blacks say that anti-black discrimination is commonplace in everyday life; whites disagree.

But there are also areas where the two groups largely see eye to eye. For example, blacks and whites agree that there has been a convergence in the past decade in the values held by blacks and whites. On the issue of immigration, blacks and whites agree that most immigrants work harder than most blacks and most whites at low-wage jobs. And on the popular culture front, large majorities of both blacks and whites say that rap and hip hop – two music styles with roots in the black community that have gained mainstream popularity in recent years – have a bad influence on society.

The survey finds that black and white Americans express very little overt racial animosity. As they have for decades, about eight-in-ten members of each racial group express a favorable view about members of the other group. Large majorities in

Blacks Assess State of Black America	
Are blacks better or worse off now than five years ago?	
Better	20
Worse	29
Same	49
Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>
	100
Will life for blacks be better or worse in the future?	
Better	44
Worse	21
About the same	31
Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>
	100
Have the values of middle class and poor blacks become more similar or more different?	
More similar	31
More different	61
No change (Vol)	2
Don't know/Refused	<u>6</u>
	100
Can blacks still be thought of as a single race?	
Single race	53
Not a single race	37
Neither/both (Vol)	3
Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>
	100
Note: Based on non-Hispanic blacks.	
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both groups say that blacks and whites get along either “very” or “pretty” well, though in both cases a greater number say “pretty well.” More than eight-in-ten adults in each group also say they know a person of a different race whom they consider a friend.

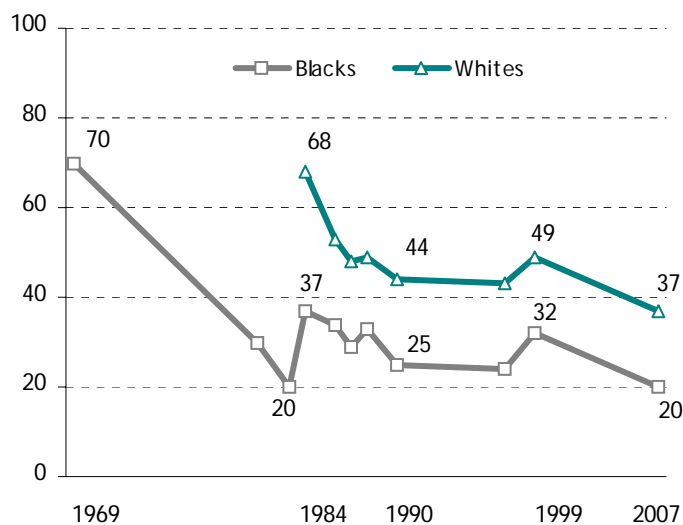
The most newsworthy African American figure in politics today – Democratic presidential hopeful Barack Obama – draws broadly (though not intensely felt) favorable ratings from both blacks and whites. But there is a racial divide in perceptions about his potential electoral liabilities: blacks are more inclined to say that his race will detract from his chances to be elected president; whites are more inclined to say his relative inexperience will hurt his chances.

Three-quarters of blacks (76%) say that Obama is a good influence on the black community. Even greater numbers say the same thing about Oprah Winfrey (87%) and Bill Cosby (85%), who are the most highly regarded by blacks from among 14 black newsmakers tested in this survey. By contrast, just 17% of blacks say that rap artist 50 Cent is a good influence.

Over the past two decades, blacks have lost some degree of confidence in the effectiveness of leaders within their community, including national black political figures, the clergy, and the NAACP. A sizable majority of blacks still see all of these groups as either very or somewhat effective, but the number saying “very” effective has declined since 1986.

Are Blacks Better Off Now Than Five Years Ago?

% saying “yes”

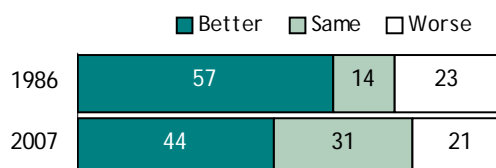


Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks.

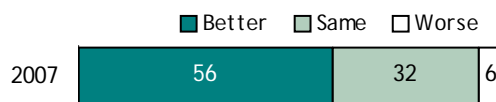
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Will Life for Blacks Be Better in the Future?

Among blacks



Among whites



Note: Based on non-Hispanic blacks. The 1986 figures are from an ABC/Washington Post survey. Don't know responses are not shown.

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Growing Diversity: Is There Still a Single Black Community?

When this survey asked about values, it defined the term broadly: “By values I mean things that people view as important or their general way of thinking.” By a ratio of two-to-one, blacks say that the values of poor and middle class blacks have grown more dissimilar over the past decade. In contrast, most blacks say that the values of blacks and whites have grown more alike during this same time period.

On a related question, only about a quarter of all blacks (23%) say that middle class and poor blacks share “a lot” of values in common. A plurality (42%) say they share some values in common; 22% say they share only a little in common and 9% say they share almost no values in common.

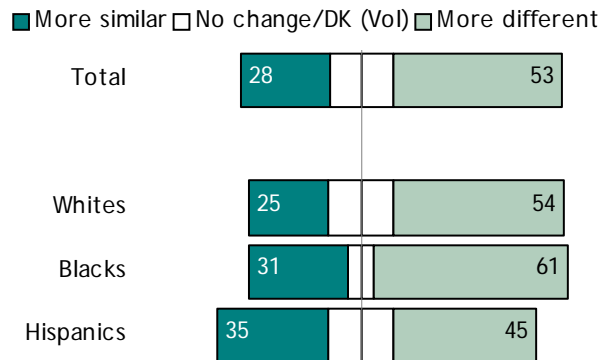
Whites share the view that there has been a convergence in black and white values in the past decade; they also agree that the values of middle-class and poor blacks have grown less alike.

Well-educated blacks are more likely than blacks with less education to say that a values gap within the black

community has widened during the past decade. At the same, however, it is blacks with lower incomes and less education who are most inclined to see few shared values between middle class and poor blacks – suggesting that the perception of differences over values and identity within the African American community is felt most strongly by those blacks at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum.

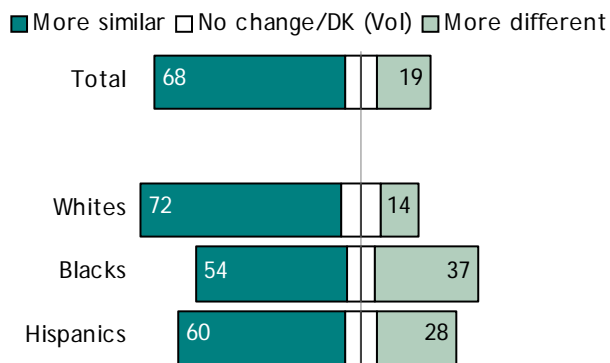
Public Sees Growing Values Gap within the Black Community...

In the last 10 years...have the values held by middle class black people and the values held by poor black people become more similar or more different?



...but a Values Convergence Between Blacks and Whites

In the last 10 years...have the values held by black people and the values held by white people become more similar or more different?



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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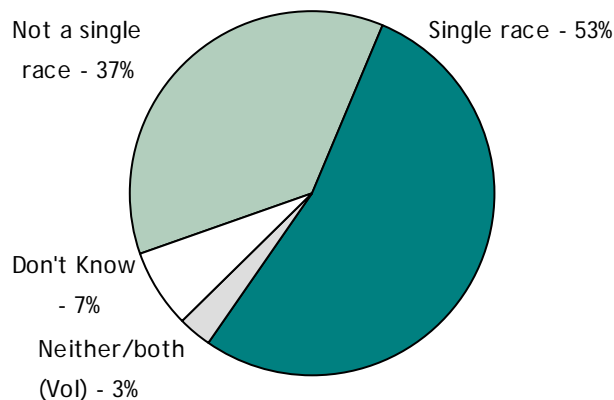
On the matter of racial identity, black respondents were asked to choose which of the following two statements comes closest to their view, even if neither is exactly right: Blacks today can no longer be thought of as a single race because the black community is so diverse OR Blacks can still be thought of as a single race because they have so much in common. Nearly four-in-ten African Americans (37%) say that blacks can no longer be thought of as a single race. Just a bare majority of blacks – 53% – say it is still appropriate to think of blacks as single race.

Measuring the Black and White Economic Gap

Blacks and whites have very different views about whether the gap in the standard of living of the two races has gotten wider in the past decade. Blacks are evenly divided on this question – 43% say the black-white gap has grown wider; 41% say it has gotten narrower. By contrast, three times more whites (61%) say the black-white gap has narrowed than say it has widened (19%).

One way economists measure the standard of living of different groups is to look at their median household incomes. Figures from the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey show that over the course of the past 30 years, the gap between black median household income and white median household income has narrowed slightly. In 2006, black median household income was 61% of white median household income; back in 1976, black median household income was 58% of white median household income. However, black median household income had risen to 65% of white median household income at the end of the 1990s, before dropping back a bit after the turn of the new century. In short, over the course of the past decade, the black-white income gap narrowed for a period of years and then widened for a period of years – returning in 2006 to about the same place it had been in 1997.

Blacks Assess Their Racial Identity



Question wording: Which of these statements comes closer to your view - even if neither is exactly right: Blacks today can no longer be thought of as a single race because the black community is so diverse OR Blacks can still be thought of as a single race because they have so much in common.

Note: Based on non-Hispanic blacks.

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Black Median Income as a Percentage of White Median Income

2006:	61%
2000:	65%
1997:	62%
1986:	56%
1976:	58%

Note: For all years blacks include Hispanic blacks.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey

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Discrimination and Affirmative Action

Most blacks believe that racial discrimination remains a pervasive fact of life – 67% say that blacks often or almost always face discrimination when applying for a job, 65% say the same about renting an apartment or buying a house, 50% say this about eating at restaurants and shopping, and 43% say it about applying to a college or university. By contrast, whites, by majorities of two-to-one or larger, believe blacks rarely face bias in such situations.

However, while most blacks see anti-black discrimination as

widespread, fewer believe it is the main reason that many blacks cannot get ahead. A 53% majority of African Americans say that blacks who don't get ahead are mainly responsible for their situation, while just three-in-ten say discrimination is mainly to blame. As recently as the mid 1990s, black opinion on this question tilted in the opposite direction, with a majority of African Americans saying then that discrimination is the main reason for a lack of black progress. Strong majorities of whites and Hispanics say that blacks who can't get ahead are mainly responsible for their situation.

African Americans and Hispanics broadly support affirmative action programs designed to help blacks get education and jobs, although both groups express less support for outright preferences. Whites are more dubious – only a narrow majority favors affirmative action -- and only 39% support giving “special preferences to qualified blacks in hiring and education.” Notably, relatively few blacks (16%) report being helped by such programs – and even fewer whites (12%) report being hurt by them.

Few See Discrimination as Main Reason Many Blacks Can't Get Ahead

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
% saying main reason many blacks can't get ahead is...	%	%	%	%
Racial discrimination	19	15	30	24
Blacks responsible for their own condition	66	71	53	59
Neither/Both (VOL)	9	8	14	8
DK/Refused	<u>6</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100
Number of respondents	3086	1536	1007	388
Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.				
PewResearchCenter				

On the Cultural Front: Rap Takes the Rap

On the popular culture front, the survey finds that while a plurality of blacks think the portrayal of blacks in movies and on television has improved in the past decade, a plurality also believes that these on-screen images remain, on balance, more hurtful than helpful to society's image of African Americans.

However, blacks are far more troubled by the influence that rap and hip hop have on society than by the portrayal of blacks in movies and television. Blacks and whites by similarly lopsided margins say that these two relatively new music forms are having a bad influence on society – mainly because of offensive language, negative stereotyping of women, and glorification of violence. There are gender differences on these questions, and they play out in different ways among whites and blacks. Among whites, men are more likely than women to see hip hop and rap as a bad influence. Among blacks, the reverse is true – women are more likely than men to see a bad influence.

Race, Gender, Rap and Hip Hop

	All	Men	Women
% saying bad influence	%	%	%
Hip Hop			
Whites	64	68	59
Blacks	61	59	62
Rap			
Whites	74	79	70
Blacks	71	67	74

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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Blacks Favor Political Liberals, Cultural Conservatives

These culturally conservative values are reflected in ratings that blacks give to various African American newsmakers. Blacks are nearly unanimous in seeing mainstream/conservative personalities Oprah Winfrey and Bill Cosby as good influences on the African-American community – 87% say this about Winfrey; 85% about Cosby. Political figures, by contrast, range widely in the degree to which they are perceived as good influences - from Sen. Barack Obama (76% good influence) to Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice (50% good influence) to Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas (31% good influence). Least well-regarded among the 14 black newsmakers tested in this survey is rap artist 50 Cent – only 17% of blacks deem the gangsta rapper a good influence on the black community . Overall, these newsmaker ratings illustrate a strong inclination in the black community to favor cultural conservatives and political liberals.

How Blacks Rate African American Newsmakers

	Good influence	Bad influence	Not much influence	Never Heard of /DK
	%	%	%	%
Oprah Winfrey	87	2	8	3=100
Bill Cosby	85	1	11	3=100
Bishop T.D. Jakes	76	2	7	15=100
Barack Obama	76	2	9	13=100
Colin Powell	70	3	17	10=100
Tyra Banks	68	2	21	9=100
Jesse Jackson	68	5	21	6=100
Tiger Woods	67	4	24	5=100
Russell Simmons	67	3	15	15=100
Al Sharpton	65	6	19	10=100
Condoleeza Rice	50	10	27	13=100
Kanye West	49	8	23	20=100
Clarence Thomas	31	18	27	24=100
50 Cent	17	42	26	15=100

Note: All figures are based on non-Hispanic blacks.

Question wording: Here are some African Americans who have been in the news. Please tell me if each has a good influence, a bad influence, or not much influence at all on the African American community.

Views on Life and Community

The survey finds that blacks lag both whites and Hispanics in satisfaction with one's own life. Some nine-in-ten blacks say they are satisfied with their lives, but just 64% say they are *very satisfied*, compared with 71% of whites and 72% of Hispanics who say this.

However, when other predictors of life satisfaction are controlled for – such as income, education and marital status – these group differences largely disappear.

Blacks are far less satisfied than whites with their communities as places to live. They are more likely than whites to say that crime, the lack of good-paying jobs, the number of births to unwed mothers, the high school dropout rate and the quality of schools are big problems in their communities, with a shortage of good jobs leading the list. In the main, Hispanics share with blacks these downbeat assessments of their communities. These group differences between blacks and Hispanics, on the one hand, and whites on the other hand remain statistically significant even after controlling for others factors, such as income and education, that are related to satisfaction with one's community.

Attitudes about Immigration

Of the six potential community problems tested in this survey, illegal immigration scored at the bottom of the list for blacks but in the middle of the list for both whites and Hispanics. Also, blacks are less inclined now than they were two decades ago to say that blacks would have more jobs if there were fewer immigrants. Only about half of blacks (48%) take that view now, compared with three-quarters (74%) who did so in 1986.

Blacks and whites alike agree -- by solid majorities -- that immigrants work harder than both blacks and whites at low-wage jobs. Heavier majorities of both races say that whites are out-worked by immigrants than say that blacks are outworked (see chart on page 54).

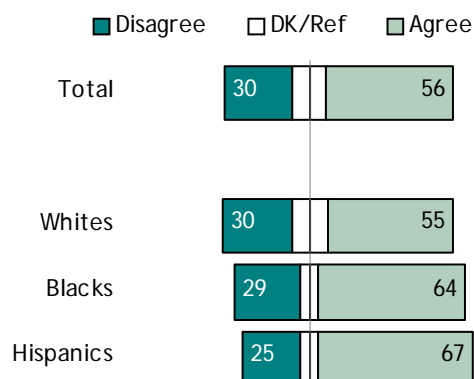
Problems in Local Communities

	All adults			
	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	
	%	%	%	%
Percent saying very big/big problem...				
Lack of good jobs	50	45	58	67
Unwed mothers	38	33	50	51
Illegal immigration	31	30	28	44
Crime	29	21	49	49
Drop-out rates	25	18	46	47
Quality of schools	21	17	32	33
Number of respondents	3086	1536	1007	388

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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Do Immigrants Work Harder than Blacks at Low-Wage Jobs?



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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Views of the Criminal Justice System

African Americans have a generally low level of confidence in the criminal justice system, far lower than that of whites.

Blacks are twice as likely as whites to see the death penalty as being applied in an unfair manner – just 24% of blacks see capital punishment as evenhandedly imposed, compared with 57% of whites. And they are far less likely than whites to say that police will enforce the law fairly, treat all races equally, and not resort to excessive force.

However, despite this continuing racial gap in perceptions about the criminal justice system, blacks' confidence in the police has improved slightly in the past decade. For example, 55% of blacks now say they have a great deal or fair amount of confidence in police to enforce the law, up from 49% who said this in 1995.

Declining Ratings for Black Leaders

By contrast, black confidence in some of the traditional sources of leadership in their community has declined in the past two decades. Compared with ratings recorded in a 1986 survey, the current survey finds that substantially fewer blacks describe the leadership provided by black political leaders, by the NAACP or by black ministers and clergy as “very effective.”

Religious leaders earn the highest ratings (especially among black evangelical Protestants) and political leaders the lowest. The civil rights movement is still seen as having an important impact on American society by a majority of both blacks and whites, but the number of whites who think this has declined substantially since 1993. Younger blacks are more likely to view the civil rights movement as still powerful than are those old enough to remember its early days.

One black political figure, Barack Obama, enjoys broad favorability in the black community, as he does among Americans generally -- but by and large, that opinion is not strongly held. Among blacks able to rate him, 89% view him at least somewhat favorably. But fewer than half (42%) say their opinion is very favorable and only half see Obama strongly sharing black community values and interests. Also, blacks are more likely than whites to say that Obama's race would hurt him with voters in the general election were he to become Democratic nominee for president next year.

Trust in Police Low among Blacks

	Great Deal	Fair Amount	Just Some	Very Little
How much confidence in local police to...				
Enforce the law	%	%	%	%
Total	42	31	13	11
Blacks	21	34	17	20
Whites	47	31	11	9
Not use excessive force				
Total	37	29	12	14
Blacks	11	27	20	28
Whites	42	31	10	11
Treat races equally				
Total	37	29	11	14
Blacks	14	23	17	31
Whites	42	32	8	10

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Percentage with no opinion not shown.

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The State of Race Relations: Can We All Get Along?

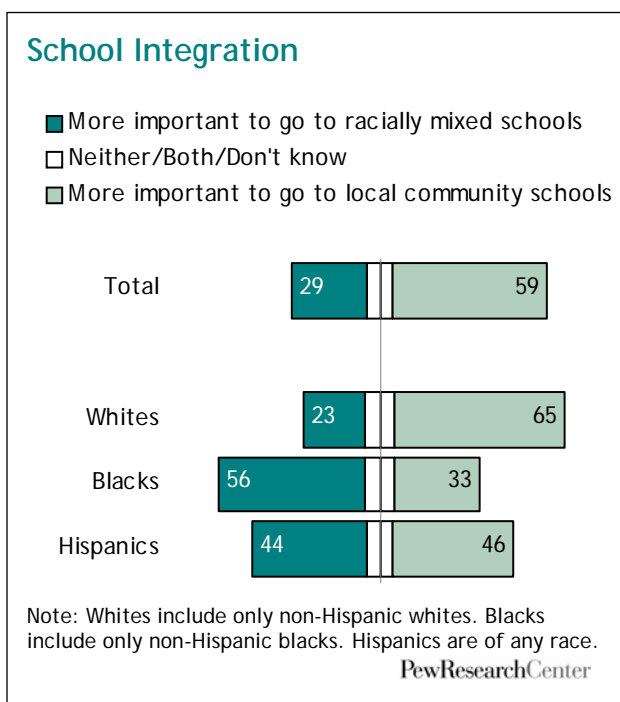
One constant over the last two decades has been the nearly unanimous favorable views that blacks and whites express toward each other – roughly eight-in-ten of each group says they have a very or mostly favorable view of the other group. The only significant change in the past two decades has been an increase among whites in the number expressing a *very* favorable view of their black fellow Americans – to 25% now, up from 17% in 1990. A similar percentage of blacks (27%) express a very favorable opinion of whites, but this figure has been stable over the past two decades.

These racial group favorability ratings are widely shared across demographic lines, with the modest exception that those of higher socio-economic class are even more likely than others to express favorable attitudes towards persons of a different race than their own.

Fully 86% of Americans of all races say they have friends of a different race than themselves. However, most, both black and white, say they have only “some” or “a few” friends of a different race.

Public opinion is still mixed on the famous question asked by Rodney King, whose arrest and beating by Los Angeles police triggered that city’s race riots in 1992: Can we all just get along? While a 57% majority of Americans say that blacks and whites get along “pretty well,” and only an 18% minority say they get along “very well.” Whites are more likely than blacks to say that the two races get along at least “pretty well.”

With respect to neighborhood and school integration, views diverge sharply along racial lines. While virtually no one among the public states a preference for less racial integration in neighborhoods, African Americans are far more likely than whites to favor more residential integration (62% of blacks vs. 40% of whites). Similarly, only a small minority of whites (23%) judge it more important to have racially mixed schools than to allow children to go to local community schools. By contrast, a majority of blacks (56%) say that racially integrated schools are more important.



By the Numbers: Black, White, Hispanic

This section of the report presents selected statistics that help illuminate the lives and circumstances of the nation's blacks, whites and Hispanics in many of the realms explored by the survey. The figures in this section are not drawn from the Pew survey itself, but rather from a variety of Census Bureau and Justice Department data sources, which are referenced on page 15.

1. Demographics

	White	Black	Hispanic
Population	198.7 million	36.7 million	44.3 million
Median age	40.5	31	27.4
Married couple % of all households	52.7	28.9	50.4
% adults 25 and over w/ college degree	30	17	12
% of births to unmarried women	24	66	37
% foreign born	4	8	40
% homeowner (of households)	74	46.5	49.3

Note: Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2006 Population Estimates, 2006 American Community Survey

Marriage by Education Level

Marriage rates generally rise with each level of education completed. In 2005, 45% of black college graduates were married; among those without a high school degree, 24% were married.

Black Education Trends

In 2006, 19 percent of black adults 25 years and over had completed college. The share has risen from 4% in 1970. Black education levels have increased more sharply than white levels; although white achievement remains higher (30% of non-Hispanic whites have completed college). Similarly, four out of five black adults have finished high school, compared with only a third in 1970.

Births to Unmarried Women, By Education Level

In 2005, higher education lowered the likelihood of a birth outside marriage for all women. Among women who did not complete high school, 53% of white births and 83% of black births were to unmarried mothers. Among high school graduates, 28% of white births and 66% of black births were to unmarried women. Among college graduates, 4% of white births and 28% of black births were to unmarried women.

Segregation

Housing segregation in metropolitan areas had declined for black Americans over the past quarter century, especially in the West and South, but there had been less change in the older urban regions of the Northeast and Midwest (Iceland and Weinberg, 2002). As of 2002, blacks remained the nation's most segregated racial or ethnic group. Hispanic segregation trends were more mixed, but one clear finding was that metropolitan areas with the largest increase in Latino populations from 1980-2000 experienced the largest increases in segregation.

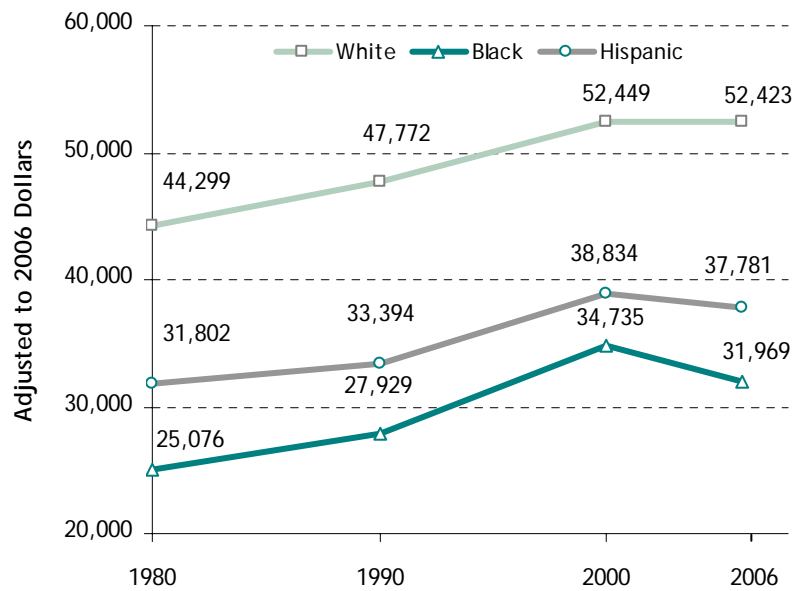
Roughly three-in-ten Hispanic (29%) and black (31%) students attended schools in 2005-06 that were nearly all-minority, with fewer than 5% white students. These percentages have risen somewhat since 1993-94, when they were 25% for Hispanic students and 28% for black students. White students, who make up a shrinking share of students in the public schools, were more likely to be in school with minority students than they were a decade ago.

2. Household Income and Poverty

According to 2006 Census data, the gap between black and white median household incomes has remained roughly similar for many years. The gap closed somewhat in the late 1990s, only to widen again this decade. The gap between Hispanic and white incomes has widened in recent years as Latino immigration has increased.

The poverty rates for whites, blacks and Hispanics were lower in 2006 than they had been in 1980, although the

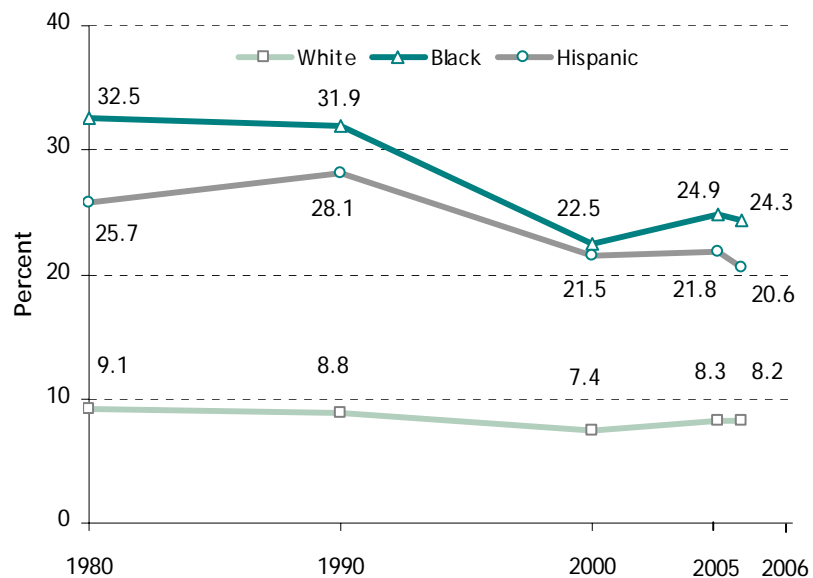
Median Household Income (inflation-adjusted to 2006 dollars)



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: U.S. Bureau Census "Income, Poverty and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States, 2006."

Poverty Rate for Individuals



Note: Whites include non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: U.S. Bureau Census "Income, Poverty and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States, 2006."

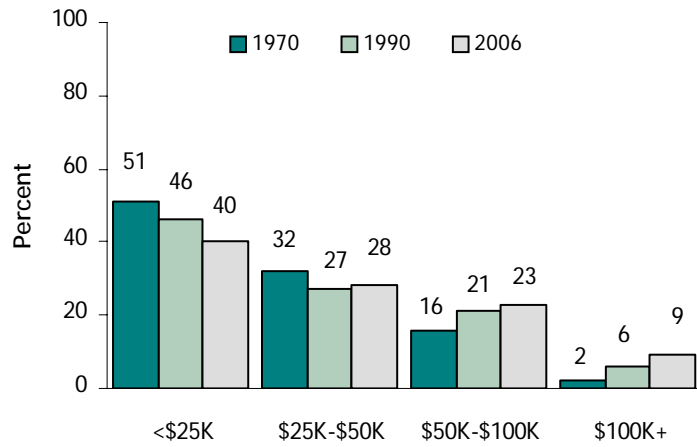
black and white rates have risen since 2000. The black poverty rate was about three times the white rate. The Hispanic poverty rate had declined since 2000 and remained lower than the black rate, although it was more than twice as high as the rate for whites.

Income Trends Among Black Households

The shape of black household income distribution has changed since 1970, with a greater share at the top and a smaller share at the bottom. Nearly one in three (32%) black households in 2006 had an income of at least \$50,000, compared with about one-in-five (18%) in 1970. About one-in-four

(24%) had an income of less than \$15,000 in 2006, compared with one-in-three (32%) in 1970. (These figures are adjusted for inflation.)

Income Disparity Among Black Households, 1970-2006



Note: Earlier years adjusted to 2006 dollars. Blacks include Hispanic blacks.
 Source: U.S. Bureau Census "Income, Poverty and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States, 2006."

Black Household Income: 1970 to 2006

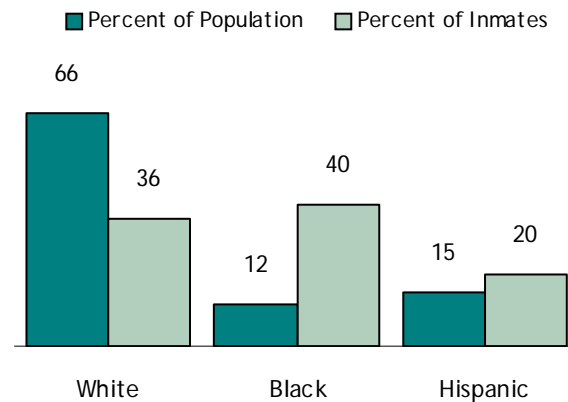
	<\$15,000	\$15K-\$25K	\$25K-\$35K	\$35K-\$50K	\$50K-\$75K	\$75K-\$100K	\$100K
2006	24.4	15.2	13.5	14.8	15.2	7.7	9.1
2000	22.3	15.2	12.8	16	16.6	8.2	8.8
1990	31.7	14.8	12.6	14.3	15	6	5.7
1980	32.3	18.4	13.3	14.5	13.5	5.2	2.7
1970	31.8	18.7	15	16.6	12.3	4.1	1.6

Note: Figures are percent of total for that year. Earlier years adjusted to 2006 dollars. Blacks include Hispanic blacks.
 Source: U.S. Bureau Census "Income, Poverty and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States, 2006."

3. Criminal Justice System

Black Americans are over-represented in virtually every aspect of the criminal justice system. In 2005 blacks were about twice as likely as whites to be a victim of a crime. They also are disproportionately likely to be arrested, accounting for 28 percent of juvenile and adult arrests for offenses reported to the FBI (based on 2006 data). Black men constitute a disproportionate share of inmates: As of June 30, 2006, an estimated 4.8% of black men were in prison or jail, compared with 1.9% of Hispanic men and .7% of white men. Blacks also make up a disproportionate share of convicts who have been executed in the United States since 1977.

Incarceration by Race and Ethnicity, 2006



Note: Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Population figures from U.S. Bureau Census 2006 estimates. Inmate figures are from U.S. Justice Department, 2006.

Executions by Race and Ethnicity, 1977-2005

	Total executions	Percent of total
White	584	58%
Black	339	34%
Hispanic	67	7%
Other	14	1%
	1004	100

Notes: Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: U.S. Justice Department, 2005.

References

Population and median age: Census Bureau population estimates for July 2, 2006. Beginning in 2000, people were allowed to include themselves in more than one race group. We report single-race numbers only. In 2006, the black-alone-or-in-combination population was 4% higher than the single-race black population.

Marriage by education level: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005 American Community Survey

Black education trends: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey

Births to unmarried women: 2005 American Community Survey

Residential segregation: John Iceland and Daniel H. Weinberg “Racial and Ethnic Residential Segregation in the United States 1980-2000.” Census 2000 special reports (Aug. 2002).

http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/housing_patterns/papertoc.html

School segregation: <http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=79>

Income, poverty, income trends: Carmen De Navas, Bernadette D. Proctor and Jessica Smith, August 2007. “Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2006,” Census Bureau Current Population Reports p.60-233.

Crime victimization: National Crime Victimization Survey and Uniform Crime Reports

Arrests: Uniform Crime Reports

Prison population and overall population: Bureau of Justice Statistics:

Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 2006

Census Bureau population estimates by race and ethnicity, 2006

Executions: Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin, Capital Punishment 2005

Roadmap to the Rest of this Report

Section II, which begins on p. 16, looks at attitudes about black progress, prospects, values and identity. **Section III** (p. 30) looks at views about the extent of anti-black discrimination in everyday life; it also explores opinions about affirmative action. **Section IV** (p. 37) looks at attitudes toward the criminal justice system, with a focus on views about the fairness of police and of the death penalty. **Section V** (p. 41) looks at attitudes about race and popular culture, with a particular focus on rap and hip hop. **Section VI** (p. 47) looks at the attitudes of whites, blacks and Hispanics toward one another. **Section VII** (p. 56) looks at views about leadership within the African American community, as well as trends in partisan affiliation. A **Survey Methodology** report is presented on page 64 and the **Questionnaire and Topline** findings are presented on page 66.

II. Black Progress, Prospects, Values, Identity

Black Americans are more downbeat about black progress today than at any time since the early 1980s. Asked to compare the situation of blacks today with their situation five years ago, just 20% of African American respondents say that blacks are better off now; 29% say they are worse off, and about half (49%) say the situation is unchanged. The proportion saying blacks are better off has not been as low as 20% since 1983, at the end of a serious economic recession during the first presidential term of Ronald Reagan.

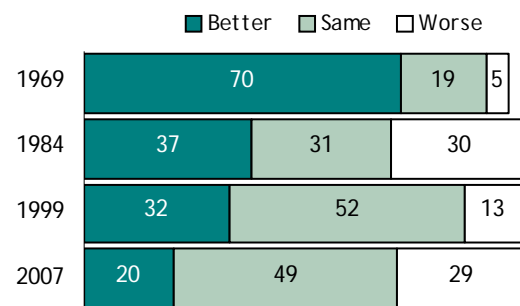
Blacks are somewhat less negative when their current situation is compared with that of a decade ago. Nearly one-in-three (31%) say that blacks are better off now than they were 10 years ago, while about one-fifth (22%) say they are worse off now.

However, the views of whites on these questions are very different. Whites are nearly twice as likely to say the situation of blacks has improved. In the comparison with five years ago, 37% of whites (and only 20% of blacks) think blacks are better off. With respect to change over the last 10 years, a majority of whites (55%) say things are better for blacks, while only 31% of African American respondents agree.

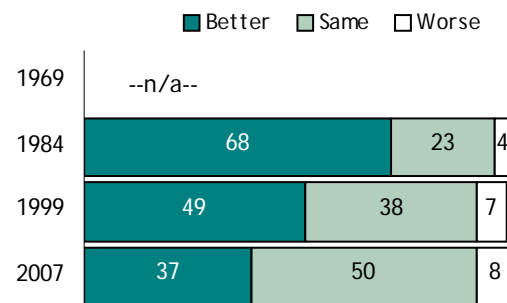
The five-year comparison has been probed many times over the past 40 years. In 1969, a few years after landmark civil rights legislation on voting, housing, public accommodations and schools, 70% of blacks said that the situation of blacks was better than it had been five years earlier. But this positive view faded over time. By 1981, just 30% of blacks said their situation was better than five years earlier; in 1986 the number was 34%. In the 1990s, this positive view had sunk to 24% (in 1997) but rallied to 32% in 1999. Meantime, the number of blacks saying that the situation of blacks is *worse* than five years earlier had declined to just 13% in the 1999 survey. But is now back up to 29%.

Are Blacks Better Off Now Than Five Years Ago?

Among blacks



Among whites



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Don't know responses not shown.

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White optimism about the state of black progress has also declined over time, but it hasn't fallen as low as it has among blacks. Whites were not asked the five-year comparison question about blacks until 1984, when 68% of whites -- about the same percentage as blacks in 1969 -- said blacks were better off. Whites became less sanguine over the next several years but remained more positive about the change in black circumstances than did blacks themselves. In 1986, 53% of whites said blacks were better off, and this number fell as low as 43% in 1997, but rose to 49% in 1999, at the peak of the late 1990's economic boom. It now stands at 37%.

Is the Situation of Blacks Better, Worse, or About the Same?

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Compared to 5 years ago				
Better	34	37	20	33
Worse	12	8	29	14
About the same	49	50	49	49
DK/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	1541	767	498	198
Compared to 10 years ago				
Better	51	55	31	44
Worse	9	7	22	7
About the same	35	33	44	38
DK/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	1545	769	509	190

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

Question wording: All in all, compared with (five/ten) years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same?

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Black Progress Relative to Whites - Perception versus Reality

Compared with 10 years ago, is there a wider or narrower gap between blacks and whites in their standard of living? U.S. Census figures show that the black-white gap in median household income – an oft-used measure of standard of living -- is about the same now as it was in the mid-to-late 1990s, though it is somewhat wider now than it was in 2000.

Public perceptions do not match this reality. Overall, 24% say the gap is wider while 55% say it's narrower. There is relatively little difference in how people answer this question now compared with how they answered in 1986, when 19% said the black-white gap had widened, and 61% thought it had narrowed.

(Census data for 1986 indicated that it dropped only two points from 10 years earlier.)

But as with assessments of the situation of blacks, respondents answered in very different ways depending on their racial or ethnic identity. In 2007, 43% of blacks say the black-white economic gap is wider, compared with only 19% among whites. Hispanics are closer to blacks on this question, with 35% agreeing that the gap is wider.

The Black-White Gap in Standard of Living

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Standard of living gap vs. 10 years ago				
Wider	24	19	43	35
Narrower	55	61	41	37
No change (vol.)	10	10	9	16
DK/Ref	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	3086	1536	1007	388

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

Question wording: Compared with ten years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living?

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Black Median Income as a Percentage of White Median Income

2006:	61%
2000:	65%
1997:	62%
1986:	56%
1976:	58%

Note: For all years blacks include Hispanic blacks.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey

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Views about the Future of Black Americans

Will life be better, the same or worse in the future for black Americans? Majorities of whites and Hispanics believe that it will be better, but the view among blacks themselves is more mixed.

Overall, 54% of the public says that blacks will be better off in the future, while 8% say they will be worse off. About one third (32%) say things won't change. African American respondents, however, are more glum. Just 44% say blacks will be better off, and about one-in-five say they will be worse off (21%). Just over three-in-ten (31%) believe that things will be the same in the future.

Optimism for the future is significantly lower today among blacks than it was in a 1986 ABC News / *Washington Post* poll, in which 57% of blacks said they expected that things would be better in the future. In that poll, 23% thought things would get worse, and just 14% thought the situation in the future would be unchanged.

The strongest predictor of optimism about the future among black respondents is belief about recent black progress. Nearly two-thirds (66%) of those who say blacks are better off today than five years ago believe that blacks will be better off in the future. Among those who say blacks are worse off now than they were five years ago, just 23% think the future will be better. Those who see little change over the past five years fall in between, with 42% saying the future will be better.

Demographically, optimism about the future is somewhat greater among blacks with higher levels of education; 48% of college graduates and 51% of

The Future for Black Americans

	-Whites- 2007	-Blacks- 1986	2007
	%	%	%
The future will be...			
Better	56	57	44
Worse	6	23	21
About the same	32	14	31
Don't know/Refused	6	6	4
	100	100	100
Number of respondents	1536	1022	1007

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks in 2007 include only non-Hispanic blacks.

Source: The 1986 figures are from an ABC News/ *Washington Post* poll.

Question wording: Thinking about the future, all in all would you say that life for blacks in this country will be better, about the same, or worse than it is now?

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Black Views about the Future, By Gender, Age, and Education

	Percent "Better"		
	1986	2007	Change
	%	%	
Blacks	57	44	-13
Gender			
Male	60	44	-16
Female	54	43	-11
Age			
18-29	56	40	-16
30-49	57	44	-13
50-64	64	47	-17
65+	55	48	-7
Education			
College graduate	55	48	-7
Some college	64	51	-13
High school grad	54	41	-13
Less than H.S.	57	34	-23

Note: Blacks in 2007 include only non-Hispanic blacks.

Source: The 1986 figures are from an ABC News/ *Washington Post* poll.

those who have some college experience believe the situation for blacks will be better in the future. Just 34% of those who have not finished high school agree. Indeed, the largest difference between 1986 and 2007 is seen among blacks with lower levels of education. Notably, there are only modest age differences on this question, although older African American respondents are slightly more optimistic than those who are younger.

Attitudes about the changing values divide between blacks and whites are also related to views about the future. Just over half of blacks (51%) who say that the values of whites and blacks are becoming more similar believe that life in the future for blacks will be better. By contrast, those who see black and white values diverging are much more pessimistic, with just 34% expecting life to be better for blacks in the future.

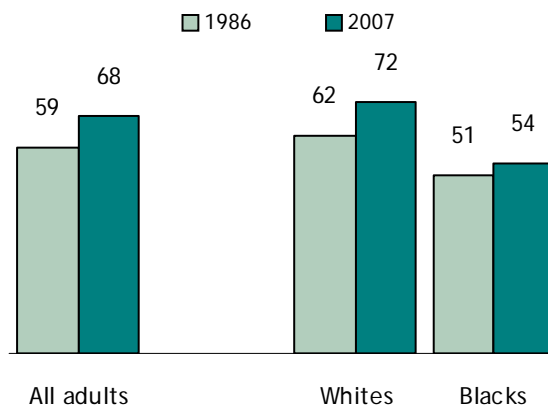
Among whites, better educated respondents are more optimistic about the future of black Americans. Fully two-thirds (67%) of white college graduates think blacks will be better off in the future. Only about half (48%) of those with a high school education believe this. White liberal Democrats are more likely than others to think things will be better for blacks. In contrast, black liberal Democrats are the group most likely to say things will get worse (32% vs. 21% among all blacks).

Shared Values across Racial Lines

Much of the public believes that the values held by whites and blacks have become more similar over the past 10 years. Whites are especially likely to believe this, with 72% saying black and white values are now more similar; just 14% say they have become more different.

Black and White Values

Percent saying values held by black and white people have become more similar.



	---Whites---		---Blacks---	
	1986*	2007	1986	2007
	%	%	%	%
Over past 10 years the values of blacks and whites became more...				
Similar	62	72	51	54
Different	17	14	31	37
No change (vol.)	10	4	7	3
Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	851	1536	843	1007

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. *The 1986 figures are from a Gallup/JCPS survey.

Question wording: In the last ten years, do you think the values held by black people and the values held by white people have become more similar or more different?

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Blacks are more mixed in their assessment. A 54%-majority of blacks does say that black and white values have become more similar, but nearly four-in-ten blacks (37%) say values have diverged.

The view that the values held by the two races are converging is most prevalent among the highest income black respondents (those with family incomes of \$100,000 and higher); 73% of this group sees black and white values becoming more similar. Younger black respondents also are more likely than the average to say that there has been a convergence (63% among those 18-29 years old). Otherwise there are no notable demographic differences in opinion among either blacks or whites on this question.

The proportion of African Americans saying that black and white values are converging did not change significantly between 1986 and 2007, while the number seeing a divergence of values grew modestly (6 percentage points). Among whites, in contrast, the number saying that black and white values are becoming more similar rose by 10 percentage points since 1986. Most of this change occurred among less educated and lower income whites.

A Values Gap within the Black Community?

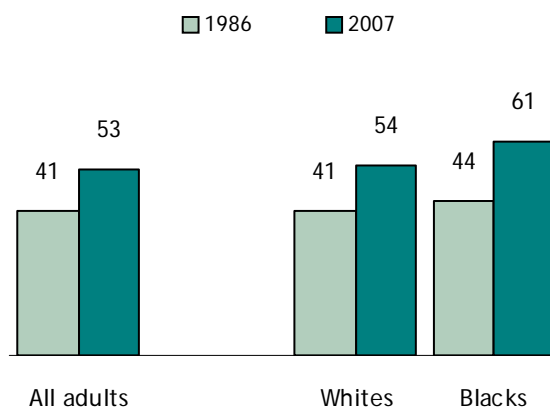
Overall, about half of the public (53%) believes that that the values held by middle-class and poor blacks have grown more different over the past 10 years. Just 28% say these values are becoming more similar.

But the number saying that the values of middle class and poor blacks are diverging is somewhat larger among blacks (61%) than among whites (54%). Fewer Hispanics (45%) say this is true.

The belief that value differences within the black community are

The Values of Middle Class and Poor Blacks

Percent saying values held by middle class blacks and poor blacks have become more different.



	---Whites---		---Blacks---	
	1986*	2007	1986	2007
	%	%	%	%
Over past 10 years the values of middle class blacks and poor blacks have become more...				
Similar	33	25	40	31
Different	41	54	44	61
No change (vol.)	8	2	9	2
Don't know/Refused	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	851	1536	843	1007

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. *The 1986 figures are from a *Gallup/JCPS* survey.

Question wording: Just thinking about black people: In the last ten years, do you think the values held by middle class black people and the values held by poor black people have become more similar or more different?

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becoming greater has grown sharply among blacks, compared with a poll conducted in 1986. At that time, just 44% of blacks saw greater value differences by class among blacks, compared with 10 years earlier.

This change has been especially pronounced among better educated blacks. The perception of increasing value differences is also larger now among whites, but the change has not been as great. In 1986, 41% of whites saw a growing values gap within the black community.

Among African Americans, the better educated are more likely than those with less education to see the values of middle class and poor blacks diverging. Among black respondents with a college degree, 70% say this is true, while only 55% of those with a high school education agree. In 1986, there were only minimal differences in response to this question across educational groups.

A similar pattern is seen among white respondents, with better educated whites more likely to believe that the values of the black middle class and those of poor blacks are diverging.

Diverging Values between Black Poor and Middle Class

	<i>Percent "More Different"</i>		
	1986*	2007	Change
Blacks	% 44	% 61	+17
Gender			
Male	46	59	+13
Female	43	62	+19
Age			
18-29	44	57	+13
30-49	47	70	+23
50-64	46	59	+13
65+	34	50	+16
Education			
College graduate	49	70	+21
Some college	43	66	+23
High school grad	46	55	+9
Less than H.S.	42	57	+15

Note: All figures are based on non-Hispanic blacks.

*The 1986 figures are from a *Gallup/JCPS* survey.

Question wording: Just thinking about black people. In the last ten years, do you think the values held by middle class black people and the values held by poor black people have become more similar or more different?

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Shared Values of Poor and Middle-Class Blacks

Even though many blacks believe there is a growing values divide within the black community, most blacks still see at least some measure of solidarity in values shared by blacks. A majority (65%) says middle-class and poor blacks share at least some values in common, with nearly a quarter (23%) saying they share a lot in common.

While better educated blacks are more likely to see the values of middle class and poor blacks diverging in the past 10 years, it is the less educated and less affluent blacks who are most apt to say middle class and poor blacks now have little in common. Among blacks with only a high school education, 37% say middle class and poor blacks have few or no shared values; among the college educated, just 19% say this.

There also are political differences on this question. Black liberal Democrats are 15 percentage points more likely than political independents (74% compared with 59%) to say middle class and poor blacks have values in common.

Shared Values among Poor and Middle Class Blacks

	A lot/some values in common	Little/no values in common	DK/Ref
	%	%	%
Blacks	65	31	4=100
Gender			
Men	66	31	3=100
Women	64	31	5=100
Age			
18-29	68	29	3=100
30-49	66	32	2=100
50-64	68	29	3=100
65+	50	38	12=100
Education			
College graduate	78	19	3=100
Some college	70	28	2=100
High school or less	58	37	5=100
Income			
\$100,000 +	66	27	7=100
\$50K-\$99K	78	19	3=100
\$30K-\$49K	67	32	1=100
Less than \$30,000	57	39	4=100
Region			
East	68	26	6=100
Midwest	66	30	4=100
South	63	33	4=100
West	65	34	1=100

Note: All figures are based on non-Hispanic blacks.

Question wording: How much do you think middle class blacks and poor blacks share values in common? Do middle class blacks and poor blacks have a lot in common, some in common, only a little in common, or almost nothing in common?

Diversity in the Black Community: Are Blacks Still a Single Race?

A sizable minority of African Americans (37%) agrees with the idea that blacks today can no longer be thought of as a single race because the black community is so diverse. However, a majority of 53% disagrees, endorsing instead the view that “blacks can still be thought of as a single race because they have so much in common.”

There is no major demographic group within the African American community in which a majority endorses the idea that African Americans no longer constitute a single race. Opinions vary on this question among social and demographic groups within the black community, but these differences tend to be relatively modest.

For example, the notion that blacks are no longer a single race finds greater acceptance among younger respondents, 44% of whom believe this is true (51% disagree). Nearly one quarter of black respondents 65 and older said they had no opinion on this question or gave some other response. Of those in this age group who did respond, more said “still a single race” than said “no longer a single race.”

Regional differences are also seen. Blacks living in the Northeast (42%) and the Midwest (46%) are more likely than those in the South (32%) to agree that blacks no longer comprise a single race. In the West, 36% of blacks say this as well.

African American respondents who believe that middle class and poor blacks have relatively little in common are – not surprisingly -- more likely than others to say that blacks are not a single race. More than four-in-ten (44%) among those who say there is little in common between the values of the black middle class and poor blacks also take the view that blacks are no longer a single race. Among those who don’t see a values difference, somewhat fewer (33%) accept the idea that there is no single black race.

Are Blacks Today Still a Single Race?

	No longer single race	Still single race	(Vol) Neither/ both/DK
Blacks	37	53	10=100
Gender			
Male	35	56	9=100
Female	38	51	11=100
Age			
18-29	44	51	5=100
30-49	35	57	8=100
50-64	35	56	9=100
65+	34	43	23=100
Education			
College graduate	41	50	9=100
Some college	37	56	7=100
High school or less	36	53	11=100
Income			
\$100,000+	29	62	9=100
\$50K-\$99K	38	56	6=100
\$30K-\$49K	38	53	9=100
Less than \$30,000	35	53	12=100
Region			
Northeast	42	49	9=100
Midwest	46	45	9=100
South	32	57	11=100
West	36	58	6=100

Note: All figures are based on non-Hispanic blacks.
Question wording: Which of these statements comes closer to your own view -- even if neither is exactly right: Blacks today can no longer be thought of as a single race because the black community is so diverse. OR Blacks can still be thought of as a single race because they have so much in common.

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Life and Community

African Americans are generally satisfied with their lives and with their communities as a place to live. But blacks are less upbeat about their lives than are whites and Hispanics, and the differences are even starker when it comes to rating their communities.

Blacks are more likely than whites to say that crime, the lack of good paying jobs, high school students dropping out, the quality of public schools, and the number of children born to unmarried mothers are big problems in their local communities. Illegal immigration is the only issue tested on which blacks and whites express similar views and Hispanics register much higher concern than both groups.

Life Satisfaction

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Satisfied	91	92	90	90
<i>Very satisfied</i>	70	71	64	72
<i>Somewhat satisfied</i>	19	19	24	15
<i>Don't know</i>	2	2	2	3
Dissatisfied	7	6	8	8
<i>Very dissatisfied</i>	3	2	3	2
<i>Somewhat dissatisfied</i>	4	4	5	5
<i>Don't know</i>	*	*	0	1
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	3086	1536	1007	388

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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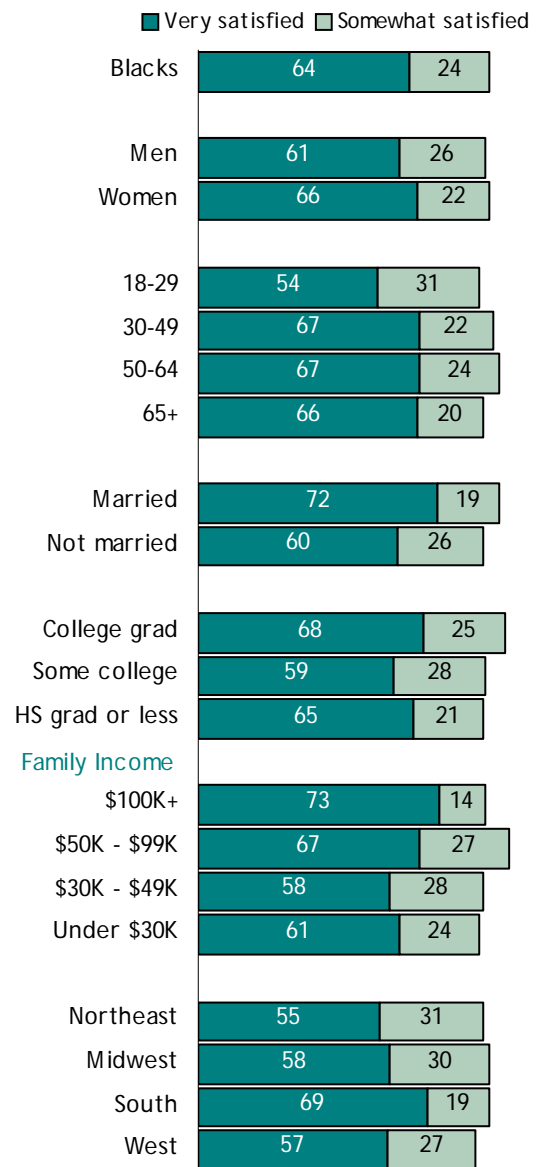
Life Satisfaction

More than six-in-ten blacks (64%) say they are very satisfied with their lives, compared with about seven-in-ten whites (71%) and Hispanics (72%). Racial and ethnic differences in life satisfaction are especially pronounced among younger respondents.

Just over half of African Americans between the ages of 18 and 29 years old say they are very satisfied with their lives (54%), whereas about seven-in-ten whites (71%) and Hispanics (69%) in the same age group express that opinion. Among those who are 50 or older, on the other hand, the differences are statistically insignificant – 67% of blacks, 70% of whites, and 74% of Hispanics in that age group are very satisfied with their lives.

In general, blacks who live in southern states are more satisfied with their lives than are blacks who live in other regions. Seven-in-ten blacks in the South say they are very satisfied with their lives, compared with smaller majorities in the Northeast (55%), the West (57%), and the Midwest (58%). In fact, the South is the only region where blacks and whites do not express significantly different outlooks on life -- 72% of southern whites say they are very satisfied, as do a similar share of whites in other regions.

How Satisfied are Blacks with their Lives?



Note: Based on non-Hispanic blacks. Dissatisfied and don't know responses are not shown.

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Satisfaction with Community

African Americans express considerably more negative views about the communities they live in than they do about their lives more generally. One-in-five blacks express some level of dissatisfaction with their communities. And while more than three-quarters (77%) say they are at least somewhat satisfied with their communities, just 36% say they are very satisfied. In comparison, 63% of whites and 56% of Hispanics express high levels of satisfaction with their communities as a place to live.

Differences between African Americans' views about their communities and those of whites and Hispanics are notable in

virtually every age, income, and education group. For example, about a third of blacks with a high school education or less say they are very satisfied with their communities (34%), while 59% of whites and more than half of Hispanics (51%) with the same educational background say this is the case. Similarly, fewer than four-in-ten African Americans with at least some college express high levels of satisfaction with their communities (39%), compared with two-thirds of whites and Hispanics in the same category.

Rating Community Problems

The lack of good paying jobs tops the list of community problems among black, white, and Hispanic respondents. Solid majorities of blacks (58%) and Hispanics (67%) rate the lack of good paying jobs as a big problem, including nearly a quarter of blacks (23%) and one-third of Hispanics who say it is a very big problem in their communities. The proportion of whites sharing that view is considerably lower (45%), but still much higher than the number of whites who say the same about any other community issue tested.

Fully half of African Americans (50%) also consider the number of children born to unwed mothers to be a big problem in their local communities, and about the same number say crime (49%) and students dropping out of high school (46%) are big problems. In contrast, only a third of whites express concern about the number of children born to unmarried mothers and even fewer say that crime (21%) and drop-out rates (18%) are big problems in their communities. Hispanics are about as likely as African Americans to rate the three issues as big problems.

Fewer people express concerns about the quality of public schools in their communities, but blacks and Hispanics are significantly more likely than whites to rate school quality as a big problem. Overall, about one-

Satisfaction with Community				
	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Satisfied	87	89	77	84
<i>Very satisfied</i>	58	63	36	56
<i>Somewhat satisfied</i>	27	25	38	24
<i>Don't know</i>	2	1	3	4
Dissatisfied	11	9	20	13
<i>Very dissatisfied</i>	5	3	9	7
<i>Somewhat dissatisfied</i>	6	6	10	6
<i>Don't know</i>	*	*	1	0
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	3086	1536	1007	388

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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fifth of all adults (21%) say the quality of public schools is a big problem in their local communities. About a third of African Americans (32%) and Hispanics (33%) share that concern, compared with 17% of whites.

African Americans express less concern about illegal immigration than they do about most issues. About three-in-ten blacks (28%) say illegal immigration is a big problem in their local communities, making it the only issue tested on which blacks and whites express similar views (30% of whites say illegal immigration is a big problem in their communities).

Concern about illegal immigration is much higher among Hispanics -- more than four-in-ten (44%) see illegal immigration as a big problem.

Views about illegal immigration as a community problem vary considerably depending on the density of the Hispanic population in respondents' counties. About one-in-five (18%) blacks in counties where Hispanics make up less than 3.5% of the population see illegal immigration as a big problem, compared with 36% of those in counties where Hispanics comprise more than 12% of the population. And while, overall, blacks and whites are equally likely to say that illegal immigration is a big problem in their communities, whites who live in counties with high Hispanic density are even more likely than blacks in counties with a similar proportion of Hispanics to see illegal immigration as a big problem (46% of whites vs. 36% of blacks).

The Impact of Income, Education and Age

Even though blacks are generally more likely than whites to see the lack of good jobs as a big problem in their communities, whites who are unemployed, less educated, and lower income share the concerns of African Americans in the same employment, education, and income categories about the lack of good paying jobs. Overall, 45% of whites say the lack of good jobs is a big problem in their communities, but nearly six-in-ten (59%) whites with household incomes of less than \$20,000 a year say this is the case; about the same proportion of blacks in households with less than \$20,000 in annual income also say the lack of good paying jobs is a big problem (62%).

But when it comes to the number of children born to unmarried mothers, high school students dropping out, crime, and the quality of public schools, blacks across virtually all key demographic groups, including age, gender, education and income, express considerably more concern than whites in the same groups. For example, younger respondents are the most concerned about high school students dropping out, but African Americans between the ages of 18 and 29 are more than twice as likely as whites in the same age group to say

Problems in Local Communities				
	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Percent saying very big/big problem...				
Lack of good jobs	50	45	58	67
Unwed mothers	38	33	50	51
Illegal immigration	31	30	28	44
Crime	29	21	49	49
Drop-out rates	25	18	46	47
Quality of schools	21	17	32	33
Number of respondents	3086	1536	1007	388
Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.				
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this is a big problem in their communities (55% of young blacks vs. 25% of young whites). And while lower-income respondents are generally more likely than more affluent ones to say crime is a big problem in their local communities, African Americans in households with incomes below \$20,000 a year are more likely than whites in the same income bracket to say that is the case (52% of blacks vs. 33% of whites).

Blacks whose household incomes are at least \$100,000 a year are less concerned than lower-income blacks about the lack of good paying jobs, the number of children born to unmarried mothers, and crime in their communities. When it comes to high school students dropping out, the quality of public schools, and illegal immigration, however, no significant differences emerge among blacks in different income brackets. About three-in-ten (29%) blacks in household with income under \$20,000 say the quality of public schools is a big problem in their community, and about the same number in the \$100,000 or more category say the same (34%).

African Americans with a high school education or less are equally as likely as more educated blacks to rate most of the issues tested as big problems in their communities. But those who did not attend college are somewhat more likely than those with at least some

college education to say that high school students dropping out is a big problem (51% of blacks with a high school education or less vs. 42% of blacks with some college). On the other hand, college educated blacks express more concern than do the less educated about the quality of public schools in their communities (37% with some college say it is a big problem vs. 28% of those who have not attended college).

Community Problems, by Race and Income

	Blacks	Whites	Diff
Percent saying very big/big problem	%	%	
Lack of good jobs			
Less than \$20K	62	59	+3
\$20K-\$49K	70	57	+13
\$50,000+	47	36	+11
Unwed mothers			
Less than \$20K	47	39	+8
\$20K-\$49K	58	37	+21
\$50,000+	46	31	+15
Crime			
Less than \$20K	52	33	+19
\$20K-\$49K	52	22	+30
\$50,000+	43	18	+25
Drop-out rates			
Less than \$20K	50	27	+23
\$20K-\$49K	51	18	+33
\$50,000+	42	16	+26

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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III. Discrimination and Affirmative Action

Overall, the American public believes blacks infrequently experience racial discrimination in day-to-day life. By majorities of two-to-one or larger, Americans believe prejudice intrudes “not often” or “hardly ever” when blacks apply for a job, apply to a college or university, go shopping or dine out. A narrow majority (53%) also believes that blacks seldom face discrimination when they rent an apartment or buy a house.

But a very different portrait of discrimination emerges when these responses are broken down by race. Blacks are far more likely than whites to report that African Americans often face discrimination—so much so that the views of whites and blacks often stand as mirror opposites. At the same time, the perceptions of Hispanics also differ sharply from those of blacks and, to a lesser extent, from those of whites.

Blacks See Discrimination as a Chronic Problem

Two-thirds of all African Americans report that discrimination is commonly encountered when blacks apply for a job (67%), a view shared by only 20% of whites and 36% of Hispanics. Just as striking, a two-to-one majority of blacks say they routinely face discrimination when attempting to buy or rent a home, while a two-to-one majority of whites say blacks encounter relatively little housing discrimination. When these questions are analyzed together, a distinct pattern emerges. About one-in-four (26%) blacks say discrimination “almost always” or “frequently” occurs when blacks engage in each of the four activities tested in the survey: applying for a job or admission to college, shopping or eating out, or seeking to buy or rent housing.

Another 24% say blacks frequently encounter racism in three of the four areas. Only 19% report that racism is not frequently found in any of the four domains

Blacks Say Blacks Often Face Discrimination—Whites Disagree

	Almost always/ frequently	Not often/ hardly ever
How often do blacks face discrimination...	%	%
Apply for a job		
All adults	29	62
Whites	20	70
Blacks	67	27
Hispanics	36	52
Rent an apartment or buy a house		
All adults	33	53
Whites	27	58
Blacks	65	29
Hispanics	36	51
Apply to a college or university		
All adults	13	75
Whites	7	81
Blacks	43	47
Hispanics	22	62
Eat at a restaurant and shop in retail stores		
All adults	19	75
Whites	12	82
Blacks	50	45
Hispanics	29	63

Note: Percent with no opinion not shown. Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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Taken together, the survey suggests that there is widespread perception in the black community that encounters with anti-black bias are common in the day-to-day lives of blacks: Fully two-thirds (68%) say African Americans frequently face discrimination in two or more of the activities tested.

In contrast, more than six-in-ten whites (63%) and 45% of Hispanics say blacks do *not* frequently encounter racism in any of the areas tested. By the same token, only 3% of whites and 11% of Hispanics believe that blacks often experience racism in all four areas.

Together, these disparate views underscore the very different ways that blacks, whites and Hispanics view discrimination four decades after the height of the civil rights era.

The Perceptions Gap on Discrimination

On each of the four measures of discrimination tested in this survey, there are huge gaps (ranging from 36 to 47 percentage points) between the perceptions of whites and blacks about whether acts of racial bias are commonplace.

On housing, employment and other measures of discrimination, the attitudes of Hispanics fall somewhere in between those of blacks and whites. Fewer than four-in-ten Hispanics believe blacks are frequently discriminated against in seeking jobs (36%), about half the proportion of blacks

Blacks Believe Discrimination Widespread

% that say blacks commonly face discrimination in...

	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%
All four areas*	3	26	11
Three areas	5	24	12
Two areas	11	18	11
One area	18	13	21
None of the areas	<u>63</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>45</u>
	100	100	100

% that say blacks face discrimination in at least:

Two or more areas	19	68	34
One or none	81	32	66

Note: *The four areas tested were applying for a job, buying a house or renting an apartment, applying to college, shopping or dining out. Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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How Much Discrimination? The Perceptions Gap

	Blacks	Whites	Hispanics	Diff Blk/Wht	Diff Blk/Hisp.
	%	%	%		
% saying blacks face discrimination often when they ...					
Apply for a job	67	20	36	+47	+31
Rent an apartment/ buy a house	65	27	36	+38	+29
Apply to a college or university	43	7	22	+36	+21
Eat at a restaurant/ shop in stores	50	12	29	+38	+21

Percentage who say blacks "almost always" or "frequently" face discrimination when doing each of the tested activities

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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that hold his view. At the same time barely half (52%) of Hispanics say such expressions of workplace prejudice do not happen often, 18 percentage points less than the proportion of whites.

A smaller but still large majority of whites (58%) believe blacks only occasionally encounter discrimination buying or renting a home, more than twice the proportion that say blacks frequently encounter prejudice in the housing market. Hispanics, too, are more likely to discount the frequency of discrimination than to say it is common.

Whites and Hispanics are significantly less likely to say that African Americans are subject to frequent discrimination when shopping or going out to eat in a restaurant. According to the survey, half of all blacks say African Americans encounter bias when they shop or eat in a restaurant, nearly double the proportion of Hispanics and about four times greater than the share of whites who express that view.

Blacks are divided over the frequency with which they face discrimination when they apply to college, while whites and Hispanics believe this form of bigotry is rare. Slightly more blacks say discrimination in college admissions happens infrequently (47%) than say it is relatively common (43%). Whites and Hispanics are far more skeptical that blacks face frequent discrimination in this area: Only 7% of whites say blacks often encounter acts of prejudice when applying to colleges or universities, a view shared by 22% of all Hispanics.

Some Demographic Differences Among Blacks

Perceptions of the extent of racial bias against blacks do not vary much among different demographic groups within the African American community. For example, there are no statistically significant differences between black men and black women in their views about anti-black discrimination in any of the four domains tested.

A few modest differences emerge in other demographic groups. Middle-aged blacks are slightly more likely than older or younger blacks to say discrimination is frequently encountered in daily life. About three-in-four African Americans (73%) between ages 30 to 49 say blacks frequently encounter discrimination when applying for a job, a view less broadly shared by younger blacks (60%) and those ages 65 or older (59%).

Better-educated blacks also are more likely than less educated blacks to say discrimination is more frequent across each of the four areas tested. Fully three-quarters of all blacks who have graduated from college say blacks often face racism when applying for jobs, a view expressed by about six-in-ten (61%) blacks with a high school degree or less. Nearly as large a gap emerges between the better and less well educated on perceptions of housing discrimination. But on other questions, the differences between those with the most and least education are more modest.

Why Some Blacks Lag Behind: Personal Factors or Discrimination?

Fully two-thirds of all Americans believe personal factors, rather than racial discrimination, explain why many African Americans have difficulty getting ahead in life; just 19% mostly blame discrimination.

While clear differences exist between white and black views on this question, these racial disparities are significantly less pronounced than those observed in other areas covered by this survey, including questions that measured perceptions of the overall levels of discrimination faced by blacks.

Overall, most whites (71%), Hispanics (59%) and a narrow majority of blacks (53%) believe that blacks who have not gotten ahead in life are mainly responsible for their own situation. At the same time, three-in-ten blacks (30%) blame racism for failures to advance, a view shared by 24% of all Hispanics and 15% of whites.

The survey also suggests that attitudes about what is more to blame for the failure of many blacks to advance appear to be strongly related to perceptions of discrimination against blacks.

For example, about four-in-ten blacks (37%) who believe African Americans are often discriminated against when applying for jobs also say discrimination is the main reason why some blacks don't get ahead. But among blacks who say employment discrimination is relatively infrequent, only 15% believe bias is the major obstacle for black advancement.

A similar pattern is apparent among whites. About a third (34%) of whites who believe job discrimination against blacks is common say discrimination is mainly to blame for the fact that many blacks fail to advance. This view is held by just 11% of whites who say this form of racial bias is uncommon. Similarly, four-in-ten Hispanics who say blacks frequently are discriminated against when seeking work say discrimination is to blame for lack of black advancement, roughly double the proportion of Hispanics (19%) who say anti-black bias in employment is rare.

Majorities of All Races Say Blacks Personally Responsible for their Own Condition

Which of these statements comes closer to your views: Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead OR Blacks who can't get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition...

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Racial discrimination	19	15	30	24
Blacks responsible for their own condition	66	71	53	59
Neither/Both (VOL)	9	8	14	8
DK/Refused	<u>6</u> 100	<u>6</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100	<u>9</u> 100
Number of respondents	3086	1536	1007	388

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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The pattern is equally strong among blacks and more pronounced among blacks and Hispanics when all four questions are analyzed together. Slightly fewer than half of all blacks (46%) who say African Americans often face discrimination in *all four* areas also fault discrimination as the reason why many blacks lag behind. In contrast, only 12% of blacks who say blacks face little or no discrimination in any of these four areas blame racism as the main reason that many blacks can't get ahead.

The relationship between perceptions of racism and black advancement also is strong for whites and Hispanics. Among whites, 40% of those who believe that discrimination is widespread blame racism for holding back some blacks, compared with 8% who do not believe discrimination is a serious problem. Similarly, 39% of all Hispanics who see racism as a chronic problem for blacks say racism is slowing black progress, compared with 10% among Hispanics who see relatively little anti-black bias. The key difference is that significantly fewer whites (8%) and Hispanics (23%)

believe blacks frequently face discrimination on all four measures tested in the survey, while large numbers consistently say racism is not frequent on any of the four measures (63% of whites and 45% of Hispanics vs. 19% of all blacks).¹

Demographic Breakdown of Black Assessments of Discrimination and Personal Responsibility

Percent of blacks that say the main reason why many African Americans can't get ahead is ...

	Discrimination	Their own fault	Neither/both	DK/Ref
Blacks	30	53	14	3=100
Gender				
Men	28	54	16	2=100
Women	31	53	12	4=100
Age				
18-29	25	60	12	3=100
30-49	27	59	14	*=100
50-64	40	43	15	2=100
65+	28	47	15	10=100
Education				
College graduate	29	51	18	2=100
Some college	31	51	16	2=100
High school grad	33	55	11	1=100
Less than H.S.	23	57	12	8=100
Income				
\$100,000+	36	47	17	0=100
\$50K-\$99K	26	55	17	2=100
\$30K-\$49K	29	61	8	2=100
Less Than \$30K	34	50	14	2=100

Note: Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks.

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¹ Because so few whites and Hispanics believe blacks often are discriminated in each the four test areas, this analysis combined those that said blacks frequently faced discrimination in three or all four domains tested.

The “P” Word (Preferences) and Support for Affirmative Action

Substantial majorities of blacks and Hispanics and a narrow majority of whites favor affirmative action programs that help African Americans get better jobs and educations. Somewhat smaller but still substantial majorities of blacks and Hispanics also favor giving preferences to qualified African Americans in hiring and education, while a plurality of whites are opposed.

To test public support for affirmative action, slightly different questions were asked of separate random halves of the survey sample. One group was asked whether they favor or oppose affirmative action programs “designed to help blacks get better jobs and education.” The other half was asked whether they favor or oppose affirmative action programs that “give special preferences to qualified blacks in hiring and education.” Overall, nearly nine-in-ten blacks (89%) and about three-quarters of all Hispanics (77%) support giving African Americans assistance to further their educations or careers. Slightly more than half of all whites (52%) also support such minority assistance programs, while 37% oppose.

But if the word “preferences” is included in the question, support for affirmative action drops by double-digit margins among whites (-13 percentage points), blacks (-11 points) and Hispanics (-16 points). Instead of a majority of whites supporting affirmative action, a 47%-plurality opposes it, while 39% express support. While the word “preferences” in the question has a clear negative effect on African Americans and Hispanics, large majorities of blacks (78%) and Latinos (61%) still express support for affirmative action that involves giving preferences to blacks.

Among whites the decline is greatest among those ages 65 and older. A 53%-majority of this age group supports helping blacks, but only 31% favor giving racial preferences. Large declines also occur among white women (-18 percentage points) and those with household incomes of \$30,000 to \$49,999 (-19 points) and those with incomes less than \$30,000 (-15 points).

Majority Favors Affirmative Action, Divided on Preferences

Percent who support affirmative action when racial preferences... *

	Not Mentioned	Mentioned	Diff.
	%	%	
Total	60	46	-14
Race/Ethnicity			
White	52	39	-13
Black	89	78	-11
Hispanic	77	61	-16
Gender			
Men	53	44	-9
Women	66	49	-17
Age			
18-29	71	59	-12
30-49	62	48	-14
50-64	52	41	-11
65+	56	37	-19
Education			
College grad	55	45	-10
Some college	59	46	-13
High school grad	59	49	-10
Less than H.S.	74	46	-28
Income			
\$100,000+	47	41	-6
\$50K-\$99K	53	47	-6
\$30K-\$49K	64	49	-15
LT \$30K	70	53	-17

*Question wordings:

VERSION 1: In order to overcome past discrimination, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs designed to help blacks get better jobs and education?
VERSION 2: In order to overcome past discrimination, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs, which give special preferences to qualified blacks in hiring and education?

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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The Modest Impact of Affirmative Action

The survey finds that few people believe existing affirmative action programs have had much personal impact: More than eight-in-ten (82%) Americans say they have neither been helped nor hurt by affirmative action programs.

While these programs are designed to help blacks and other minorities, relatively few blacks (16%) or Hispanics (7%) report they have benefited. Among whites, more than eight-in-ten (83%) say affirmative action has had no impact on them, while 12% say they have been hurt by programs to advance minorities in school and in the workplace. In addition, two percent of all whites report they have benefited from affirmative action. And, 3% of blacks and 6% of Hispanics say they have been harmed.

Demographic Factors Associated with Support for Affirmative Action

Women are more likely than men to support affirmative action. Two-thirds of all women (66%) but just 53% of all men favor affirmative action that attempts to help blacks. But when preferences are included in the question, the drop in support is greatest among women (a 17-point decline to 49%) while the proportion of men who favor affirmative action preference programs falls by 9 percentage points to 44%. About seven-in-ten (71%) respondents under the age of 30 and a similar proportion of non-high school graduates (74%) and those with household incomes of less than \$30,000 a year (70%) also support affirmative action if preferences are not mentioned. But if preferences are mentioned, support among young adults falls 12 percentage points while dropping 28 points among non-high school graduates and 17 points among the less affluent.

IV. Race and Criminal Justice

The survey finds that blacks remain broadly distrustful of the police in the communities where they live. Only about half (55%) of all African Americans express confidence in the police to do a good job enforcing the law; just 38% are confident police will refrain from using excessive force on crime suspects; and just 37% are confident that the police will treat all races equally.

Black attitudes toward the police contrast sharply with those of whites. For example, whites are twice as likely as blacks to say they have confidence in their local police to treat blacks and whites equally (74% vs. 37%); similarly large differences emerge on each of the other two questions. These differences are even greater if the comparison is limited just to the proportion of blacks and whites that expressed “a great deal” of confidence in police. Here, whites are more than twice as likely as blacks to express strong support for police to enforce the law (47% vs. 21%) and much more likely to have a great deal of confidence in police to avoid excessive force (42% vs. 11%) and treat the races equally (42% vs. 14%).

While the views of Hispanics tend to be closer to those of whites on questions of black discrimination, Latino attitudes are closer to black attitudes on questions measuring confidence in the local police. For example, 45% of Hispanics have confidence in the police to treat blacks and whites equally and 37% of blacks share that view - compared with nearly three-quarters of whites (74%).

Trust in Police by Race, 1995 and 2007

	1995	2007	Change '95 to '07
Confidence in local police to*...			
Enforce the law			
All adults	73	73	0
Whites	78	78	0
Blacks	49	55	+6
Not use excessive force			
All adults	59	66	+7
Whites	63	73	+10
Blacks	34	38	+4
Treat races equally			
All adults	58	66	+8
Whites	62	74	+12
Blacks	32	37	+5
Confident on all three			
All adults	43	50	+7
Whites	47	58	+11
Blacks	21	23	+2
Little/no confid. on all three			
All adults	14	13	-1
Whites	10	9	-1
Blacks	37	30	-7

Note: *Percentage that expressed “a great deal” or “a fair amount” of confidence in local police on each measure. Percentage with no opinion not shown. Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Percentage of Hispanics in 1995 survey too small to analyze reliably.

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Young, Less Affluent Most Mistrustful

Young people, regardless of race, have the least amount of confidence in local police. Only 16% of all blacks under the age of 30 consistently express trust in police on all three measures, compared with 26% of those blacks 65 years and older. While whites have significantly more confidence than blacks in local police, young whites are skeptical. Fewer than half (46%) of whites under 30 have high levels confidence in local law enforcement, compared with six-in-ten older whites. Less well-educated blacks and whites, as well as less affluent young people, also express low levels of trust in the police; fewer than half of all whites (46%) with annual household incomes below \$30,000 highly trust police, compared with 72% of whites earning \$100,000 or more, a 26-percentage-point gap. Among blacks, the difference in views between blacks who earn the most and the least is narrower (16 points). The sample of Hispanics is too small to analyze.

Slight Change since 1995

Confidence in police appears to have increased modestly in the past two decades, according to comparisons of these data with the results of a national survey conducted in 1995 by NBC and the Wall Street Journal in which the same questions were asked of blacks and whites. (Trend data are not available for Hispanics from the earlier survey.)

The percentage of blacks who expresses “a great deal” or “a fair amount” of confidence in local police to enforce the law has increased by 6 percentage points, while smaller gains among blacks occurred on questions asking about use of excessive force (up by 4 points) and equal treatment of the races (up by 5 points). Confidence among whites increased on two measures—use of excessive force (up 10 points) and equal treatment (up 12 points). However, the proportion of whites who have confidence in police to do a good job enforcing the law, already high in 1995, remains unchanged at 78% in the Pew survey.

A more detailed analysis produces a complementary finding.

The percentage of blacks consistently expressing confidence in police across the three questions has increased slightly, if at all, among blacks in the past 12 years. In 1995, only 21% said they have a good deal or a fair amount of confidence in local police on all three questions; today, 23% consistently express similar levels of trust, a statistically insignificant 2 percentage point increase. Among whites, overall confidence increased by 11 percentage points to 58%.

Trust and Mistrust in Police

Regardless of race, the young have less confidence in local police

	Blacks	Whites
Percent with “high confidence”	%	%
Total	23	58
Gender		
Male	24	57
Female	21	59
Age		
18-29	16	46
30-49	22	60
50-64	28	61
65+	26	60
Education		
College graduate	26	65
Some college	21	62
High school or less	22	52
Income		
\$100,000+	34	72
\$50K-\$99K	23	64
\$30K-\$49K	28	59
Less than \$30K	18	46

Note: High confidence indicates confidence in police on all three measure. Black figures are based on non-Hispanic blacks. White figures are based on non-Hispanic whites. Sample size of Hispanics was too small to analyze.

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Divided Views on the Death Penalty

About half the public (51%) believes the death penalty is applied fairly in this country, while slightly more than a third (36%) say it is unfairly administered.

Views on the application of capital punishment vary significantly by race, with a clear majority of whites (57%) saying the death penalty is fairly applied while a larger majority of blacks disagree (64%). As in many other areas covered

by this survey, the views of Hispanics on the death penalty fall somewhat closer to those of blacks than to those of whites; a 49% plurality of Latinos say the death

penalty is unfairly applied while 37% believe it is equitably administered.

Most Blacks See Death Penalty as Unfair; Whites, Hispanics Divided

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
Do you believe the death penalty is applied...	%	%	%	%
Fairly	51	57	24	37
Unfairly	36	31	64	49
DK/Ref	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100	100

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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But the survey suggests that race is not the only fault line dividing American views on the death penalty. Within racial and ethnic groups, attitudes also vary by gender and education. For example, white men are significantly more likely than white women to believe the death penalty is fairly applied (62% vs. 53%). At the same time, white women have significantly more confidence in the fairness of capital punishment than black women (21%), who in turn are less confident than black men (30%). Hispanic women are less likely than Hispanic men to believe capital punishment is fairly administered (30% vs. 45%).

The best educated Americans and those having the least formal education share the lowest level of confidence in the death penalty. Fewer than half of all college graduates (47%), and only 42% of those who did not finish high school have confidence that the death penalty is fair. Those in the middle education range—high school graduates and those who attended but did not graduate from college—express the greatest confidence in the death penalty (54% and 56% respectively).

This relationship between education and attitudes toward the death penalty holds true among whites as a group and is partially reflected in the views of blacks. Black college graduates are the least likely to have confidence in the death penalty but no significant differences emerge between blacks who had some college, graduated from high school or are not high school graduates. Among Hispanics, too few are included in the survey to permit analysis of this question by education levels.

Attitudes toward Police Correlated with Views on Death Penalty

Confidence in the police is related to attitudes toward the equity of the death penalty. Nearly six-in-ten (57%) of those who express a great deal or fair amount of confidence in local police to deal with blacks and whites the same way also say the death penalty is fairly applied. But among those with just some or very little confidence in local police to enforce the law equitably, a 56% majority says capital punishment is unfairly applied.

This relationship between confidence in police and views of the death penalty is clearly evident among white respondents but less pronounced among blacks and is virtually nonexistent among Hispanics. Whites who express confidence in police to treat all races the same are much more likely than those who do not share that confidence to believe the death penalty is fair (62% vs. 44%). But among blacks, the difference is far smaller: 30% of blacks who have confidence in police also say the death penalty is fair, while 21% with only some or a little confidence in police see capital punishment as fairly applied. The gap narrows even further among Hispanics: 39% with confidence and 35% who are less confident that police treat blacks and whites the same also say capital punishment is equitably applied.

Less Confidence in Local Police, Less Confidence in the Death Penalty

Confidence in local police to treat blacks and whites the same...

	A Great Deal/ Fair Amount	Just Some/ Very Little
Death penalty applied...	%	%
Fairly	57	36
Unfairly	30	56
DK/Ref	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100

Note: Based on all adults.

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V. Race and Popular Culture

African-American Image on Television and Movies

Although African-Americans appear more frequently on television and in movies now than in the past, many people – especially blacks – see these portrayals as harmful to the image of the black community.

When asked to compare the way blacks are portrayed in television and movies today with 10 years ago, slight majorities of whites (57%) and Hispanics (54%), and a plurality of blacks (43%), say that the portrayal of blacks is better today. About one-in-five blacks (22%) say it has gotten worse; compared with 11% of whites and 12% of Hispanics.

At the same time, the survey finds that blacks are more likely than whites or Hispanics to say that the representation of blacks in television and movies has a negative impact on society's view of African-Americans. More than four-in-ten blacks say the way blacks are portrayed hurts their image among the public, another third say it helps, while roughly two-in-ten say it has no effect at all. Among whites and Hispanics, opinions are more evenly mixed.

While blacks are more likely than both whites and Hispanics to hold negative views about the portrayal of blacks in the entertainment media, there is significant disagreement among different sub-groups within the African American community. For example, a considerable age gap is seen, with blacks under the age of 50 significantly more likely than older blacks to say black images on TV and movies are worse today than they were 10 years ago. Among younger blacks (ages 18-29), 30% say that depictions of blacks on TV and in movies are now worse than they were a decade ago. This view is shared by 25% of blacks ages 30 to 49, 17% of blacks ages 50-64, and just 9% of blacks ages 65 and older.

Blacks with higher educational levels also tend to see the portrayal of blacks in the entertainment media in a more negative light than do those with less education. Slightly more than three-in-ten college graduates say that the way blacks are portrayed on film and TV is worse now than a decade ago. This compares with 23% of blacks with some college education, and 19% of blacks with a high school education or less.

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Compared with 10 years ago is...				
Better	54	57	43	54
Worse	13	11	22	12
About the same	28	27	33	29
DK/Ref	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
Effect on society's image of blacks...				
Helps	25	25	31	31
Hurts	32	30	42	29
No effect	32	34	19	27
DK/Ref	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	3086	1536	1007	388
Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.				
PewResearchCenter				

An age-based pattern is even more pronounced among blacks who share the belief that society's image of African-Americans is hurt by the way they are portrayed on film and television, with the young again more likely than older respondents to take a negative view. More than half (54%) of younger black adults (ages 18 to 29) say blacks are hurt in the eyes of society, compared with 50% among those ages 30 to 49, 32% among those ages 50 to 64, and 18% of blacks ages 65 and above.

While no significant gender or income differences emerge, college-educated blacks are much more likely to say that the black image is hurt by TV and movie portrayals than are their less educated counterparts. A majority (55%) of black college graduates take this view compared with 48% of those with some college, and 36% of those with a high school education or less.

Hip-Hop, Rap and Society

Hip hop music draws broadly negative reviews from all respondents to the survey.

Some 64% of whites, 61% of blacks and 59% of Hispanics say this type of music has a bad influence on society today.

Rap music -- a form of hip hop -- receives an even more disapproving rating among blacks and whites. Larger majorities of both groups offer a negative assessment of rap music, with more than seven-in-ten among blacks (71%) and whites (74%) agreeing that rap's societal impact is bad. Fewer Hispanics, however, hold this view (48%).

There are inter-group gender differences in opinion appear on these questions.

Among whites, men are much more likely than women to say hip hop and rap have a

bad influence on society. Among blacks, however, the gender relationship tilts in the opposite direction -- women are more likely than men to say these forms of music are having a bad influence.

Younger blacks and whites (ages 18-34) are far less likely than older respondents to see a negative societal impact of hip hop and rap music. No difference is seen in the percentage of young whites and young blacks saying this. Of all the race and gender groups in the survey, black men are most likely to give a *positive* rating to hip hop (18%) and rap music (11%). But still, this level of positive rating is quite modest.

Influence of Hip Hop and Rap on Society

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Hip Hop is having a...				
Good influence	8	6	13	10
Bad influence	62	64	61	59
Not much influence	17	17	18	23
DK/Ref	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	1541	767	498	198
Rap is having a...				
Good influence	5	4	6	14
Bad influence	71	74	71	48
Not much influence	16	14	16	21
DK/Ref	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	1545	769	509	190

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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Who Listens?

Majorities of all three groups say that they rarely or never listen to hip hop or rap music. However, blacks and Hispanics are about equally likely to listen, while whites are much less likely to be regular listeners of either music genre. Only 23% of whites say they often or sometimes listen to hip hop, compared with 45% of blacks and 40% of Hispanics. A similar pattern occurs with rap; just one-in-five (21%) whites report regularly listening to rap, while 38% of blacks and 37% of Hispanics do so.

Younger adults are more likely than older adults to be regular listeners of rap and hip hop. Among younger blacks (ages 18-34) nearly eight-in-ten (79%) listen “often or sometimes” to hip hop and 64% listen to rap. Many younger whites also say they “often or sometimes” listen to hip hop (56%) and rap (47%).

While there are no gender differences among hip hop listeners, black women are much less likely to listen to rap than are their male counterparts (31% versus 48% respectively).

Not surprisingly, people who say hip hop and rap have a bad influence on today’s society also say they rarely or never listen to these types of music. Yet, more than half of those who listen at least occasionally also say this music has a bad influence on society.

Regular listeners are more positive about the music’s influence on society. Among blacks who “rarely or never” listen to hip hop, 73% say it is bad, while fewer than half (46%) of those who “often or sometimes” listen share this view. A similar pattern is seen among whites.

When those calling hip hop a bad societal influence were asked in an open-ended question about the main reason why that is so, a majority of blacks (51%) and Hispanics (53%), and a plurality of whites (46%), cited bad or offensive language as the main reason. Other frequently cited causes of hip hop’s negative impact include negative stereotypes of women and the

Race, Gender, Rap and Hip Hop

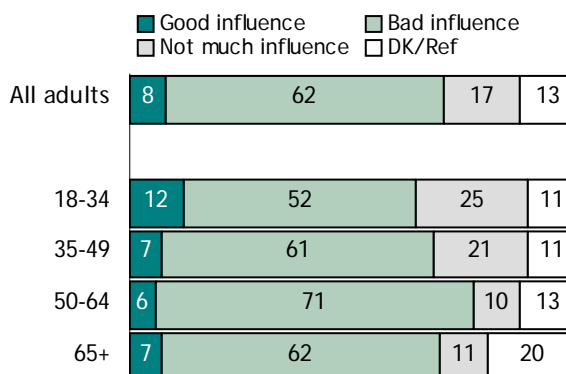
	All	Men	Women
% saying bad influence	%	%	%
Hip Hop			
Whites	64	68	59
Blacks	61	59	62
Rap			
Whites	74	79	70
Blacks	71	67	74

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

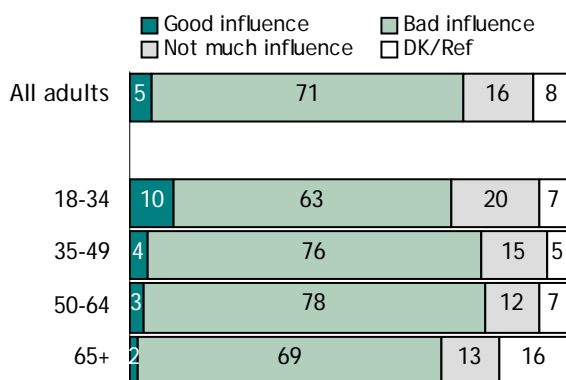
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Young and Old, Rap and Hip Hop

Hip Hop



Rap



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Don’t know responses not shown.

promotion of violence or gangs. Other specific concerns relate to the mark left on youth by hip hop lyrics, including overly sexual content, bad or immoral messages, and the glorification of an unrealistic lifestyle.

Blacks, whites and Hispanics agree that the negative effects of rap music on society stem mostly from the use of bad or offensive language, the negative depiction of women and the promotion of violence or gangs. Among those who say rap is having a bad influence, majorities of whites (51%) and blacks (50%) cite bad or offensive language as the main reason, while just 40% of Hispanics say this.

Main Reasons Hip Hop and Rap Music have a Bad Influence on Society

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Hip Hop is having a bad influence...				
Bad/offensive language	47	46	51	53
Promotes violence	24	24	22	22
Negative stereotypes of women	20	18	28	25
Too much sex	8	6	9	13
Other	39	41	39	28
Don't know	4	4	2	10
Number of respondents	972	508	318	102
Rap is having a bad influence...				
Bad/offensive language	49	51	50	40
Promotes violence	30	31	21	30
Negative stereotypes of women	23	21	29	27
Too much sex	9	9	8	14
Other	38	38	34	32
Don't know	3	3	1	5
Number of respondents	1081	565	359	97

Note: Based on those who said hip hop or rap music have a bad influence on society. Responses total to more than 100% because respondents could offer more than one answer to this open-ended question. Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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Rating Black Newsmakers

The culturally conservative views reflected in black attitudes about rap and hip hop are also evident in the ratings that blacks give to 14 prominent African American newsmakers.

Topping the list of those rated as positive influences is TV talk show host Oprah Winfrey, who wins the approval of nearly nine-in-ten (87%) black respondents; a trivial 2% describe her as a bad influence on the African American community.

In a virtual tie with Winfrey is comedian, actor and author Bill Cosby, who has drawn widespread attention in recent years for his tough message on the need for blacks to work to eliminate crime and social disorder in their community. Like Winfrey, Cosby enjoys universal recognition; few respondents say they have never heard of either and a tiny 3% declined to rate them.

Next in the rankings comes televangelist Bishop T.D. Jakes, whose 76% positive influence rating places him in a tie with Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama. Like Winfrey and Cosby, Jakes and Obama are deemed a bad influence by almost no blacks (2%), and their somewhat lower positive scores are essentially accounted for by the higher numbers of people saying they could not or would not rate them.

Former Secretary of State Colin Powell ranks next on the list with a 70% “good influence” rating. Powell’s overall standing is restrained less by a lack of

recognition among the black community than by the judgment that his influence is limited (17% of African Americans say Powell has not much influence on their community).

How Blacks Rate African American Newsmakers

	Good influence	Bad influence	Not much influence	Never Heard of /DK
	%	%	%	%
Oprah Winfrey	87	2	8	3=100
Bill Cosby	85	1	11	3=100
Bishop T.D. Jakes	76	2	7	15=100
Barack Obama	76	2	9	13=100
Colin Powell	70	3	17	10=100
Tyra Banks	68	2	21	9=100
Jesse Jackson	68	5	21	6=100
Tiger Woods	67	4	24	5=100
Russell Simmons	67	3	15	15=100
Al Sharpton	65	6	19	10=100
Condoleeza Rice	50	10	27	13=100
Kanye West	49	8	23	20=100
Clarence Thomas	31	18	27	24=100
50 Cent	17	42	26	15=100

Note: All figures are based on non-Hispanic blacks.

Question wording: Here are some African Americans who have been in the news. Please tell me if each has a good influence, a bad influence, or not much influence at all on the African American community.

Several of the notables tested—from supermodel/TV hostess Tyra Banks and golf champion Tiger Woods to political activist Al Sharpton—are essentially tied in the influence ratings with about two-in-three African Americans deeming their influence good. Banks and Woods record 68% and 67% positive influence scores. Among those able to rate them, Woods is more popular among those ages 40 and over than among younger blacks (72% of the former compared with 63% of the latter group), while Banks is more popular among the younger group (74% rate her influence favorable compared with 64% of those ages 40 and over).

Pioneering hip-hop producer and fashion industry executive Russell Simmons, known for his philanthropic causes in recent years, also receives the applause of 67% of black respondents. As with Powell, the standings of Banks, Woods and Simmons are reduced primarily by judgments of limited rather than negative influence (and, in the case of Simmons, somewhat lower recognition among older members of the black community).

The same is true of political leaders Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton. Among those who can rate these newsmakers, Jackson's positive score is 68% compared with Sharpton's 65% percent.

Farther down the list, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice wins a positive influence rating by half (50%) of African Americans, placing her in a statistical tie with rapper/record producer Kanye West (49%). Only 10% of blacks call Rice's influence bad, but 27% say that she does not have much influence on the African American community.

Rice's standing is, however, considerably more positive than that of her fellow Republican appointee, Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. Only 31% among African Americans rate Thomas's influence as good. Nearly as many (27%) say that the justice has little or no influence, while 18% describe his influence as bad. Nearly a quarter of African Americans (24%), however, say they have never heard of Thomas or decline to rate him, including 29% of those under age 40. While no significant differences in views of Rice emerge across demographic groups, in the case of Thomas, lower income blacks are substantially more likely to call his influence good (36%) than are blacks with family incomes of \$50,000 or more (24%).

Lowest on the list is gangsta rapper 50 Cent, who earns the distinction of being the only newsmaker tested who is identified by a plurality of blacks (42%) as a "bad influence." Unlike his fellow rapper Kanye West, whose more mainstream rap style broadens his appeal, 50 Cent (né Curtis James Jackson III) is rated a good influence by only 17% among the African American community. While those with a high school education or less, or with less than \$50,000 in family income, are somewhat more likely to view his influence positively, only 22% and 19% among these groups do so respectively. And, even excluding those who are unable to rate them, while younger African Americans (under age 40) are more likely to give a thumbs up to West, as well as to rap producer Simmons, they are also significantly *more* likely to deem 50 Cent a *bad* influence on the black community than are older blacks (48% vs. 37%).

VI. Race Relations

Whites and Blacks Have Favorable Views of Each Other

Roughly eight-in-ten whites say they have a favorable impression of blacks, and a nearly identical percentage of blacks say they have a favorable impression of whites. In the past two decades, there has been virtually no change in these group assessments.

The share of whites who say they have a very or mostly favorable impression of blacks is 82% now, just as it was in 1990. The share of blacks who say they have a very or mostly favorable impression of whites as a group is 80% now, nearly the same as the 78% who said this in 1990.

There has, however, been some change in the intensity of these favorable impressions, at least among whites. Significantly more whites now (25%) than in 1990 (17%) say they have a *very favorable* view of blacks. By contrast, the percentage of blacks with a *very favorable* view of whites has remained essentially unchanged during this period; it is 27% now, compared with 26% in 1990.

There are very few demographic or political variances in these group judgments. One modest exception to this pattern comes with socio-economic status. Adults with a college education and/or higher incomes are slightly more inclined to express favorable views toward people of a different race than their own than are adults who have not completed high school and have lower incomes.

Another exception has to do with blacks who live in rural areas. They are more likely to have a favorable view of whites than are blacks who live in cities or suburbs. By contrast, there's no significant difference in attitudes towards blacks among whites who live in rural areas versus whites who live in suburbs or cities.

Group favorability ratings of blacks and whites towards one another vary very little by region. About eight-in-ten blacks in the South, East, Midwest and West express favorable views of whites. This same pattern of regional consistency also holds for whites' views of blacks.

Favorability of Blacks and Whites

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Opinion of Blacks				
Very favorable	28	25	39	37
Mostly favorable	54	57	45	42
Mostly unfavorable	6	6	6	5
Very unfavorable	2	2	4	5
DK/never heard of	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100
Opinion of Whites				
Very favorable	32	33	27	39
Mostly favorable	57	59	53	45
Mostly unfavorable	3	1	7	5
Very unfavorable	1	*	5	5
DK/never heard of	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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Own Group Ratings of Whites, Blacks

While both blacks and whites rate the other racial group favorably, they each give somewhat more favorable ratings to their own racial group. Fully 92% of whites say they have a very (33%) or mostly (59%) favorable view of whites, while 84% of blacks say they have a very (39%) or mostly (45%) favorable view of blacks.

There is a sharp difference, however, in the share of each racial group that rates its own group *unfavorably*. While just 1% of whites say they have an unfavorable view of whites, fully 10% of blacks say they have an unfavorable view of blacks – including 4% who say they have a *very unfavorable* view. Blacks who rate their own race unfavorably are more likely to be Republicans than Democrats, to be younger rather than older adults, and to live in the suburbs rather than the cities or rural areas.

Views of Hispanics and Asians

The group favorability ratings of Hispanics and Asians are on nearly the same level as those of whites and blacks.

Overall, just under eight-in-ten adults in this country say they have a favorable impression of Hispanics (77%) and Asians (79%). There is little difference between whites and blacks in their assessments of these two groups. Hispanics are much more likely than whites or blacks to have a *very favorable* view of Hispanics. The Pew survey did not have enough Asians respondents to analyze their ratings of any of these groups.

There has not been much change over time in blacks' and whites' views of Hispanics and Asians, with one exception: blacks' views of Asians are 11 percentage points higher now (73% favorable) than they were in 1997 (62% favorable).

Favorability of Hispanics and Asians

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Opinion of Hispanics				
Very favorable	25	21	25	51
Mostly favorable	52	56	51	32
Mostly unfavorable	9	10	7	5
Very unfavorable	3	3	5	4
DK/never heard of	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100
Opinion of Asians				
Very favorable	28	26	24	36
Mostly favorable	51	54	49	38
Mostly unfavorable	4	4	6	4
Very unfavorable	3	2	5	2
DK/never heard of	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>20</u>
	100	100	100	100

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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Rodney King's Question, Fifteen Years Later

No discussion of race relations in contemporary America can avoid the question that Rodney King famously posed during race riots in 1992 triggered by his arrest and beating by Los Angeles police: "People...can we all just get along?"

The Pew survey asked respondents how well they thought whites and blacks get along these days. The verdict from the general population is decidedly mixed, with just one-in-five (18%) saying "very well"; a majority (57%) saying "pretty well"; and the remainder saying either "not too well" (18%) or "not at all well" (2%).

Public attitudes break down in a very similar fashion when people are asked about the state of relations between whites and Hispanics. The public is significantly less positive, however, in rating how well blacks and Hispanics get along. Just one-in-ten (11%) Americans say these two groups get along "very" well; another third (33%) say "pretty well"; 23% say not too well and 8% say not at all well. Also, a quarter say either that they don't know or declined to respond (compared with just 5% who volunteered these non-responses when asked about relations between blacks and whites).

There are differences in the way whites, blacks and Hispanics assess these various inter-group relationships. For example, in assessing white-black relations, fully six-in-ten whites (61%) say the two races get along "pretty well," compared with just half (49%) of blacks and slightly more than a third of Hispanics (36%) who say the same thing.

Inter-Group Relations				
	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Blacks/Whites get along...				
Very well	18	16	20	25
Pretty well	57	61	49	36
Not too well	18	16	20	25
Not at all well	2	2	4	7
DK/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100
Blacks/Hispanics get along...				
Very well	11	8	24	22
Pretty well	33	31	46	35
Not too well	23	24	14	19
Not at all well	8	8	4	11
DK/Refused	<u>25</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100
Whites/Hispanics get along...				
Very well	15	13	16	27
Pretty well	53	57	37	44
Not too well	19	18	22	22
Not at all well	3	3	5	2
DK/Refused	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	3086	1536	1007	388
Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.				
PewResearchCenter				

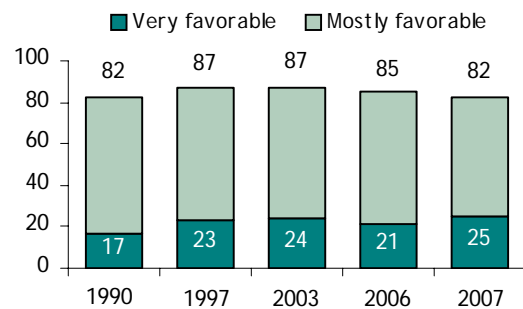
At the same time, however, greater percentages of both blacks and Hispanics than whites choose *both* the “very well” and the “not too well” responses to this question. In short, attitudes about the state of race relations are more widely varied among Hispanics and blacks than they are among whites, whose responses tend to cluster more in the middle ground of “pretty well.”

Among blacks, there is a clear age skew in these judgments, with younger blacks the most down-beat about black-white relations. Fully 30% of 18-to-29 year old blacks say that blacks and whites get along “not too well”; compared with just 20% of all black adults and just 13% of blacks ages 65 and older.

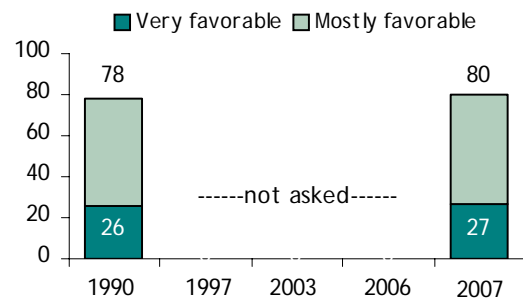
These trends have been generally stable for the last two decades, although since 1990 there has been an increase in the number of whites who say they have a “very favorable” view of both blacks and Hispanics.

Group Favorability

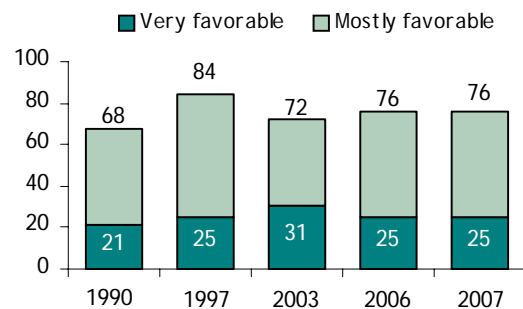
Trends: White Opinion of Blacks



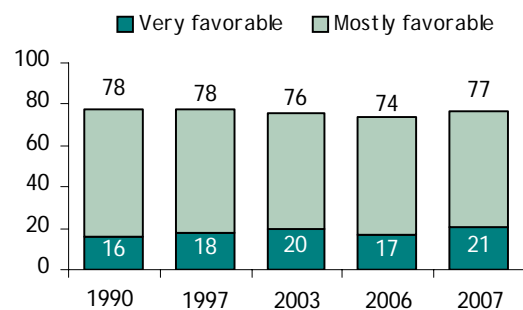
Trends: Black Opinion of Whites



Trends: Black Opinion of Hispanics



Trends: White Opinion of Hispanics



Notes: Percent of saying overall opinion of other racial group is very/mostly favorable. Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

Views on Neighborhood Integration

Support for racial integration in neighborhoods varies by race. Four-in-ten whites say they would like to see more whites and minorities living together in the same neighborhood, while fewer than one-in-ten (8%) say they would like to see less residential integration than there is now. A plurality of 44% says that current levels of neighborhood integration are about right.

There is much more support among blacks than whites for further residential integration. More than six-in-ten blacks (62%) say they would like to see neighborhoods in this country become more integrated. Just 6% say they would like to see them become less integrated; the remaining 28% say current levels of residential integration are about right.

Hispanic views on this question fall midway between those of whites and blacks. Half favor more residential integration, 5% favor less, and 37% say that current levels are about right.

The current level of support among blacks for more residential integration (62%) is nearly identical to what it had been in 1994 (63%), as measured by a CNN/USA Today/Gallup survey taken that year. By contrast, white support for more residential integration has risen in the past 13 years – to 40% today, up from 33% in 1994.

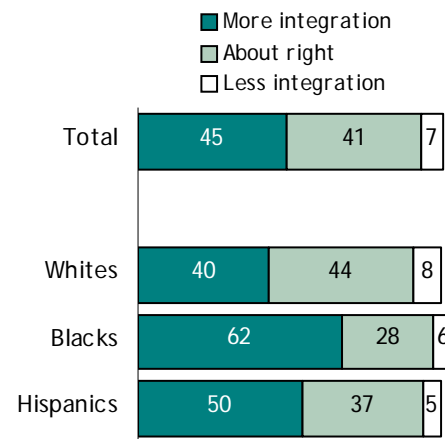
Views on School Integration

Americans are almost unanimous in their belief that whites students and black students should go to the same schools rather than separate schools. Fully 96% of whites, 95% of blacks, and 94% of Hispanics endorse racial integration in the schools.

Blacks have held this view, by the same lopsided margin, for many decades. By contrast, back in the 1970s, a small but significant minority of whites – ranging between 13% and 15% -- expressed a preference for segregated schools.

Neighborhood Integration

Would like to see...

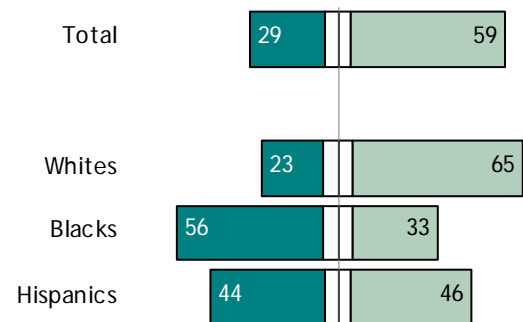


Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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School Integration

Legend:
 ■ More important to go to racially mixed schools
 □ Neither/Both/Don't know
 ■ More important to go to local community schools



Question wording: Which is more important? To have students go to racially mixed schools even if many of the students don't live nearby, or to have students go to local community schools even if it means most students are of the same race?

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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Despite the endorsement of the principle of school integration by virtually all Americans, there are notable differences between the races when survey respondents are asked to weigh the value of racially mixed schools against the value of local community schools.

By a margin of nearly three-to-one, whites say it is more important to have students go to local community schools even if it means most students are of the same race.

By contrast, blacks say – by a margin of more than three-to-two – that it is more important to have students go to racially mixed schools even if many of the students don’t live nearby.

Hispanic views on this question fall roughly in between those of blacks and whites. Some 46% say it’s more important to have students go to local community schools, while nearly as many – 44% – say it is more important to have students go to racially mixed schools.

Within the African-American community, younger blacks are more inclined than older blacks to support racially-mixed schools over neighborhood schools.

Some of My Best Friends Are...

The vast majority of Americans say they know a person of a different race whom they consider a friend. Nearly nine-in-ten (87%) whites and three-quarters of white Hispanics (72%) say they have a friend who is black. And some 82% of blacks say they have a friend who is white.

However, a plurality of whites (45%), blacks (35%), and Hispanics (39%) say they have “just a few” friends of a different race. Roughly a third of blacks and whites, and a quarter of Hispanics say “some” of their friends are of a different race. Only a small minority of these three groups say that most or all of their friends are of a different race.

Among blacks, the least likely groups to say they have a white friend are those ages 65 and older, those who have not finished high school, and those who have low incomes.

Even so, sizable majorities of all these sub-groups within the black community say they know a white person whom they consider a friend.

Inter-Racial Friendships

	All adults	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics*
	%	%	%	%
Yes, have friends of different race	86	87	82	72
<i>All of them</i>	2	1	2	3
<i>Most of them</i>	6	4	10	7
<i>Some of them</i>	34	36	33	22
<i>Just a few</i>	42	45	35	39
<i>Don't know</i>	2	1	2	1
Do not have friends of different race	14	12	17	28
Don't know	*	1	1	0
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	3086	1536	1007	388

Question wording: Do you yourself know any white/black person whom you would consider a friend? How many of your friends are white/black?

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. *Based on white Hispanics regarding black friends.

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Mixed Views on Immigrant Impact on Black Employment

A question often raised in debates about immigration policy is the extent to which immigrants take jobs from native-born Americans in general, and from blacks in particular. Economists are divided on this question – and so, too, the Pew survey finds, is the public.

Some 44% of adults agree with the statement that “blacks Americans would have more job opportunities if there were fewer immigrants,” while nearly the same number – 46% - disagree.

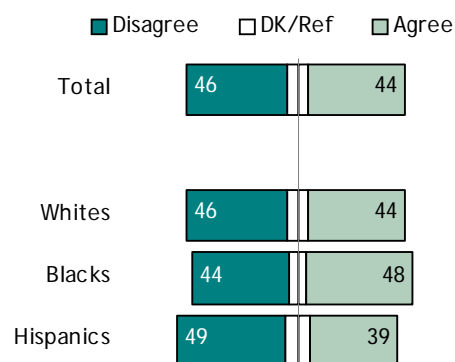
There is almost no difference between whites and blacks on this question; 44% of whites agree with the statement; 48% of blacks agree with it. But a somewhat smaller percentage of Hispanics – 39% -- agree with the statement.

While whites and blacks have nearly identical views on this question now, that wasn't the case two decades ago. A Gallup/Joint Center for Political Studies survey taken in 1986 found that three quarters (74%) of black respondents agreed that blacks would have more job opportunities if there were fewer immigrants. That figure has since fallen sharply -- to 48% now. By contrast, white attitudes on this question have not changed nearly as much. Some 53% of whites agreed with the statement then, compared with 44% who agree with it now. (There are no surveys that allow for a trend-over-time analysis of Hispanic attitudes).

Blacks with lower incomes and educational attainment levels are more likely than blacks with higher incomes and educational levels to agree that blacks would have more job opportunities if there were fewer immigrants. Also, unemployed blacks

Mixed Views on Immigrant Impact on Black Employment

Do you agree or disagree that black Americans would have more job opportunities if there were fewer immigrants?

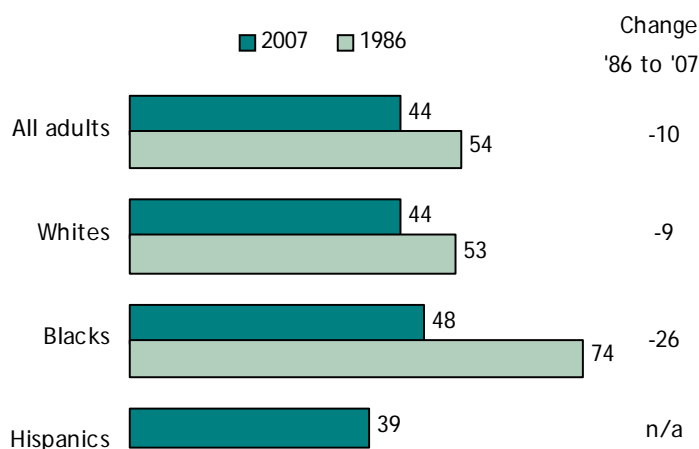


Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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Fewer People Today See Negative Immigrant Impact on Black Employment

Percent saying they agree that black Americans would have more job opportunities if there were fewer immigrants



Note: In 2007, whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. In 1986, whites include Hispanic whites and blacks include Hispanic blacks. In the 1986 survey there was no separate category for Hispanics.

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are more likely than those with jobs to agree with that statement.

There are few differences among blacks on this question by age, gender, ideology or party identification.

Who Works Harder - Immigrants versus Whites and Blacks

Do immigrants work harder at low-wage jobs? The Pew survey framed this question in two parts. It asked whether most immigrants work harder at low-wage jobs than most blacks. And it asked if they work harder at those same jobs than most whites. (The order of these two questions varied randomly from respondent to respondent.)

In both cases, a majority of respondents said immigrants do work harder. Public opinion is especially lopsided when it comes to weighing the work effort of immigrants versus whites -- some 64% of adults in this country agree that immigrants work harder than whites at low-paying jobs, compared with just 26% who disagree. The remainder say they don't know.

The public also agrees that immigrants work harder than most blacks at low-paying jobs, but the margin is not as wide. Some 56% of adults agree that most immigrants work harder than most blacks; 30% disagree and 14% say they don't know.

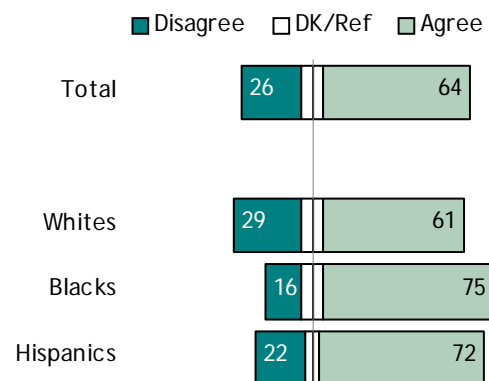
Analyzing the responses to both sets of questions by the race of the respondent yields some interesting patterns. Blacks are *more likely* than whites to say that their fellow blacks are out-worked by immigrants at low-wage jobs. Some 64% of blacks hold this view, compared with just 55% of whites.

However, an even higher percentage of blacks -- 75% -- say that whites are out-worked by immigrants at low-wage jobs. Just 61% of whites say the same thing.

One pattern is consistent across the races: both whites and blacks are more likely to say that whites are out-worked at low-wage jobs by immigrants than to say that blacks are out-worked at such jobs by immigrants.

Public opinion on these questions hasn't changed much since 1986, despite the fact that this country has

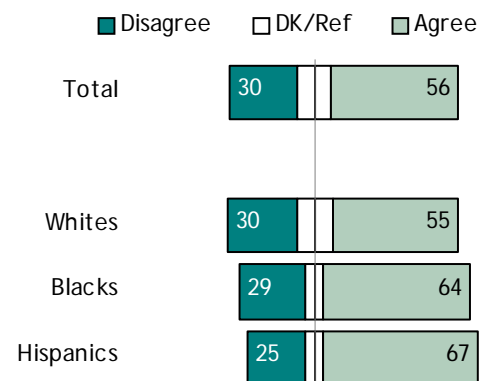
Do Most Immigrants Work Harder Than Whites at Low-Wage Jobs?



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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Do Most Immigrants Work Harder than Blacks at Low-Wage Jobs?



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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experienced a heavy influx of immigrants, many of whom have come to work at low-wage jobs, in the past two decades.

Black views are virtually identical now to what they were in 1986, while whites have backed off a bit since 1986 from their view that immigrants work harder. Back then, 63% of whites said immigrants work harder than blacks at low wage jobs; today just 55% of whites say this. Similarly, in 1986, 65% of whites said immigrants work harder than whites at low-wage jobs; today, some 61% of whites say this.

Hispanics, meanwhile, believe by heavy margins that immigrants work harder than both whites and blacks at low-wage jobs. By 67%-25% they say immigrants work harder than most blacks, and by 72%-22% they say immigrants work harder than most whites.

Trend-over-time analyses of Hispanics views on these questions are not possible because earlier surveys did not include large enough sub-samples of Hispanics.

There is a small but consistent gender gap on these questions. Men are slightly more inclined than women to agree that immigrants work harder than both blacks and whites at low-paying jobs. This gender gap holds both among both black and white respondents.

There is a bigger gap in views by immigrant status – at least when it comes to weighing the work effort of immigrants versus that of blacks. More than seven-in-ten (71%) first generation immigrants say immigrants work harder at low-wage jobs than do blacks, compared with just 55% of second and later generation immigrants who agree.

When it comes to weighing immigrant work effort versus white work effort, seven-in-ten (71%) first and second generation immigrants say that immigrants work harder at low-wage jobs. This figure falls slightly to 65% among third and later-generation Americans.

VII. Leadership and Politics in the Black Community

Over the last two decades African Americans appear to have lost some confidence in the effectiveness of their leaders.

Compared with ratings recorded in a 1986 Joint Center for Political Studies/ Gallup poll,² the current poll finds fewer blacks rate as “very effective” the leadership provided by national black political leaders, the NAACP or black ministers and clergy. And while majorities of both blacks and whites see the civil rights movement as still being a potent force in the country, those majorities are smaller than in 1993.

Religious leaders currently earn the highest effectiveness ratings: 36% of black respondents rate them “very effective” while 42% say “somewhat effective,” levels not markedly lower than those recorded in 1986. As in 1986, black politicians earn the lowest ratings, with only 18% of blacks rating them as very effective, down from 27% in the 1986 poll.

The NAACP’s rating are now similar to those awarded the clergy although the decline in their perceived effectiveness is much steeper: In 1986 nearly half of blacks (47%) described the group as very effective.

There are a few substantial differences in these assessments among demographic groups in the black community. Less educated and/or lower income blacks tend to give all three groups slightly higher marks for effectiveness. But, strikingly, little or no difference in these judgments is seen between those old enough to remember a time when black political leaders and the NAACP were in the forefronts of the civil rights struggles of the 1960s and ‘70s and later generations.

Blacks ages 50 and over are more likely to rate current black political leaders *very* effective than are younger cohorts, though only 23% of the former do so. However, a higher proportion of blacks in the young and middle age ranges (61% among ages 18-49 compared with 51% of those age 50 and above) give black leaders credit for being *somewhat* effective. No significant age-related differences are seen in assessments of either the NAACP or religious leaders, although black evangelical Protestants are significantly more likely to give black ministers and clergy high marks, with 84% saying they are very (42%) or somewhat effective (42%).

Declining Ratings of Black Leaders’ Effectiveness

	---Blacks---	
	1986	2007
	%	%
How effective in providing leadership for black Americans are:		
National black political leaders?		
Very effective	27	18
Somewhat effective	54	57
Not very effective	14	21
DK/Ref	5	4
	100	100
The NAACP?		
Very effective	47	32
Somewhat effective	38	41
Not very effective	9	20
DK/Ref	6	7
	100	100
Black ministers and clergy?		
Very effective	40	36
Somewhat effective	43	42
Not very effective	13	18
DK/Ref	4	4
	100	100

Note: All figures are based on non-Hispanic blacks.

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² The Gallup/JCPS trend was part of a longer list of items and the order in which the questions were asked was slightly different than in the current survey.

By contrast, the civil rights movement is still seen by most Americans as having a major impact on society, although whites see it as less so now than they did in the early 1990s. Among African Americans, 60% see the movement as still having a major impact on American society, three percentage points higher than the number saying so in 1993. Among whites, 53% now say that the movement still has a major impact, down from 66% who said so 14 years ago.

Civil Rights Movement Still Important, but Less So				
	---Whites---		---Blacks---	
	1993	2007	1993	2007
	%	%	%	%
Is the civil rights movement still having a major impact on American society, or not?				
Yes	66	53	57	60
No	30	38	40	35
Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100

Note: The 1993 figures for whites include Hispanic whites and blacks include Hispanic blacks. In 2007 the figures are based on non-Hispanic whites and non-Hispanic blacks.

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In this case, however, significant differences among age groups are observed, with higher proportions of younger African Americans saying that the civil rights movement has maintained its impact. Among black adults, fully 64% of those under age 50 (and 67% of those under age 30) see the civil rights movement as still having a major impact on American society. This compares with 52% of those ages 50 and older.

Judging Barack Obama

Democratic presidential contender Barack Obama earns generally favorable ratings from virtually every demographic group in the survey. However, Obama is far from universally known: about one in four among the public has never heard of him, don't know enough about him or refuse to express an opinion.

The Illinois senator is best known among the African American public, with three-quarters (75%) of blacks registering a very favorable or mostly favorable opinion. Moreover, among those in this group who say they know enough about the candidate to rate him, nearly nine-in-ten (89%) say they regard him favorably, although only 42% express a very favorable opinion. Obama also fares well among non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics who are familiar with him,³ with 65% of the former and 74% of the latter saying they regard him in at least a mostly favorable light.

Overall, among those offering opinions, Obama receives his highest ratings among people with higher incomes and education – 75% of college graduates view him favorably as do 74% of those with annual family incomes of \$100,000 or more.

Obama also receives strong support within his party (69% favorable overall, including 85% among those offering a judgment), as well as among both liberals and moderates able to rate him (85% and 77% favorable, respectively).

Other strong fans - among those who can rate Obama - include younger adults (under age

Rating Obama

<i>Opinion of Obama is..</i>	<i>--Able to rate--</i>		DK/Never Heard of
	Favorable	Unfavorable	
All	70	30=100	26
Race			
White, non-Hispanic	65	35=100	25
Black, non-Hispanic	89	11=100	16
Hispanic	74	26=100	38
Sex			
Male	65	35=100	25
Female	74	26=100	28
Age			
18-29	75	25=100	37
30-49	68	32=100	23
50-64	69	31=100	23
65+	66	34=100	24
Income			
\$100,000+	74	26=100	15
\$50K-\$99K	72	28=100	18
\$30K-\$49K	68	32=100	25
Less than \$30,000	66	34=100	32
Education			
College graduate	75	25=100	16
Some college	73	27=100	23
High school or less	64	36=100	34
Party Identification			
Republican	48	52=100	22
Democratic	85	15=100	20
Independent	69	31=100	30
Ideology			
Conservative	54	46=100	23
Moderate	77	23=100	24
Liberal	85	15=100	22
Region			
East	73	27=100	24
Midwest	73	27=100	23
South	63	37=100	27
West	73	27=100	29

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³ The percentage of those saying they have never heard of Obama or are unable to rate him is relatively high, especially among Hispanics. Among non-Hispanic whites, 25% were unable to rate him; among non-Hispanic blacks, 16% and among Hispanics 38%.

30), Catholics and seculars/religiously unaffiliated, women -- especially women with jobs outside the home -- and those living in urban and suburban areas and outside the South. In each of these groups seven-in-ten or more among those who are familiar with him express a favorable opinion. Only among Republicans do more than half (52%) of those offering a rating of Obama weigh in on the negative side. Even self-described conservatives give the Illinois senator a net positive rating (54%-46%).

Is Obama in Tune with the Black Community?

Among the general public, Obama is seen as sharing the values and interests of black people in this country, although only 29% say that he shares those values and interests “a lot.” Blacks themselves are the most likely to see a commonality but only half (50%) of those offering a judgment see a strong sharing of values and interests.

Most Blacks Say Obama Shares Values and Interests				
--Familiar with Obama--				
	A Lot	Some	Not Much/ Not at all	DK/Ref
<i>Does Obama share values and interests of black people in this country?</i>				
Blacks	50	39	11=100	16
Sex				
Male	48	40	12=100	15
Female	51	38	11=100	18
Age				
18-39	41	46	13=100	12
40+	56	34	10=100	19
Education				
Some college or more	59	36	5=100	10
High school or less	41	42	17=100	22
Income				
\$50K+	62	32	6=100	9
Less than \$50K	45	42	13=100	16
Region				
South	46	41	13=100	17
Non-South	55	36	9=100	16

Note: All figures are based on non-Hispanic blacks.

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Among blacks with at least some college education, 59% see Obama as sharing the black community’s values and interests a lot, compared with 41% of those with a high-school education or less. Similarly, 62% of those with family incomes of \$50,000 or more see a high degree of complementary values and interests compared with 45% of those with lower family incomes.

Prospects for an Obama Presidential Win

Would the fact of Obama's being an African American help or hurt him in the presidential election, should he be chosen as the Democratic Party's standard bearer? Blacks themselves are the most pessimistic in this regard, with nearly four-in-ten (39%) predicting that Obama's racial background would harm his prospects for victory in the 2008 general election.

As a group, Democrats (33%), too, are significantly more likely to see a harmful effect than are Republicans (22%) or independents (27%). And secular or religiously unaffiliated adults are significantly more concerned (34% see a harmful effect) than are those who have a religious affiliation. Overall 26% of the public believes that Obama's racial identity would hurt him in the race.

Still, a 44%-plurality of Americans contends that it would not matter to voters one way or the other. On the other hand, few (18%) see Obama's African-American heritage as *helping* him win the presidency were he the Democratic nominee, although college-educated and younger voters are somewhat more likely to see his racial identity as a plus.

The question of whether Obama's relative newness in national politics

would hurt him among voters produces a significantly different response pattern than does the question of his race. Among the general public, considerably more (a 39% plurality) are ready to say that this factor is likely to hurt him with voters. And on this question, whites are significantly *more* likely than blacks or Hispanics to see a problem (44% vs. 27% and 24%).

Impact of Race on Obama's Chances of Winning

	Help Him	Hurt Him	Make No Difference	DK/Ref
<i>If Democratic nominee, will being African American...</i>				
All	18	26	44	12=100
Race				
White	17	26	47	10=100
Black	18	39	32	11=100
Hispanic	24	17	39	20=100
Age				
18-29	28	26	33	13=100
30-49	19	28	44	9=100
50-64	13	27	47	13=100
65+	12	22	52	14=100
Education				
College graduate	21	27	45	7=100
Some college	18	29	44	9=100
High school or less	16	24	44	16=100
Income				
\$100,000+	19	32	42	7=100
\$50K-\$99K	19	24	49	8=100
\$30K-\$49K	16	29	45	10=100
Less than \$30K	18	28	40	14=100
Party Identification				
Republican	21	22	48	9=100
Democratic	17	33	40	10=100
Independent	16	27	48	9=100
Ideology				
Conservative	18	23	48	11=100
Moderate	18	29	44	9=100
Liberal	20	30	41	9=100

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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By the same token, blacks are more likely than other racial/ethnic groups to see Obama's freshman status as a net positive (23% compared with 17% of the general public). So too are younger adults, especially those under age 30.

As a group, men are more likely than women to see Obama's national inexperience as a drawback, as are those with at least some college education compared with those with only high school education. Among political groups, Republicans are most likely to see Obama's newness on the national scene as a handicap.

Impact of Obama's Newness on the National Scene

	Help Him	Hurt Him	Make No Difference	DK/Ref
<i>Will being relatively new in national politics</i>	%	%	%	%
Total	17	39	32	12=100
Race				
White	15	44	31	10=100
Black	23	27	38	12=100
Hispanic	21	24	32	23=100
Sex				
Male	18	42	29	11=100
Female	15	37	35	13=100
Age				
18-29	22	33	31	14=100
30-49	19	40	31	10=100
50-64	14	43	31	12=100
65+	11	39	36	14=100
Education				
College graduate	18	46	30	6=100
Some college	16	43	33	8=100
High school or less	16	34	33	17=100
Party Identification				
Republican	14	46	30	10=100
Democratic	18	37	36	9=100
Independent	19	41	30	10=100

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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Black Party Identification

As they have for many decades, blacks by overwhelming margins identify with the Democratic rather than Republican Party. Some 62% of blacks describe themselves as Democrats and just 6% describe themselves as Republicans.

This lopsided Democratic margin has fallen by a few percentage points since the early 1990s, when an average of three years of surveys conducted in 1990, 1991 and 1992 found that, among blacks, the Democratic identification advantage over Republicans was 64%-5%.

While this slippage in the Democratic-over-Republican margin is quite small (minus 3 percentage points) among all blacks, it is a bit larger for some subgroups in the black community – including women, older blacks, those with less education and income, and evangelicals.

On the other hand, the Democratic margin has either been stable or increased slightly since the early 1990s among a few groups of blacks, including 18-29 year olds; those with higher incomes, and those who have attended college.

Partisan Trends Among Blacks

	Early 1990's*		2007#		Dem Adv.
	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem	
Blacks	5	64	6	62	-3
Gender					
Men	6	57	7	59	+1
Women	5	70	5	64	-6
Age					
18-29	8	47	7	52	+6
30-49	5	64	6	60	-5
50-64	4	80	4	68	-12
65+	3	84	7	77	-11
Education					
College graduate	7	60	5	59	+1
Some college	4	63	4	67	+4
High school grad	5	65	6	63	-3
Less than H.S.	6	67	10	55	-16
Religion					
Total Protestant**	5	69	6	64	-6
Evangelical	4	71	8	65	-10
Mainline	6	65	3	62	0
Income^					
Top 1/5 th (\$100K+ in 07)	12	54	6	50	+2
2/5 th (\$50K-\$99K in 07)	4	65	6	70	+3
3/5 th (\$30K-\$49K in 07)	6	68	5	64	-3
4/5 th (\$20K-\$29K in 07)	4	66	5	66	-1
Bottom 5 th (<\$20K in 07)	4	65	7	58	-10

Note: *Based on surveys conducted in 1990, 1991, and 1992. **No percent in subgroups are based on fewer than 123 cases. #Based on surveys conducted January-October 2007. ^The 1990 figures have been adjusted to account for inflation. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks.

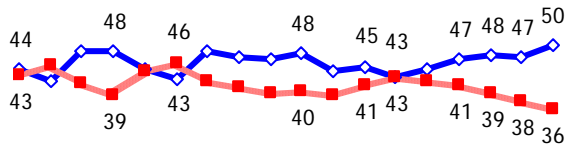
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When party leaners are combined with party self-identifiers, 78% of blacks are in the Democratic camp, compared with 50% of the full population. This measure of black Democratic affiliation has been very stable over the past two decades – as has the equivalent measure of black Republican affiliation. Today, some 11% of blacks call themselves Republican or say they lean to the GOP.

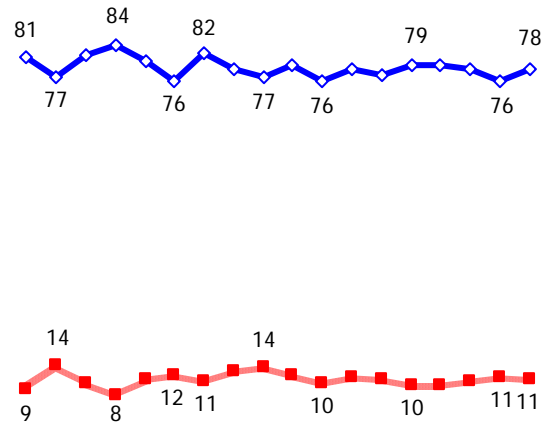
There has been much more change in party affiliation trends among the full population. Today the Democrats enjoy a 50%-36% edge over the GOP (with leaners included) among all adults. As recently as 2003, the two parties were at parity – 43%-43%.

Party Identification Trends

General Public



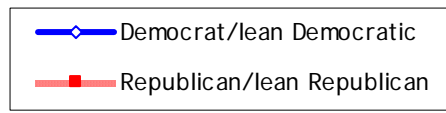
Blacks



90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07

90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07

Datapoints represent annual totals based on all Pew surveys of the general public conducted in that calendar year. 2007 results based on surveys conducted through October 2007. Blacks are non-Hispanic.



SURVEY METHODOLOGY

This survey obtained telephone interviews with a nationally representative sample of 3,086 adults living in continental United States telephone households. The survey was conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International (PSRAI). Interviews were done in English and Spanish by Princeton Data Source, LLC from September 5 to October 6, 2007. Statistical results are weighted to correct known demographic discrepancies.

Two separate samples were used to collect data. The majority of the interviews (n=2,522) came from dialing disproportionately-stratified random digit dialing (RDD) sample. This design uses RDD methods, in which telephone numbers are drawn disproportionately from area code-exchange combinations with higher than average densities of African-American and Hispanic households. While this method increases the proportion of respondents in these target groups, special weighting adjustments restore the overall representativeness of the sample. These interviews were supplemented with 564 interviews from households that were initially contacted but screened-out during the data collection for a separate Pew Research Center study conducted earlier this year. Households that were identified as having an African-American adult resident were included in this callback sample.

As many as 10 attempts were made to contact every sampled telephone number. Calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chance of making contact with potential respondents. Each household received at least one daytime call in an attempt to find someone at home.

In each contacted household interviewers asked to speak with the youngest adult male currently at home. If no male was available, interviewers asked to speak with the youngest adult female at home. This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender.

Two steps were taken to match African-American interviewers to African-American respondents. First, all interviews in the recontact sample were conducted by African-American interviewers. Second, no African-American interviewers dialed the two strata from the RDD sample with the highest density of non-minority respondents. As a result, a high percentage of African-American respondents (82%) were interviewed by black interviewers. Among white respondents, 76% were interviewed by non-black interviewers.

Weighting is generally used in survey analysis to adjust for effects of the sample design and to compensate for patterns of nonresponse that might bias results. The weighting was accomplished in two stages: a first stage sampling weight to adjust for the fact that minority areas and black households were over-sampled, and a second stage adjustment to account for demographic distortions due to non-response and non-coverage.

All completed interviews were given a first stage sample weight based on the level of disproportionality imposed by the sample design. For the main sample, telephone exchanges were divided into *strata* defined by African-American and Hispanic household densities associated with each exchange. The first stage weight for each stratum is the approximate proportion of active blocks in each stratum divided by the proportion in our sample. The weighted distribution of cases contacted across strata will no longer show effects of the designed oversampling. Callback completes were assigned a first-stage weight equal to the average of the first-stage weights for the African-American respondents from the combined sample.

In the second weighting stage, the demographic composition of final sample was weighted to match national parameters for sex, age, education and region (U.S. Census definitions). These parameters came from a

special analysis of the Census Bureau's 2006 Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC) that included all continental United States telephone households. The weighting was done separately for three racial groups. The African-American respondents were weighted to African-American parameters, Hispanics to Hispanic parameters, and whites and other races to parameters for whites and other races.⁴ For the Whites/Others and the African Americans, interviews were weighted to the distributions of age by sex, education by sex, age by education, and region. Because of the smaller sample size for the Hispanic group, it was weighted to marginal distributions of sex, age, education and region.

The second stage of weighting, which incorporated each respondent's first stage weight, was accomplished using Sample Balancing, a special iterative sample weighting program that simultaneously balances the distributions of all variables using a statistical technique called the *Deming Algorithm*. The second stage weight adjusts for non-response that is related to particular demographic characteristics of the sample. This weight ensures that the demographic characteristics of the sample closely approximate the demographic characteristics of the national population. A final adjustment was made to match the race/ethnicity distribution of the total sample to national population parameters.

The survey's *margin of error* is the largest 95% confidence interval for any estimated proportion based on the total sample—the one around 50%. For example, the margin of error for the entire sample is approximately $\pm 2.5\%$. This means that in 95 out every 100 samples drawn using the same methods, estimated proportions based on the entire sample will be no more than 2.5 percentage points away from their true values in the population. It is important to remember that sampling fluctuations are only one possible source of error in a survey estimate. Other sources, such as respondent selection bias, questionnaire wording and reporting inaccuracy, may contribute additional error of greater or lesser magnitude. The margins of error for key subgroups are shown below.

Total Sample and Subgroup Margins of Sampling Error		
	N=	Approximate Margin of Error
Total Sample	3,086	± 2.5 percentage points
White, non-Hispanic	1,536	± 3.5 percentage points
African-American, non-Hispanic	1,007	± 4 percentage points
Hispanic	388	± 7 percentage points

The response rate estimates the fraction of all known or assumed eligible households in the sample that ultimately yielded a completed interview. At PSRAI it is calculated by taking the product of three component rates:

- Contact rate – the proportion of known and assumed households for which a request for interview was made – of 80 percent
- Cooperation rate – the proportion of contacted numbers for which a consent for interview was at least initially obtained, versus those refused – of 32 percent
- Completion rate – the proportion of initially cooperating and eligible interviews that were completed – of 94 percent

Thus the response rate for this survey was 24 percent.

⁴ Hispanic origin trumped race for weighting purposes. In other words, if a respondent said he or she was of Latino or Hispanic descent then he or she were classified as Hispanic regardless of his or her race (e.g., White, Black, mixed). Additionally, during this stage of weighting, respondents who were not White, African-American or Hispanic (e.g. Asians) were weighted along with the Whites.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
& PEW SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS PROJECT
RACIAL ATTITUDES IN AMERICA
FINAL TOPLINE**

September 5-October 6, 2007

N=3086⁵ (Whites N=1536; Blacks N=1007; Hispanics N=388)⁶

FOR SCREENING PURPOSES SOME DEMOGRAPHICS WERE ASKED EARLIER IN THE INTERVIEW

ASK ALL:

Q.1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your community as a place to live in?

IF ANSWERED 1,2 IN Q1, ASK:

Q.1a Would you say you are very (**satisfied/dissatisfied**) or just somewhat (**satisfied/dissatisfied**)?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
87	Satisfied (Net)	89	77	84
58	Very satisfied	63	36	56
27	Somewhat satisfied	25	38	24
2	DK/Ref (VOL.)	1	3	4
11	Dissatisfied (Net)	9	20	13
5	Very dissatisfied	3	9	7
6	Somewhat dissatisfied	6	10	6
*	DK/Ref (VOL.)	*	1	0
<u>2</u>	DK/Ref (VOL.)	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

NO QUESTION 2

Q3. All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your life?

IF ANSWERED 1,2 IN Q3, ASK:

Q3a. Would you say you are very (**satisfied/dissatisfied**) or just somewhat (**satisfied/dissatisfied**)?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
91	Satisfied (Net)	92	90	90
70	Very satisfied	71	64	72
19	Somewhat satisfied	19	24	15
2	DK/Ref (VOL.)	2	2	3
7	Dissatisfied (Net)	6	8	8
3	Very dissatisfied	2	3	2
4	Somewhat dissatisfied	4	5	5
*	DK/Ref (VOL.)	*	0	1
<u>2</u>	DK/Ref (VOL.)	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100

⁵ The sample design included 1,536 non-Hispanic whites, 1,007 non-Hispanic blacks, 388 Hispanics. The data are weighted to produce results from a representative sample of the population.

⁶ In the current survey whites include only non-Hispanic whites, blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks, and Hispanics are of any race. Except where noted, trends for whites include Hispanic whites and trends for blacks include Hispanic blacks. There is no separate category for Hispanics.

NO QUESTION 4**ASK ALL:**

Q.5 Here are some things that may or may not be problems in your LOCAL community. For each, please tell me if you think it is a very big problem, a big problem, a small problem or not a problem at all. (First/next) How big a problem is [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] in your LOCAL community? A very big problem, a big problem, a small problem, or not a problem at all?

READ IF NECESSARY: How big a problem is [INSERT ITEM] in your LOCAL community-
- a very big problem, a big problem, a small problem, or not a problem at all?

No items b and e

	Very big <u>problem</u>	A big <u>problem</u>	Small <u>problem</u>	Not a problem <u>at all</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Ref</u>
a. Crime	10	19	44	24	3=100
<i>Whites</i>	5	16	50	26	3=100
<i>Blacks</i>	18	31	31	18	2=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	26	23	25	23	3=100
c. High school students dropping out	8	17	33	20	22=100
<i>Whites</i>	5	13	37	22	23=100
<i>Blacks</i>	16	30	23	13	18=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	20	27	16	20	17=100
d. The number of children born to unmarried mothers	13	25	26	16	20=100
<i>Whites</i>	9	24	29	17	21=100
<i>Blacks</i>	20	30	18	16	16=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	26	25	20	15	14=100
f. The lack of good paying jobs	18	32	26	17	7=100
<i>Whites</i>	15	30	29	19	7=100
<i>Blacks</i>	23	35	19	13	10=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	33	34	16	13	4=100
g. The quality of the public schools	7	14	25	44	10=100
<i>Whites</i>	5	12	26	47	10=100
<i>Blacks</i>	11	21	26	29	13=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	17	16	15	41	11=100
h. Illegal immigration	15	16	28	32	9=100
<i>Whites</i>	13	17	31	31	8=100
<i>Blacks</i>	12	16	23	35	14=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	29	15	14	31	11=100

Q.6 I'd like your opinion of some groups of people. Is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN NEVER HEARD OF AND CANT RATE

READ IF NECESSARY: Is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Mostly favorable</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>(VOL.) Never Heard of</u>	<u>(VOL.) Can't Rate/Ref</u>
a. Opinion of blacks	82	28	54	8	2	6	*	10=100
<i>Whites</i>	82	25	57	8	2	6	*	10=100
<i>Blacks</i>	84	39	45	10	4	6	0	6=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	79	37	42	10	5	5	*	11=100
Trends in opinion of blacks:								
All Adults (2007) ⁷	82	28	54	8	2	6	*	10=100
All Adults (2006)	83	24	59	10	2	8	0	7=100
All Adults (2003)	85	27	58	8	2	6	0	7=100
All Adults (1997)	87	25	62	7	2	5	0	6=100
<i>Whites</i> (2007)	82	25	57	8	2	6	*	10=100
<i>Whites</i> (2006)	85	21	64	9	1	8	0	6=100
<i>Whites</i> (2003)	87	24	63	6	1	5	0	7=100
<i>Whites</i> (1997)	87	23	64	6	1	5	0	7=100
<i>Whites</i> (1990)	82	17	65	13	4	9	3	2=100
<i>Blacks</i> (2007)	84	39	45	10	4	6	0	6=100
<i>Blacks</i> (2006)	78	39	39	16	8	8	0	6=100
<i>Blacks</i> (2003)	84	50	34	12	3	9	0	4=100
<i>Blacks</i> (1997)	88	43	45	10	4	6	0	2=100
<i>Blacks</i> (1990)	86	45	41	11	4	7	1	2=100
b. Opinion of whites	89	32	57	4	1	3	*	7=100
<i>Whites</i>	92	33	59	1	*	1	*	7=100
<i>Blacks</i>	80	27	53	12	5	7	0	8=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	84	39	45	10	5	5	1	6=100
Trends in opinion of whites:								
<i>Whites</i> (2007)	92	33	59	1	*	1	*	7=100
<i>Whites</i> (1990)	93	27	66	3	1	2	2	2=100
<i>Blacks</i> (2007)	80	27	53	12	5	7	0	8=100
<i>Blacks</i> (1990)	78	26	52	17	4	13	2	3=100

⁷ Group favorability ratings for 2007, 2006, 2003, and 1997 were conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press. The 1990 figures in questions 6a, 6b, and 6c are from a *Gallup/Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies (JCPS)* survey and were part of a longer list of items. In the *Gallup/JCPS* survey, the item was worded: "Now I'd like you to rate some different groups of people living in the United States today according to how you feel about them." Also, instead of the volunteered category "never heard of" respondents could volunteer "neither or neutral." Trends for all adults are not available for this survey. In 2007, 2006, and 2003 whites include only non-Hispanic whites, blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks, and Hispanics are of any race. In the 1997 and 1990 trends however, whites include Hispanic whites and blacks include Hispanic blacks.

Q.6 CONTINUED...

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Mostly favorable</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>(VOL.) Never Heard of</u>	<u>(VOL.) Can't Rate/Ref</u>
c. Opinion of Hispanics	77	25	52	12	3	9	*	11=100
<i>Whites</i>	77	21	56	13	3	10	*	10=100
<i>Blacks</i>	76	25	51	12	5	7	*	12=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	83	51	32	9	4	5	*	8=100
Trends in opinion of Hispanics:								
All Adults (2007)	77	25	52	12	3	9	*	11=100
All Adults (2006)	75	22	53	18	5	13	0	7=100
All Adults (2003)	77	25	52	13	3	10	*	10=100
All Adults (1997)	78	19	59	13	4	9	*	9=100
Whites (2007)	77	21	56	13	3	10	*	10=100
Whites (2006)	74	17	57	21	5	16	0	5=100
Whites (2003)	76	20	56	14	3	11	*	10=100
Whites (1997)	78	18	60	14	4	10	*	8=100
Whites (1990)	78	16	62	18	4	14	2	2=100
Blacks (2007)	76	25	51	12	5	7	*	12=100
Blacks (2006)	76	25	51	10	3	7	0	14=100
Blacks (2003)	72	31	41	14	4	10	0	14=100
Blacks (1997)	84	25	59	11	4	7	*	5=100
Blacks (1990)	68	21	47	20	6	14	3	9=100
d. Opinion of Asians	79	28	51	7	3	4	*	14=100
<i>Whites</i>	80	26	54	6	2	4	*	14=100
<i>Blacks</i>	73	24	49	11	5	6	*	16=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	74	36	38	6	2	4	3	17=100
Trends in opinion of Asians:								
All Adults (2007)	79	28	51	7	3	4	*	14=100
All Adults (2006)	80	25	55	12	4	8	0	8=100
All Adults (2003)	76	24	52	11	3	8	*	13=100
All Adults (1997)	76	20	56	13	4	9	*	11=100
Whites (2007)	80	26	54	6	2	4	*	14=100
Whites (2006)	82	23	59	12	3	9	0	6=100
Whites (2003)	77	22	55	11	3	8	*	12=100
Whites (1997)	77	19	58	11	3	8	1	11=100
Blacks (2007)	73	24	49	11	5	6	*	16=100
Blacks (2006)	72	24	48	13	6	7	0	15=100
Blacks (2003)	73	32	41	11	4	7	1	15=100
Blacks (1997)	62	19	43	21	3	18	2	15=100

Q.6 CONTINUED...

TREND FOR COMPARISON⁸:

Gallup/JCPS 1986

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Mostly favorable</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>(VOL.) Can't Rate/Ref</u>
a. Opinion of blacks	77	26	51	14	3	11	9=100
Whites	75	22	53	16	4	12	9=100
Blacks	93	75	18	4	1	3	3=100
b. Opinion of whites	90	53	37	2	1	1	8=100
Whites	91	53	38	1	*	1	8=100
Blacks	79	45	34	15	5	10	6=100
c. Opinion of Hispanics	70	23	47	18	5	13	12=100
Whites	70	23	47	18	3	15	12=100
Blacks	71	31	40	18	6	12	11=100
d. Opinion of Asians	66	21	45	17	7	10	17=100
Whites	67	21	46	17	3	14	16=100
Blacks	56	24	32	26	8	18	18=100

ROTATE QUESTIONS Q7a, Q7b, Q7c

Q.7a How well do you think whites and Hispanics get along with each other these days – would you say very well, pretty well, not too well, or not at all well?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
15	Very well	13	16	27
53	Pretty well	57	37	44
19	Not too well	18	22	22
3	Not at all well	3	5	2
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>9</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.7b How well do you think blacks and Hispanics get along with each other these days – would you say very well, pretty well, not too well, or not at all well?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
11	Very well	8	24	22
33	Pretty well	31	46	35
23	Not too well	24	14	19
8	Not at all well	8	4	11
<u>25</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>29</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>
100		100	100	100

⁸ The trend for comparison group favorability ratings in this survey were based on a different response format (ranging from +5 to -5) and were adjusted statistically to be comparable to the more recent ratings. They are shown separately to account for these differences.

Q.7c How well do you think blacks and whites get along with each other these days – would you say very well, pretty well, not too well, or not at all well?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
18	Very well	16	20	25
57	Pretty well	61	49	36
18	Not too well	16	20	25
2	Not at all well	2	4	7
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100

NO QUESTION 8

Q.9 Here are some statements about immigrants—people who come from other countries to live here in the United States.

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one. Do you agree or disagree that...

[ASK A FIRST, THEN ROTATE B AND C]

(AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE: Do you STRONGLY (agree/disagree) or SOMEWHAT (agree/disagree)?

a. Black Americans would have more job opportunities if there were fewer immigrants.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Strongly agree</u>	<u>Somewhat agree</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Strongly disagree</u>	<u>Somewhat disagree</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	44	20	24	46	23	23	10=100
Whites	44	19	25	46	21	25	10=100
Blacks	48	29	19	44	21	23	8=100
Hispanics	39	19	20	49	31	18	12=100
Trend:							
All Adults (2007)	44	20	24	46	23	23	10=100
All Adults (1986) ⁹	54	18	36	39	15	24	7=100
Whites (2007)	44	19	25	46	21	25	10=100
Whites (1990) ¹⁰	48	18	30	51	22	29	1=100
Whites (1986)	53	17	36	40	15	25	7=100
Blacks (2007)	48	29	19	44	21	23	8=100
Blacks (1990)	63	41	22	35	17	18	2=100
Blacks (1986)	74	49	25	23	9	14	3=100

⁹ The 1986 figures in questions 9a, 9b, and 9c are from a *Gallup/JCPS* survey and were part of a longer list of items than in the current survey. The items were not rotated in the 1986 survey. In the 2007 and 1986 surveys, whites include only non-Hispanic whites, blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks, and Hispanics are of any race.

¹⁰ The 1990 figures are from a *Gallup/JCPS* survey. The item was not asked as part of a list in that survey.

Q.9 CONTINUED...

b. Most immigrants work harder than most black Americans at low-wage jobs.

	<u>Total</u>	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Somewhat agree</i>	<u>Total</u>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat disagree</i>	(VOL.) DK/ Ref
All Adults	56	34	22	30	16	14	14=100
Whites	55	31	24	30	15	15	15=100
Blacks	64	42	22	29	15	14	7=100
Hispanics	67	51	16	25	14	11	8=100
Trend:							
All Adults (2007)	56	34	22	30	16	14	14=100
All Adults (1986)	63	33	30	24	10	14	13=100
Whites (2007)	55	31	24	30	15	15	15=100
Whites (1986)	63	32	31	24	9	15	13=100
Blacks (2007)	64	42	22	29	15	14	7=100
Blacks (1986)	66	44	22	28	15	13	6=100

c. Most immigrants work harder than most white Americans at low-wage jobs.

	<u>Total</u>	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Somewhat agree</i>	<u>Total</u>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat disagree</i>	(VOL.) DK/ Ref
All Adults	64	40	24	26	14	12	10=100
Whites	61	34	27	29	15	14	10=100
Blacks	75	56	19	16	8	8	9=100
Hispanics	72	57	15	22	10	12	6=100
Trend:							
All Adults (2007)	64	40	24	26	14	12	10=100
All Adults (1986)	66	35	31	25	11	14	9=100
Whites (2007)	61	34	27	29	15	14	10=100
Whites (1986)	65	32	33	26	11	15	9=100
Blacks (2007)	75	56	19	16	8	8	9=100
Blacks (1986)	76	53	23	16	7	9	8=100

Q.10 Would you say your overall opinion of Barack Obama [**pronounced: bur-ROK oh-BAH-muh**] is... [**READ, IN ORDER**]

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
51	Favorable (Net)	48	75	46
16	Very favorable	12	35	19
35	Mostly favorable	36	40	27
23	Unfavorable (Net)	27	9	16
9	Very unfavorable	10	5	8
14	Mostly unfavorable	17	4	8
11	Never heard of (VOL.)	9	7	25
<u>15</u>	Can't rate/Ref (VOL.)	<u>16</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>
100		100	100	100

NO QUESTION 11

ASK ALL:

ROTATE Q12A AND Q12B

Q.12a If Barack Obama [**PRONOUNCED: bur-ROK oh-BAH-muh**] is the Democratic Party nominee for president, do you think his being African-American will help him, hurt him, or won't it make a difference to voters?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
18	Will help him	17	18	24
26	Will hurt him	26	39	17
44	Won't make a difference to voters	47	32	39
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>20</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.12b If Barack Obama [**PRONOUNCED: bur-ROK oh-BAH-muh**] is the Democratic Party nominee for president, do you think his being relatively new to national politics will help him, hurt him, or won't it make a difference to voters?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
17	Will help him	15	23	21
39	Will hurt him	44	27	24
32	Won't make a difference to voters	31	38	32
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>23</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.13 How much would you say Barack Obama [**PRONOUNCED: bur-ROK oh-BAH-muh**] shares the values and interests of black people in this country? (**READ**)

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
29	A lot	27	42	29
32	Some	33	33	31
8	Not too much	7	6	7
4	Not at all	4	3	6
<u>27</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>29</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>27</u>
100		100	100	100

NO QUESTIONS 14 THROUGH 15

ASK FORM 1 [N=1541 (Whites N=767; Blacks N=498; Hispanics N=198)]

Q.16F1 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same?

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>Same</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Ref</u>
All Adults	34	12	49	5=100
<i>Whites</i>	37	8	50	5=100
<i>Blacks</i>	20	29	49	2=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	33	14	49	4=100
Trend:				
All Adults (2007) ¹¹	34	12	49	5=100
All Adults (1999)	47	8	40	5=100
All Adults (1987)	45	13	38	4=100
All Adults (1986)	52	9	33	6=100
All Adults (1984)	64	6	26	4=100
Whites (2007)	37	8	50	5=100
Whites (1999)	49	7	38	6=100
Whites (1997)	43	12	44	1=100
Whites (1990)	44	11	44	1=100
Whites (1988)	49	8	33	10=100
Whites (1987)	48	10	38	4=100
Whites (1986)	53	7	33	7=100
Whites (1984)	68	4	23	5=100
Blacks (2007)	20	29	49	2=100
Blacks (1999)	32	13	52	3=100
Blacks (1997)	24	17	56	3=100
Blacks (1990)	25	32	43	*=100
Blacks (1988)	33	22	38	7=100
Blacks (1987)	29	31	37	3=100
Blacks (1986)	34	30	35	1=100
Blacks (1984)	37	30	31	2=100
Blacks (1983)	20	39	38	3=100
Blacks (1981)	30	29	39	2=100
Blacks (1969)	70	5	19	6=100

¹¹ The figures from 1999 are from a *Newsweek* poll. All figures from 1997, 1990, 1987, 1986, and 1984 are from *Gallup/JCPS* surveys. The 1988, 1983, 1981, and 1969 figures are from *Gallup* surveys. Trend figures for all adults were unavailable for 1997, 1990, 1988, 1983, 1981, and 1969.

ASK FORM 2 [N=1545 (Whites N=769; Blacks N=509; Hispanics N=190)]

Q.17F2 All in all, compared with ten years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
51	Better	55	31	44
9	Worse	7	22	7
35	About the same	33	44	38
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.18 Compared with ten years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living?

	<u>Wider</u>	<u>Narrower</u>	(VOL.) No <u>change</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Ref</u>
All Adults	24	55	10	11=100
<i>Whites</i>	19	61	10	10=100
<i>Blacks</i>	43	41	9	7=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	35	37	16	12=100
Trend:				
All Adults (2007)	24	55	10	11=100
All Adults (1986) ¹²	19	61	8	12=100
Whites (2007)	19	61	10	10=100
Whites (1986)	16	65	8	11=100
Blacks (2007)	43	41	9	7=100
Blacks (1986)	38	47	9	6=100

¹² The 1986 figures are from a Gallup/JCPS survey. In that survey, the item was worded: "Compared to ten years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between the standards of living of black people and white people?" In 2007 and 1986, whites include only non-Hispanic whites, blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks, and Hispanics are of any race.

- Q.19 Now thinking about people's VALUES. By values I mean things that people view as important, or their general way of thinking. First, in the last ten years do you think the values held by black people and the values held by white people have become more similar or more different?

	<u>More similar</u>	<u>More different</u>	(VOL.) <u>No change</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	68	19	4	9=100
<i>Whites</i>	72	14	4	10=100
<i>Blacks</i>	54	37	3	6=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	60	28	3	9=100
Trend:				
All Adults (2007)	68	19	4	9=100
All Adults (1986) ¹³	59	19	9	13=100
Whites (2007)	72	14	4	10=100
Whites (1986)	62	17	10	11=100
Blacks (2007)	54	37	3	6=100
Blacks (1986)	51	31	7	11=100

- Q.20 Just thinking about black people. In the last ten years, do you think the values held by middle class black people and the values held by poor black people have become more similar or more different?

	<u>More similar</u>	<u>More different</u>	(VOL.) <u>No change</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	28	53	2	17=100
<i>Whites</i>	25	54	2	19=100
<i>Blacks</i>	31	61	2	6=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	35	45	5	15=100
Trend:				
All Adults (2007)	28	53	2	17=100
All Adults (1986)	32	41	9	18=100
Whites (2007)	25	54	2	19=100
Whites (1986)	33	41	8	18=100
Blacks (2007)	31	61	2	6=100
Blacks (1986)	40	44	9	7=100

¹³ All 1986 figures in questions 19 and 20 are from a Gallup/JCPS survey. In 2007 and 1986, whites include only non-Hispanic whites, blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks, and Hispanics are of any race.

ASK IF RACE=2**Based on Blacks [N=1007]:**

Q.21 How much do you think middle class blacks and poor blacks share values in common? Do middle class blacks and poor blacks have...(READ)

<u>Blacks</u>	
23	A lot in common
42	Some in common
22	Only a little in common
9	Almost nothing in common
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.22 Which of these statements comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right.
[READ]

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
19	Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days	15	30	24
66	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition	71	53	59
9	Neither/Both equally (VOL.)	8	14	8
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100

TREND FOR COMPARISON¹⁴:

	Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition	(VOL.) Neither/ Both equally	(VOL.) DK/ Ref
All Adults (Sept., 2005)	26	59	9	6=100
All Adults (Dec., 2004)	27	60	7	6=100
All Adults (June, 2003)	24	64	7	5=100
All Adults (Sept., 2000)	31	54	8	7=100
All Adults (Aug., 1999)	28	59	8	5=100
All Adults (Oct., 1997)	25	61	10	4=100
All Adults (June, 1997)	33	54	9	4=100
All Adults (Oct., 1996)	28	58	8	6=100
All Adults (Oct., 1995)	37	53	6	4=100
All Adults (Apr., 1995)	34	56	7	3=100
All Adults (Oct., 1994)	34	54	7	5=100
All Adults (July, 1994)	32	59	5	4=100

¹⁴ The trend for comparison figures are based on surveys conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and are shown separately because asking the question amidst many other questions on race, as occurred in the current survey, may produce somewhat different results than when asking it in the context of other kinds of political attitudes. The trends for whites include Hispanic whites and trends for blacks include Hispanic blacks. There is no separate category for Hispanics.

Q.22 CONTINUED...

	Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get <u>ahead these days</u>	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for <u>their own condition</u>	(VOL.) Neither/ Both <u>equally</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Ref</u>
Whites (Sept., 2005)	24	62	7	7=100
Whites (Dec., 2004)	24	63	7	6=100
Whites (June, 2003)	22	66	7	5=100
Whites (Sept., 2000)	29	57	8	6=100
Whites (Aug., 1999)	26	62	8	4=100
Whites (Oct., 1997)	23	64	9	4=100
Whites (June, 1997)	31	56	9	4=100
Whites (Oct., 1996)	26	61	7	6=100
Whites (Oct., 1995)	34	55	7	4=100
Whites (Apr., 1995)	31	58	7	4=100
Whites (Oct., 1994)	30	58	7	5=100
Whites (July, 1994)	29	62	5	4=100
Blacks (Sept., 2005)	42	41	14	3=100
Blacks (Dec., 2004)	44	43	9	4=100
Blacks (June, 2003)	38	47	13	2=100
Blacks (Sept., 2000)	49	36	10	5=100
Blacks (Aug., 1999)	47	38	11	4=100
Blacks (Oct., 1997)	37	46	14	3=100
Blacks (June, 1997)	45	41	13	1=100
Blacks (Oct., 1996)	45	38	13	4=100
Blacks (Oct., 1995)	58	35	4	3=100
Blacks (Apr., 1995)	55	38	4	3=100
Blacks (Oct., 1994)	60	33	5	2=100
Blacks (July, 1994)	56	34	7	3=100

Q.23 How often do you think blacks are discriminated against when they **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** – almost always, frequently, not too often, or hardly ever?

READ IF NECESSARY: How often are blacks discriminated against when they **[INSERT ITEM]** -- almost always, frequently, not too often, or hardly ever?

No item c

	Almost <u>always</u>	<u>Frequently</u>	Not too <u>often</u>	Hardly <u>ever</u>	(VOL.) DK/ Ref
a. Apply for a job	6	23	38	24	9=100
<i>Whites</i>	2	18	43	27	10=100
<i>Blacks</i>	21	46	21	6	6=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	12	24	34	18	12=100
b. Try to rent an apartment or find a house to buy	7	26	31	22	14=100
<i>Whites</i>	3	24	34	24	15=100
<i>Blacks</i>	22	43	22	7	6=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	14	22	32	19	13=100
d. Apply to a college or university	3	10	33	42	12=100
<i>Whites</i>	1	6	33	48	12=100
<i>Blacks</i>	13	30	35	12	10=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	6	16	31	31	16=100
e. Eat at restaurants and shop in retail stores	5	14	34	41	6=100
<i>Whites</i>	2	10	36	46	6=100
<i>Blacks</i>	17	33	31	14	5=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	12	17	28	35	8=100

NO QUESTION 24 THROUGH 25

ASK ALL:

- Q.26 How much confidence do you have in police officers in your community **[INSERT ITEM; READ IN ORDER]**--a great deal, a fair amount, just some, or very little confidence?
READ IF NECESSARY: How much confidence do you have in police officers in your community **[INSERT ITEM; READ IN ORDER]**-- a great deal, a fair amount, just some, or very little confidence

	A great <u>deal</u>	A fair <u>amount</u>	Just <u>some</u>	Very <u>little confidence</u>	(VOL.) <u>None/DK/Ref</u>
a. To do a good job of enforcing the law	42	31	13	11	3=100
<i>Whites</i>	47	31	11	9	2=100
<i>Blacks</i>	21	34	17	20	8=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	34	28	18	15	5=100
Trend:					
All Adults (2007)	42	31	13	11	3=100
All Adults (1995) ¹⁵	36	37	12	12	3=100
Whites (2007)	47	31	11	9	2=100
Whites (1995)	40	38	11	9	2=100
Blacks (2007)	21	34	17	20	8=100
Blacks (1995)	15	34	16	26	9=100
b. To not use excessive force on suspects	37	29	12	14	8=100
<i>Whites</i>	42	31	10	11	6=100
<i>Blacks</i>	11	27	20	28	14=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	30	21	19	17	13=100
Trend:					
All Adults (2007)	37	29	12	14	8=100
All Adults (1995)	28	31	15	16	10=100
Whites (2007)	42	31	10	11	6=100
Whites (1995)	31	32	14	13	10=100
Blacks (2007)	11	27	20	28	14=100
Blacks (1995)	11	23	18	37	11=100
c. To treat blacks and whites equally	37	29	11	14	9=100
<i>Whites</i>	42	32	8	10	8=100
<i>Blacks</i>	14	23	17	31	15=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	26	19	21	21	13=100
Trend:					
All Adults (2007)	37	29	11	14	9=100
All Adults (1995)	25	33	12	17	13=100
Whites (2007)	42	32	8	10	8=100
Whites (1995)	29	33	12	13	13=100
Blacks (2007)	14	23	17	31	15=100
Blacks (1995)	10	22	15	43	10=100

¹⁵ All of the 1995 figures are from a *NBC/WSJ* survey and were part of a longer list of items than in the current survey and item c was asked prior to item b. In the 2007 and 1995 surveys, whites include only non-Hispanic whites, blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks, and Hispanics are of any race.

NO QUESTION 27 THROUGH 28**ASK ALL:**

Q29. Generally speaking, do you believe the death penalty is applied fairly or unfairly in this country today?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
51	Fairly	57	24	37
36	Unfairly	31	64	49
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100	100

On a different subject,

ASK IF RACE=2**Based on Blacks [N=1007]:**

Q.30 Which of these statements comes closer to your view—even if neither is exactly right? [READ]

<u>Blacks</u>	
37	Blacks today can no longer be thought of as a single race because the black community is so diverse.
53	Blacks can still be thought of as a single race because they have so much in common.
3	Neither/Both (VOL.)
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.31 Would you like to see the country become more integrated--in terms of minorities and whites living together in the same neighborhoods--would you like it to become less integrated, or is it about right?

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>About</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u>
	<u>integrated</u>	<u>integrated</u>	<u>right</u>	<u>DK/</u>
				<u>Ref</u>
All Adults	45	7	41	7=100
<i>Whites</i>	40	8	44	8=100
<i>Blacks</i>	62	6	28	4=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	50	5	37	8=100
Trend:				
All Adults (2007)	45	7	41	7=100
All Adults (1994) ¹⁶	37	12	47	4=100
Whites (2007)	40	8	44	8=100
Whites (1994)	33	13	50	4=100
Blacks (2007)	62	6	28	4=100
Blacks (1994)	63	2	31	4=100

¹⁶ All of the 1994 figures are from a CNN/USA Today/Gallup survey.

NO QUESTION 32 THROUGH 33**ASK FORM 1 [N=1541 (Whites N=767; Blacks N=498; Hispanics N=198)]**

Q.34F1 Do you think white students and black students should go to the same schools or to separate schools?¹⁷

	Same <u>schools</u>	Separate <u>schools</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Ref</u>
All Adults	95	2	3=100
<i>Whites</i>	96	1	3=100
<i>Blacks</i>	94	4	2=100
<i>Hispanics</i>	94	4	2=100
Trend:			
All Adults (2007)	95	2	3=100
All Adults (1995) ¹⁸	92	4	4=100
All Adults (1984) ¹⁹	91	7	2=100
All Adults (1982)	91	7	2=100
All Adults (1980)	87	11	2=100
All Adults (1977)	85	13	2=100
All Adults (1976)	84	14	2=100
All Adults (1972)	86	12	2=100
Whites (2007)	96	1	3=100
Whites (1995)	92	4	4=100
Whites (1984)	91	7	2=100
Whites (1982)	90	8	2=100
Whites (1980)	86	12	2=100
Whites (1977)	85	13	2=100
Whites (1976)	83	15	2=100
Whites (1972)	85	13	2=100
Blacks (2007)	94	4	2=100
Blacks (1995)	93	1	6=100
Blacks (1984)	96	2	2=100
Blacks(1982)	94	4	2=100
Blacks (1980)	94	3	3=100
Blacks (1977)	93	6	1=100
Blacks (1976)	96	2	2=100
Blacks (1972)	92	3	5=100

NO QUESTION 35

¹⁷ In 1985 and earlier, the question was worded: "Do you think white students and negro students should go to the same schools or to separate schools?"

¹⁸ All of the 1995 figures are from a *Newsweek* poll.

¹⁹ All figures from 1972 through 1984 are from *General Social Surveys (GSS)*.

ASK FORM 2 [N=1545 (Whites N=769; Blacks N=509; Hispanics N=190)]Q.36F2 Which is more important?— **(READ)**

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
29	To have students go to racially mixed schools even if many of the students don't live nearby	23	56	44
59	To have students go to local community schools even if it means most students are of the same race	65	33	46
4	Neither/Both (VOL.)	4	5	3
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100

NO QUESTION 37 THROUGH 45**ROTATE QUESTIONS Q46 WITH Q47-Q49****ASK IF RACE=2****Based on Blacks [N=1007]:**

Q.46 Here are some African Americans who have been in the news. Please tell me if each has a good influence, a bad influence, or not much influence at all on the African American community. First,...

[INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN NEVER HEARD OF AND CAN'T RATE] Next, ...

READ IF NECESSARY: Would you say **[INSERT ITEM]** has a good influence, a bad influence or not much influence at all on the African American community?

No items g or o

	<u>Good influence</u>	<u>Bad influence</u>	<u>Not much influence</u>	(VOL.) Never Heard of	(VOL.) Can't Rate/Ref
a. Condoleeza Rice	50	10	27	5	8=100
b. Colin Powell	70	3	17	4	6=100
c. Barack Obama	76	2	9	5	8=100
d. Clarence Thomas	31	18	27	13	11=100
e. Al Sharpton	65	6	19	4	6=100
f. Jesse Jackson	68	5	21	*	6=100
h. Bill Cosby	85	1	11	*	3=100
i. Oprah Winfrey	87	2	8	*	3=100
j. Russell Simmons	67	3	15	8	7=100
k. Tiger Woods	67	4	24	1	4=100
l. Kanye West	49	8	23	10	10=100
m. Bishop T.D. Jakes	76	2	7	7	8=100
n. 50 Cent	17	42	26	7	8=100
p. Tyra Banks	68	2	21	4	5=100

ASK IF RACE=2:**Based on Blacks [N=1007]:**

Q.47 How effective are national black political leaders in providing leadership for black Americans - very effective, somewhat effective, or not very effective?

		<i>JCPS/Gallup</i> ²⁰	
		1986	
<u>Blacks</u>		<u>Blacks</u>	
18	Very effective	27	
57	Somewhat effective	54	
21	Not very effective	14	
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>	
100		100	

Q.48 How effective is the NAACP (**pronounced N- double A- C-P**) in providing leadership for black Americans - very effective, somewhat effective, or not very effective?

		<i>JCPS/Gallup</i>	
		1986	
<u>Blacks</u>		<u>Blacks</u>	
32	Very effective	47	
41	Somewhat effective	38	
20	Not very effective	9	
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>6</u>	
100		100	

Q.49 And how effective are black ministers and clergy in providing leadership for black Americans - very effective, somewhat effective, or not very effective?

		<i>JCPS/Gallup</i>	
		1986	
<u>Blacks</u>		<u>Blacks</u>	
36	Very effective	40	
42	Somewhat effective	43	
18	Not very effective	13	
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	
100		100	

²⁰The *Gallup/JCPS* trends in questions 47, 48 and 49 were part of a longer list of items and the order in which the questions were asked is slightly different than in the current survey. In 2007 and 1986, blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks.

ASK ALL:

Q.50 Do you think the civil rights movement is still having a major impact on American society, or not?

<u>All</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>		<i>Gallup</i> 1993	<i>Gallup</i> 1993	<i>Gallup</i> 1993
55	53	60	64	Yes	65	66	57
36	38	35	20	No	31	30	40
<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>16</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100	100	100	100		100	100	100

Q.51 Compared with 10 years ago, do you think the way blacks are portrayed in television and movies is better today, worse, or about the same?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
54	Better	57	43	54
13	Worse	11	22	12
28	About the same	27	33	29
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.52 Overall, would you say the way blacks are portrayed in television and movies helps, hurts, or has no effect on society's image of African Americans in general?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
25	Helps	25	31	31
32	Hurts	30	42	29
32	No effect	34	19	27
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 [N=1541 (Whites N=767; Blacks N=498; Hispanics N=198)]

Q.53F1 In general, is HIP HOP music having a good influence, a bad influence, or not much influence at all on society today?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
8	Good influence	6	13	10
62	Bad influence	64	61	59
17	Not much influence at all	17	18	23
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 [N=1541 (Whites N=767; Blacks N=498; Hispanics N=198)]Q.54F1 How often do you personally listen to hip hop music? **(READ)**

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
14	Often	10	23	18
15	Sometimes	13	22	22
20	Rarely	21	22	20
50	Never	55	33	37
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK IF FORM 1 AND Q53F1=2 [N=972 (Whites N=508; Blacks N=318; Hispanics N=102)]:Q.55F1 What's the MAIN REASON you think HIP HOP music is having a bad influence on society? [**OPEN END PRECODED; ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES**]

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
47	Bad/offensive language	46	51	53
24	Promotes violence or gangs	24	22	22
20	Negative stereotypes of women	18	28	25
8	Too much sex	6	9	13
6	Bad influence on youth	6	10	5
6	Alcohol/Drug use	5	8	10
5	Bad or immoral messages/content	5	4	4
4	Glorifies materialism/Unrealistic lifestyle	3	7	2
4	Racial stereotypes	4	2	3
3	Don't like/understand	5	2	*
3	Disrespect/Negative attitude	4	2	1
3	Lyrics (General)	4	3	1
10	Other [specify]	11	8	4
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	2	10

ASK FORM 2 [N=1545 (Whites N=769; Blacks N=509; Hispanics N=190)]

Q.56F2 In general, is RAP music having a good influence, a bad influence, or not much influence at all on society today?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
5	Good influence	4	6	14
71	Bad influence	74	71	48
16	Not much influence at all	14	16	21
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>17</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 [N=1545 (Whites N=769; Blacks N=509; Hispanics N=190)]

Q.57F2 How often do you personally listen to rap music? (READ)

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
12	Often	9	18	22
14	Sometimes	12	20	15
21	Rarely	21	27	19
53	Never	58	35	41
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	*	3
100		100	100	100

ASK IF FORM 2 AND Q56F2=2 [N=1081 (Whites N=565; Blacks N=359; Hispanics N=97):Q.58F2 What's the MAIN REASON you think RAP music is having a bad influence on society?
[OPEN END PRECODED; ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES]

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
49	Bad/offensive language	51	50	40
30	Promotes violence or gangs	31	21	30
23	Negative stereotypes of women	21	29	27
9	Too much sex	9	8	14
8	Alcohol/Drug use	7	8	9
6	Bad or immoral messages/content	7	3	1
5	Bad influence on youth	5	5	6
4	Glorifies materialism/Unrealistic lifestyle	4	5	5
3	Racial stereotypes	3	3	3
3	Don't like/understand	3	1	1
2	Disrespect/Negative attitude	2	2	1
1	Lyrics (General)	1	3	1
12	Other [specify]	12	9	14
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	1	5

ASK FORM 1 [N=1541 (Whites N=767; Blacks N=498; Hispanics N=198)]

Q.59F1 In order to overcome past discrimination, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs designed to help blacks get better jobs and education?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
60	Favor	52	89	77
30	Oppose	37	6	17
10	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	11	5	6
100		100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 [N=1545 (Whites N=769; Blacks N=509; Hispanics N=190)]

Q.60F2 In order to overcome past discrimination, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs, which give special preferences to qualified blacks in hiring and education?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
46	Favor	39	78	61
40	Oppose	47	13	26
14	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	14	9	13
100		100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.61 In your own personal career and education, have you ever been helped or hurt by an affirmative action program, or has this never affected you? [IF "YES", PROBE: "Helped or hurt?" IF "DON'T KNOW" ENTER AS DK WITHOUT PROBING]

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
5	Yes, helped	2	16	7
10	Yes, hurt	12	3	6
*	Yes, both (VOL.)	*	1	1
82	No, not personally affected	83	77	83
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

NO QUESTIONS 62 THROUGH 63

Q.64 Do you yourself know any (IF RACE=2: white/ IF RACE=1,3,4,9: black) person whom you consider a friend?

ASK IF YES (Q64=1):

Q.65 How many of your friends are (IF RACE=2:white/IF RACE=1,3,4,9:black)? Would you say (READ LIST)

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u> ²¹
86	Yes, have friends of different race	87	82	72
2	All of them	1	2	3
6	Most of them	4	10	7
34	Some of them, or	36	33	22
42	Just a few	45	35	39
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	2	1
14	None/No, do not have friends of different race	12	17	28
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.66 Thinking of the future, all in all would you say that life for blacks in this country will be better, about the same, or worse than it is now?

<u>All</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>		<u>ABC/ Washington Post 1986 Blacks</u>
54	56	44	54	Better	57
8	6	21	11	Worse	23
32	32	31	30	About the same	14
<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>6</u>
100	100	100	100		100

²¹ Based on white Hispanics regarding black friends.