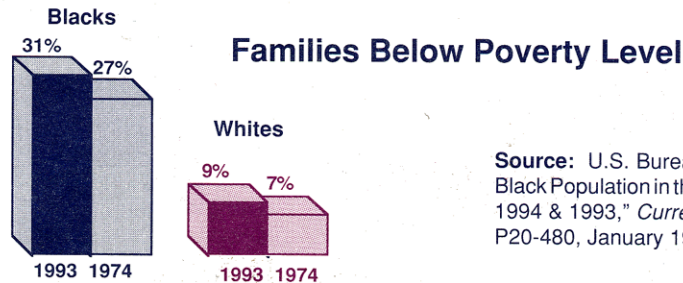


People, Opinions & Polls

An American Dilemma (Part II)

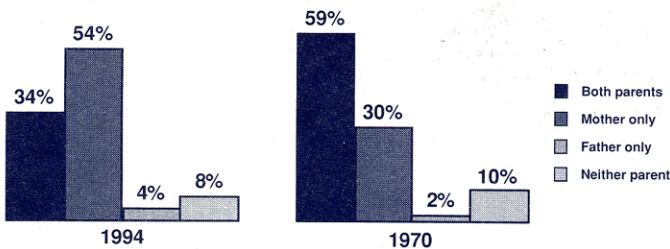
Black-White Relations: Contradictions Abound

—Big Differences in Conditions—

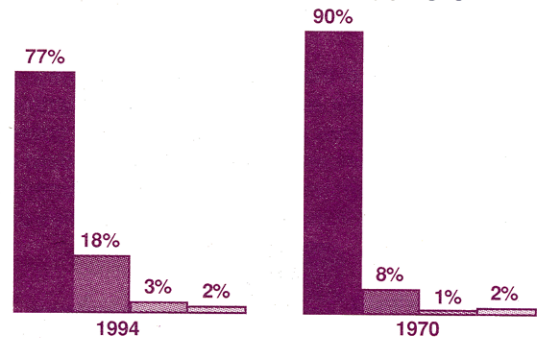


Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "The Black Population in the United States: March 1994 & 1993," *Current Population Reports*, P20-480, January 1995, pp. 11, 25.

Black Children Under 18 Yrs. of Age, By Presence of Parent in Household



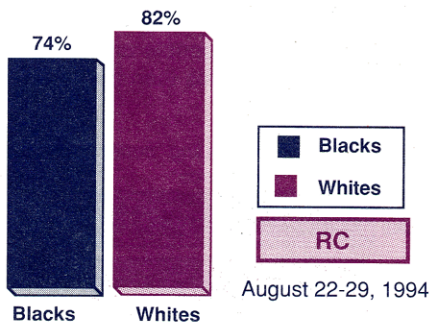
White Children Under 18 Yrs. of Age, By Presence of Parent in Household



—Striking Agreement on Many Values—

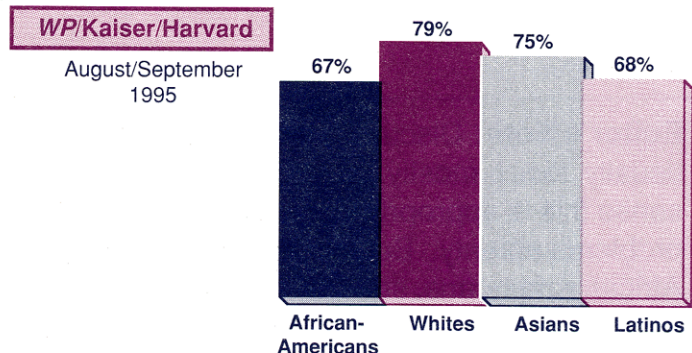
Question: Earlier on in American history, many people thought the U.S. was the very best place in the world to live. Do you think it still is, nor not?

percent saying the U.S. is still the best place in the world to live



Question: I'd like to talk to you now about a term with which you probably are familiar—the American Dream...Do you believe in the American Dream, or not?

percent saying they "believe in the American Dream"

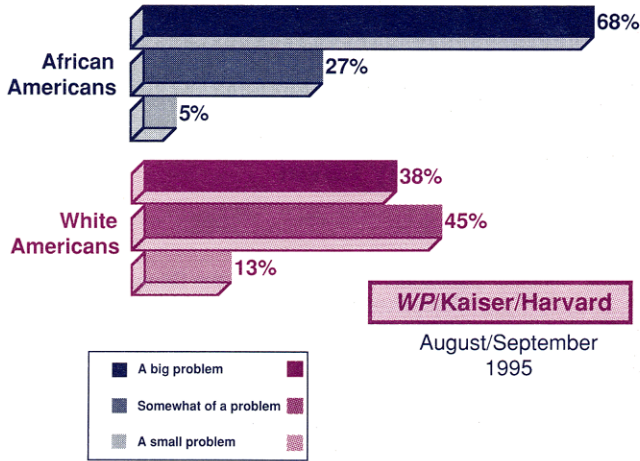


See p. 42 for detailed source citations.

African Americans See Positives as well as Negatives in the Country's Race Relations

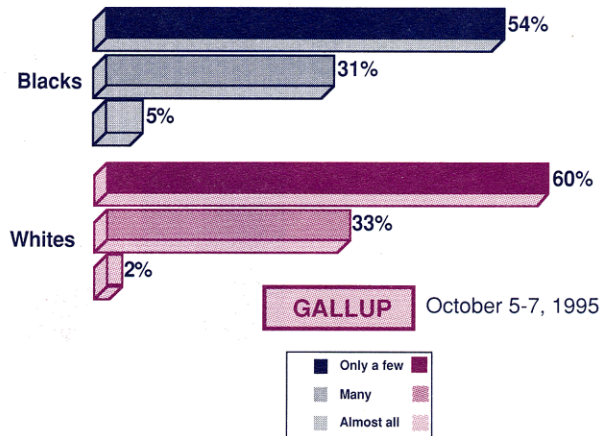
Racism A Problem...

Question: How big a problem is racism in our society today? Is it a big problem, somewhat of a problem, a small problem or not a problem at all?

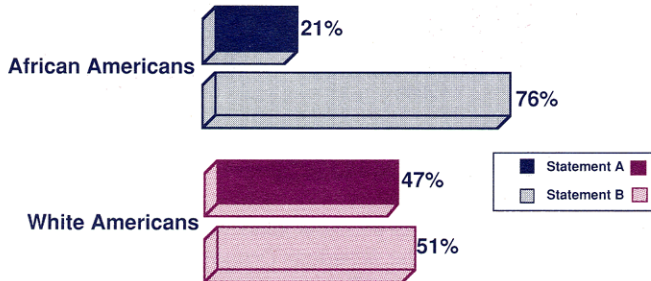


...But Racial Comity Also Seen

Question: In general, how do you think people in the U.S. feel about people of other races? Do you think only a few white people dislike blacks, many dislike blacks, or almost all white people dislike blacks?

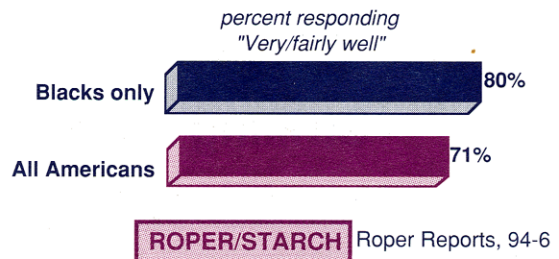


Question: Which of these two statements comes closer to your view... (A) With the exception of a small number of African Americans who have severe economic and social problems, most African Americans have the same standard of living and opportunities as whites or (B) Most African Americans have a lower standard of living and fewer opportunities than whites?



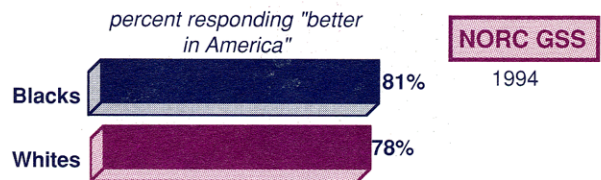
Question: From time to time we hear discussions about how well different groups in society get along with each other. I'd like to get your opinion. For each [group]...tell me if you think they generally get along very well, fairly well, or not well at all?...

...Blacks and Whites



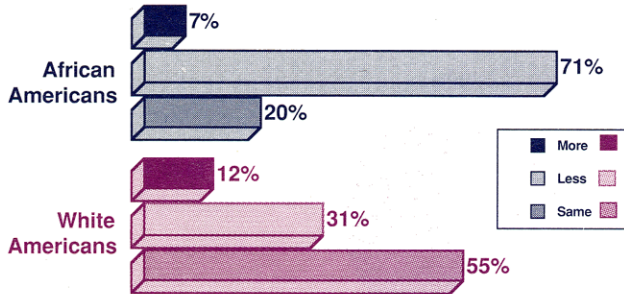
Editor's Note: Discussions of race relations usually focus mostly on problems. In one sense this is appropriate, because there are problems aplenty. But Americans, including African Americans, see many positive facets as well, as the data shown here attest.

Question: Do you feel that the quality of life is better in America than in most other advanced industrial countries, about the same, or do you feel that people are better off in most other advanced industrial countries than they are in the U.S.



Opportunity Denied...

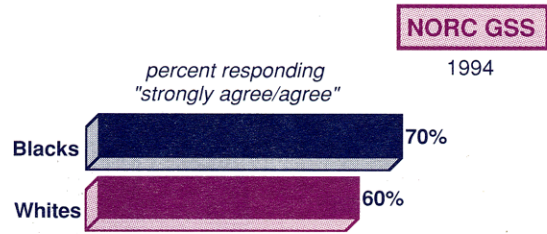
Question: Do you feel that [African Americans] have more opportunity, less opportunity, or about the same opportunity to live a middle class life as whites?



WPI/Kaiser/Harvard August/September 1995

...Yet Also Present

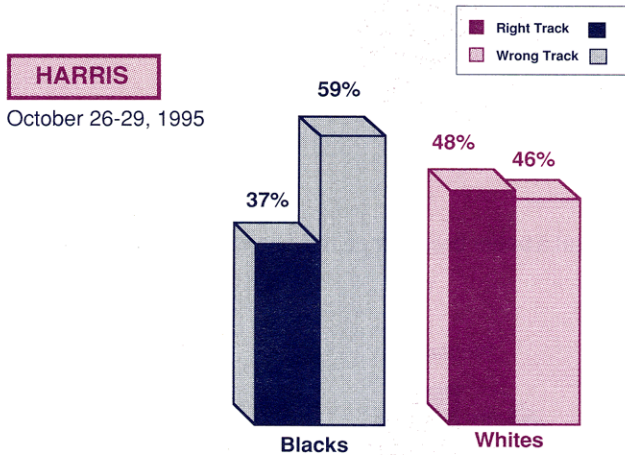
Question: The way things are in America, people like me and my family have a good chance of improving our standard of living—Do you agree or disagree...?



NORC GSS 1994

Still on the Wrong Track...

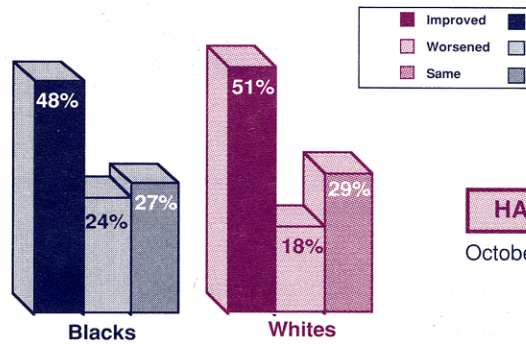
Question: Overall, as far as race relations are concerned, do you feel the country is on the right track or the wrong track?



HARRIS October 26-29, 1995

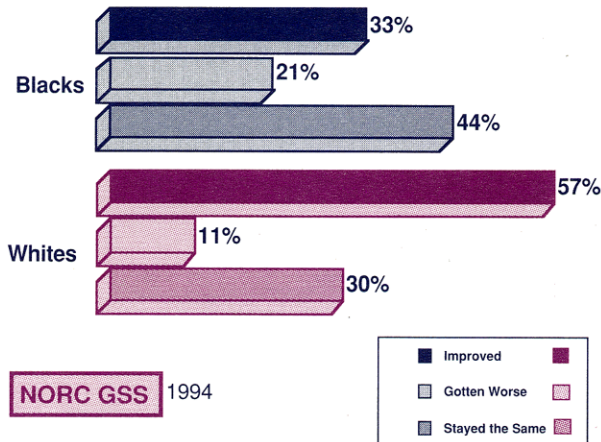
...Yet Better than Before

Question: When (today's/your) children reach your age do you expect that race relations will have improved, will have worsened, or will be about the same as today?



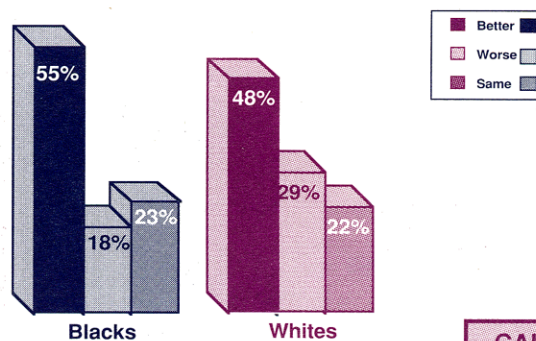
HARRIS October 26-29, 1995

Question: In the past few years, do you think conditions for black people have improved, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?



NORC GSS 1994

Question: Do you think race relations in this country are better today than they were forty years ago, are they the same, or are they worse?



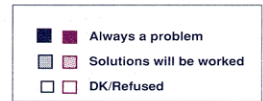
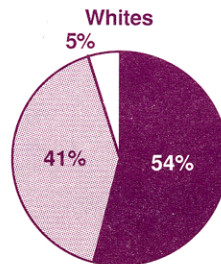
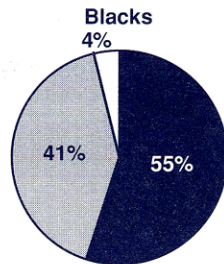
GALLUP April 22-24, 1994

The Glass of Progress in Race Relations— Half Empty, Half Full

Question: Do you think that relations between blacks and whites will always be a problem for the U.S., or that a solution will eventually be worked out?

GALLUP

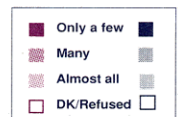
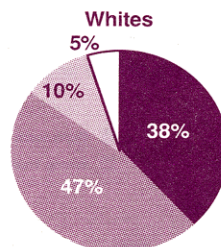
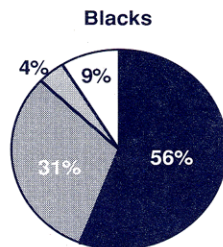
October 5-7, 1995



Question: Do you think only a few black people dislike whites, many dislike whites, or almost all black people dislike whites?

GALLUP

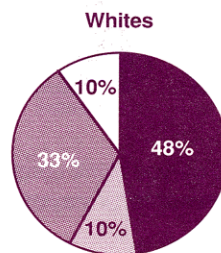
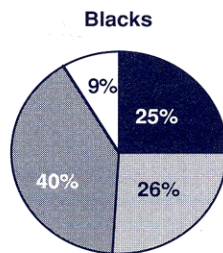
October 5-7, 1995



Question: On the whole, do you think most white people want to see blacks get a better break, or do they want to keep blacks down, or don't you think they care either way?

NYT

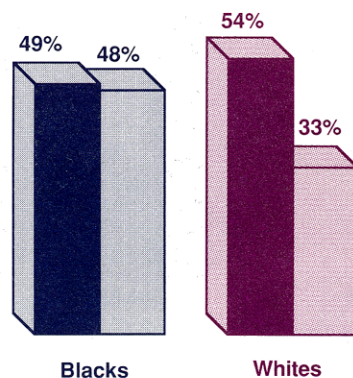
February 15-17, 1994



Question: Do you think the voters of this country are ready to elect a qualified black as president, or don't you think so?

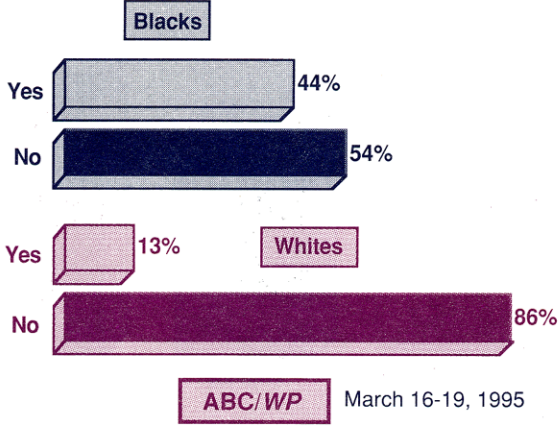
NBC/WSJ

September 16-19, 1995



Blacks More Likely Than Whites to have Personally Experienced job Discrimination...

Question: Do you feel that you personally have ever been denied a job or promotion because of your race?



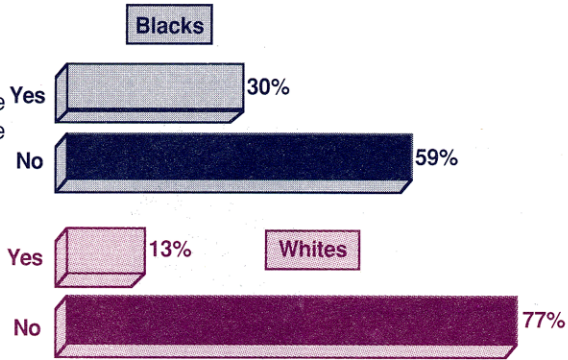
...And to See it Generally in Economic Life

Question: Do you think blacks today are discriminated against in...?

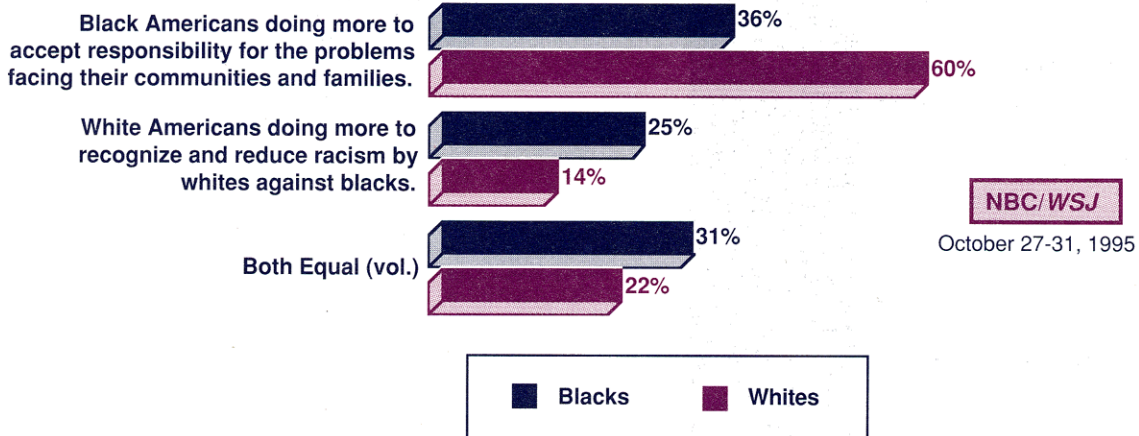


But the Problem Reaches Far Beyond Discrimination

Question: Do you think the problems that most blacks face are caused primarily by whites, or don't you think this is the case?



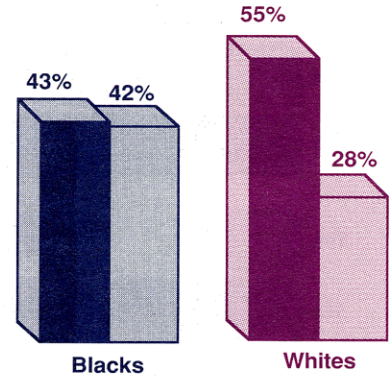
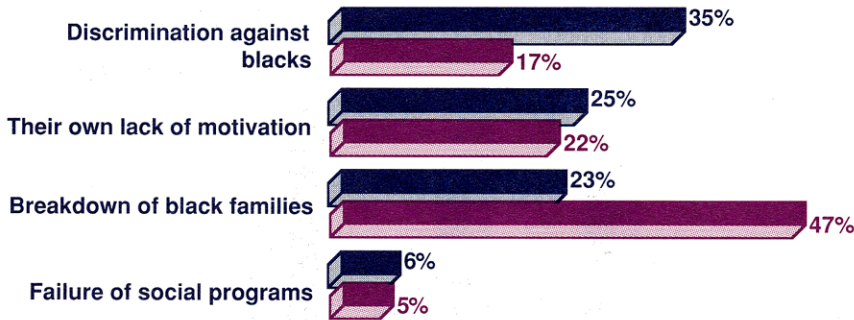
Question: Which of the following do you think is more important for improving race relations today...?



Both Blacks and Whites See Many Facets to America's Racial Dilemmas

Question: ...[W]hich of the following is the main reason young black men have so many problems today...?

Question: Which of the following is more of a problem for black Americans today: Failure of blacks to take advantage of available opportunities or, discrimination by whites?



PSRA

Blacks Whites

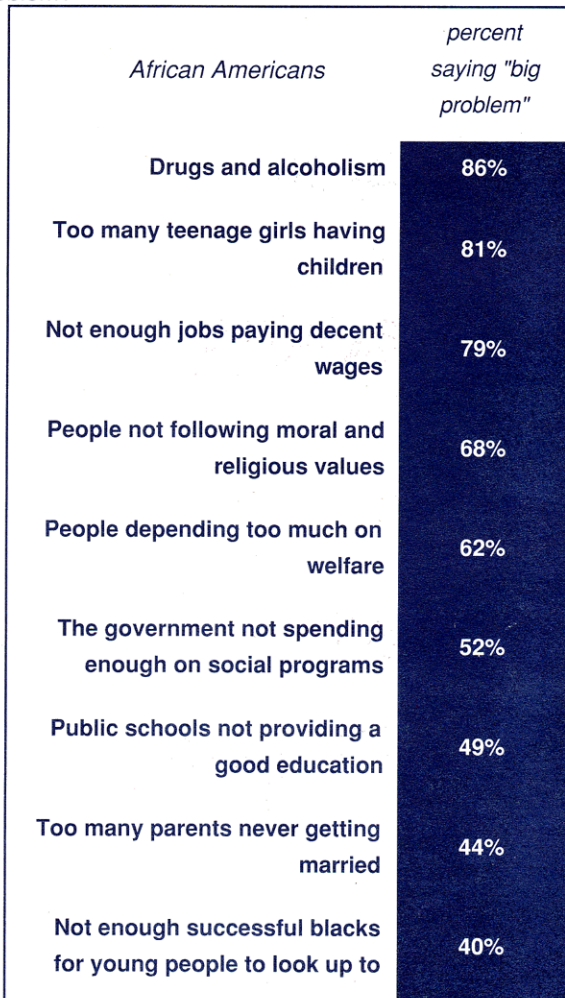
YANKELOVICH

March 22-23, 1995

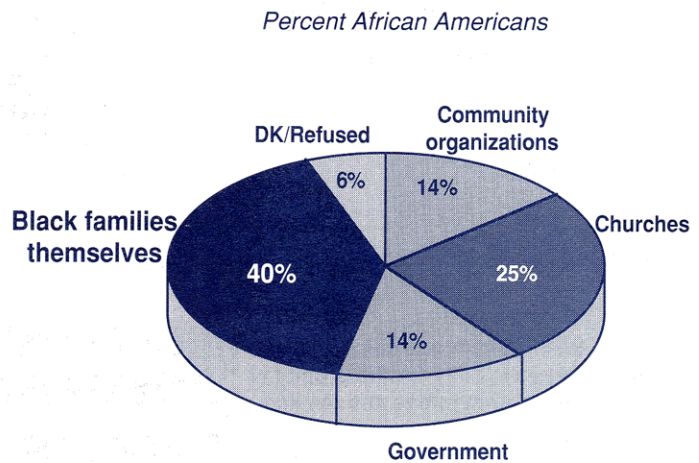
Failure of blacks
Discrimination by whites

October 18-20, 1995

Question: In general, how much of a problem do you think each of the following is for black families today?...Is this a big problem for black families today, somewhat of a problem, or not a problem?



Question: Which one of the following do you think can do most to improve the situation for black families today?



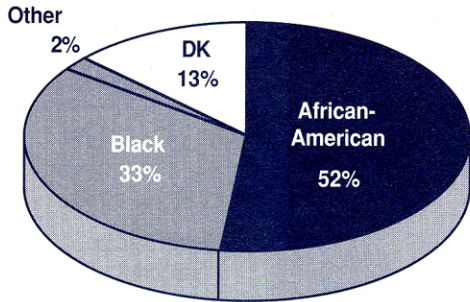
PSRA

August 12-15, 1993

Note: National sample of 600 African Americans.

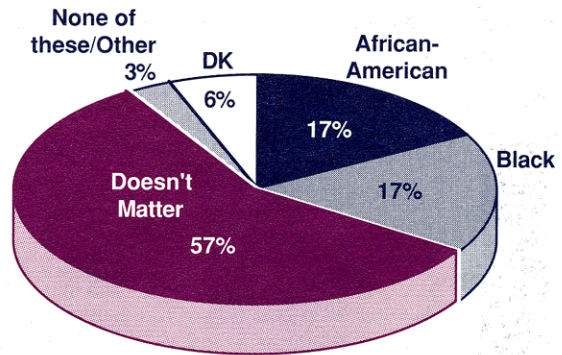
“Black” or “African American”: Not a Big Issue

Question: Which would you prefer as a name for your race...African-American or black?



YANKELOVICH October 18-19, 1995

Question: Some people say the term 'African-American' should be used instead prefer the word 'black.' Which term do you prefer... 'African-American' or 'black,' or does it not matter to you either way?

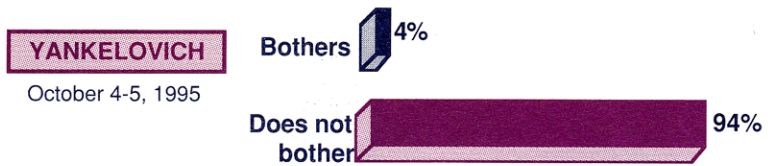


GALLUP July 20-23, 1995

Question: Does it bother you or not bother you when someone uses the term black?



Question: Does it bother you or not bother you when someone uses the term African-American?

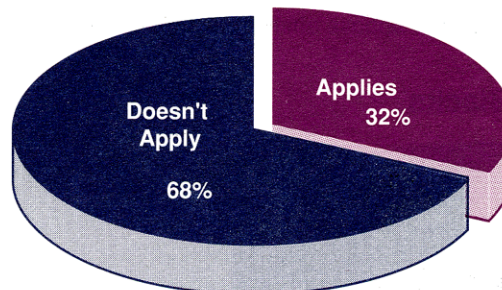


YANKELOVICH October 4-5, 1995

A Third of African Americans Consider Themselves of Mixed Race

Question: Which...if any, applies to you? Do you... consider yourself to be of mixed race?

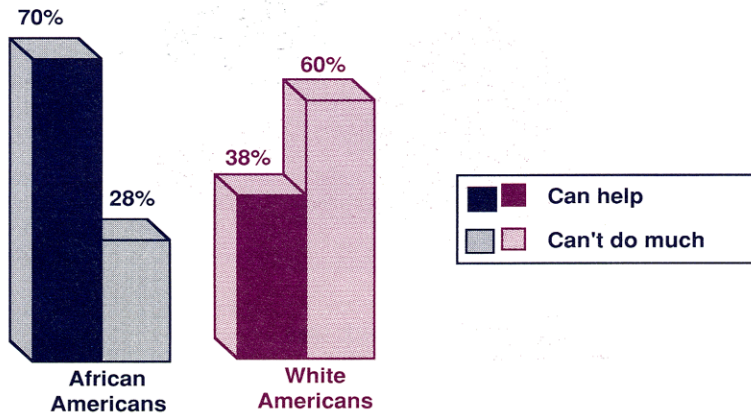
PSRA February 1-3, 1995



Note: Persons who identified themselves as African Americans in the standard question on race were then asked the above item.

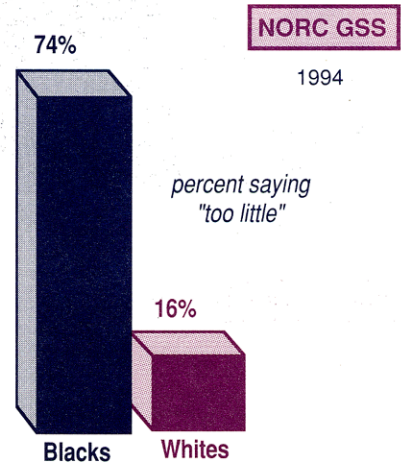
Policy: Sharp Differences Between Blacks and Whites on Government's Responsibility in Meeting Racial Problems

Question: Do you think that federal government can do something to help those African Americans with severe problems, or do you think this is a problem the federal government can't do much about?



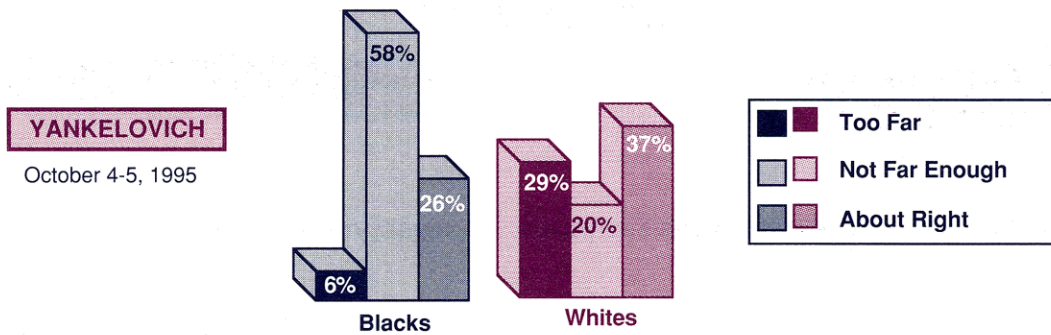
WP/Kaiser/Harvard
August/September 1995.

Question: ...Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on...assistance to blacks?



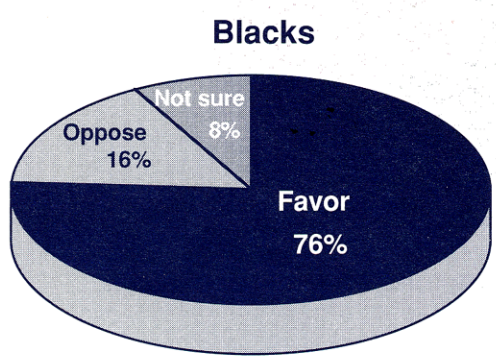
NORC GSS
1994

Question: In your view, do current government programs go too far in helping blacks, not far enough, or are they about right?

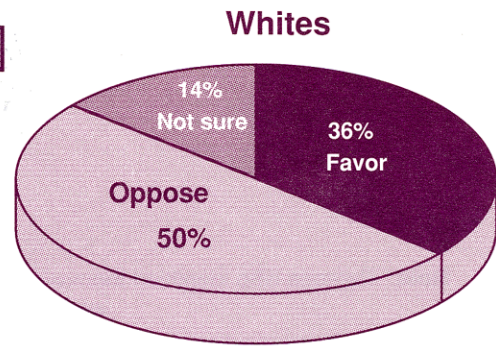


YANKELOVICH
October 4-5, 1995

Question: All in all, do you favor or oppose affirmative action programs for blacks and other minority groups?

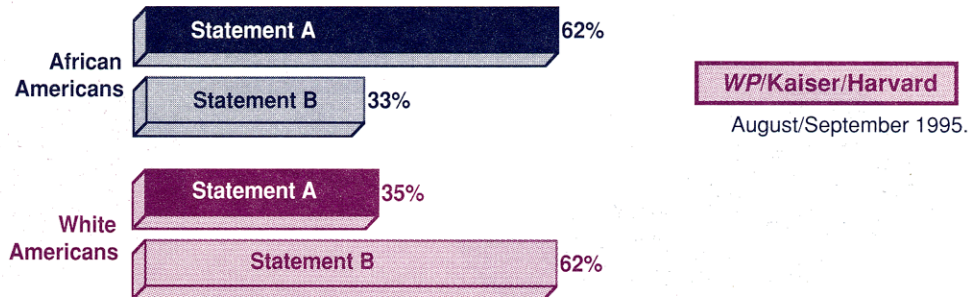


NBC/WSJ
October 1995

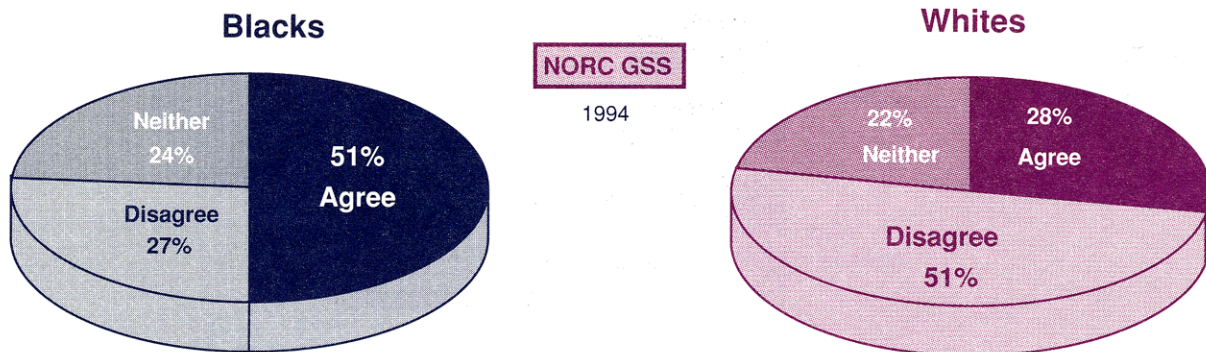


The Division Extends to Other Role-of-Gov't Questions

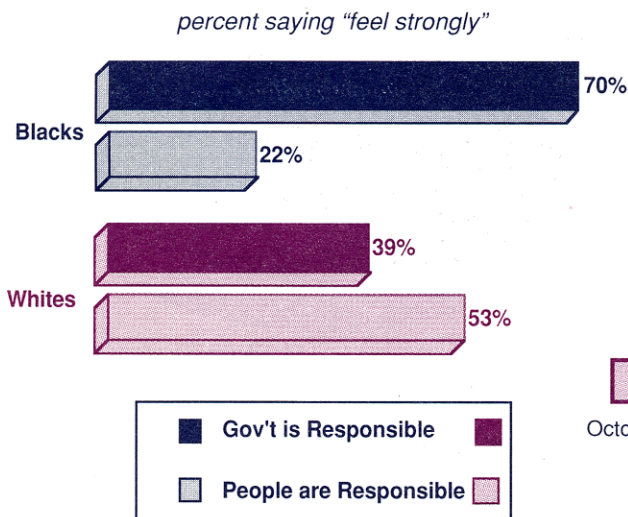
Question: In general, would you rather have: (A) The federal government provide more services, even if it costs more in taxes; or (B) The federal government cost less in taxes, but provide fewer services.



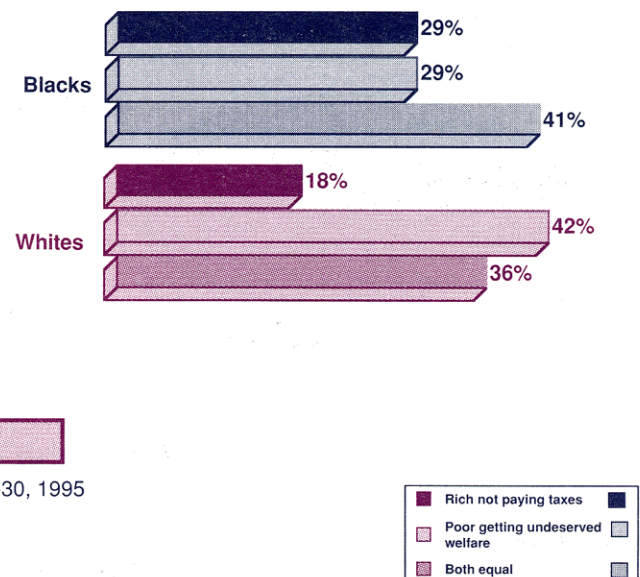
Question: What is your opinion of the following statement? It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes.



Question: Which statement comes closest to your view: "The government is responsible for the well-being of all its citizens and it has an obligation to help people when they are in trouble," or "People are responsible for their own well-being and they have an obligation to take care of themselves when they are in trouble." Do you feel strongly about that, or not?

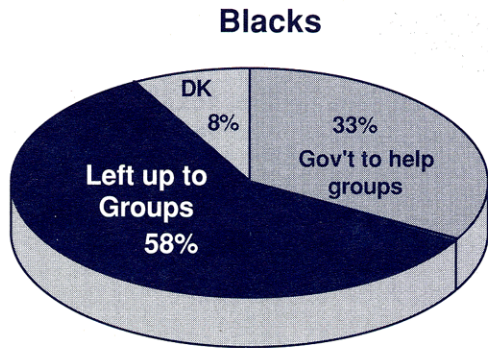


Question: What's a bigger problem for this country right now: rich people not paying their fair share of taxes, or people on welfare getting benefits they don't deserve?

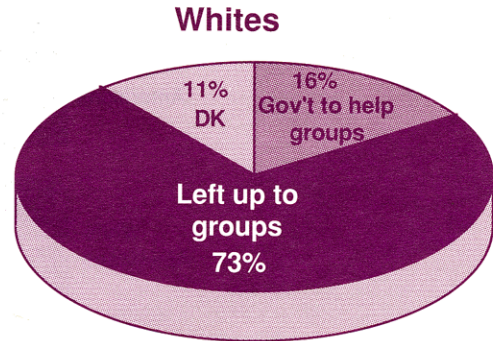


But Even on Some Key Questions of Government's Role in Remedying Racial Problems, the Groups' Differences are Small

Question: Should it be up to the government to help racial and ethnic groups change so that they blend into the larger society, or should this be left up to the groups themselves?

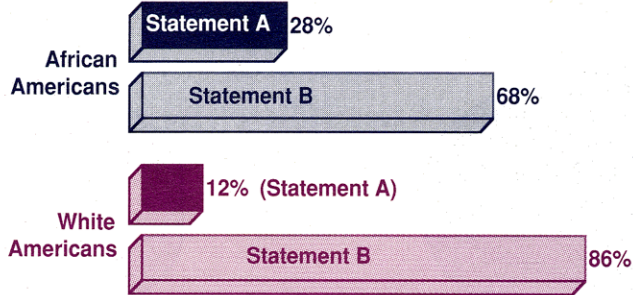


NORC GSS
1994



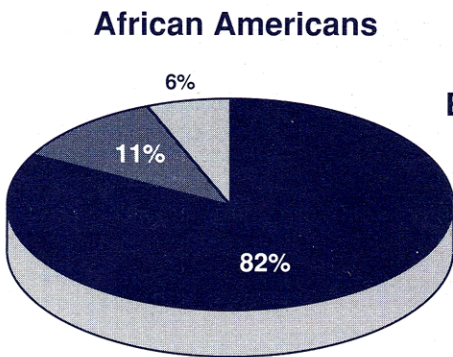
Question: Which of these statements comes closer to the way you feel? (A) Diversity benefits our country economically and socially, so race or ethnicity should be a factor when deciding who is hired, promoted, or admitted to college; (B) Hiring, promotion, and college admissions should be based strictly on merit and qualifications other than race or ethnicity.

WP/Kaiser/Harvard
August/September 1995

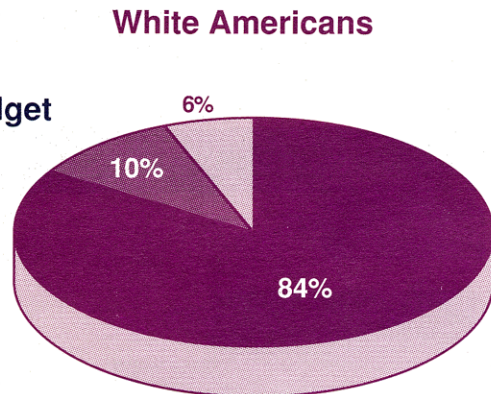


And on a Wide Array of Policies, From Social Issues to Gov't Program Evaluations—Black and White Differences are Modest to Non-Existent

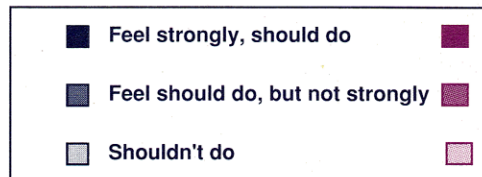
Question: ...For each...[issue]...please tell me if you think it is something Congress should do or should not do. Is that something you feel strongly that Congress should/shouldn't do, or don't you feel very strongly about it?



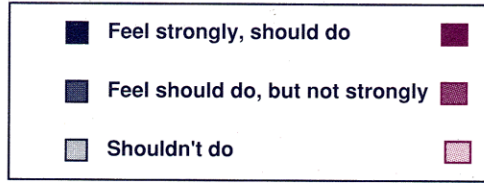
Balance the Budget



WP/Kaiser/Harvard
August/September 1995



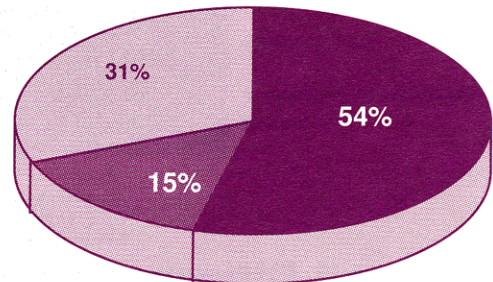
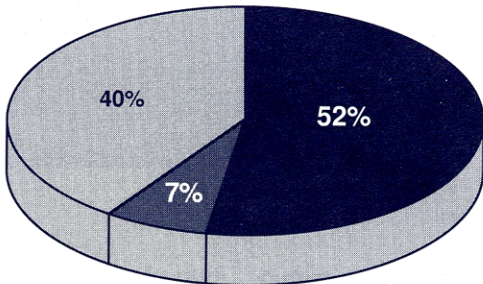
Both Blacks and Whites Say Cut Taxes, Reform Welfare & Medicare



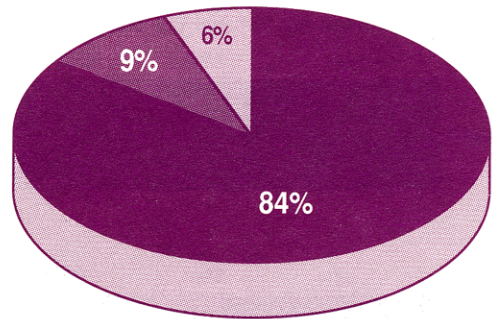
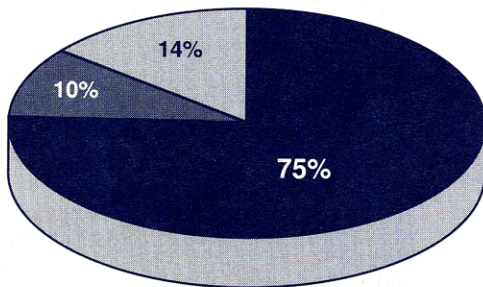
African Americans

White Americans

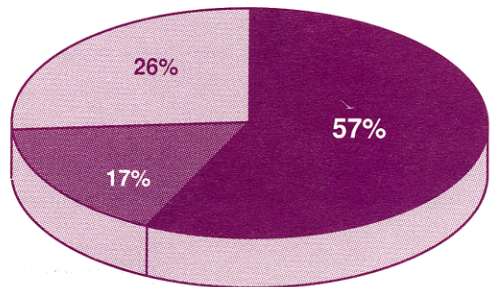
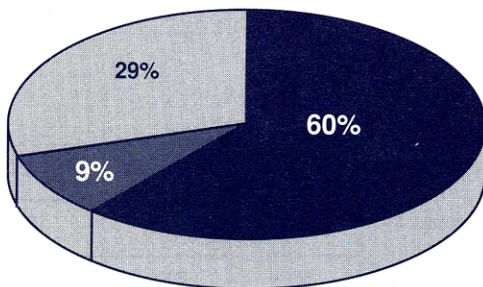
Cut Personal Income Taxes



Reform the Welfare System



Reform Medicare



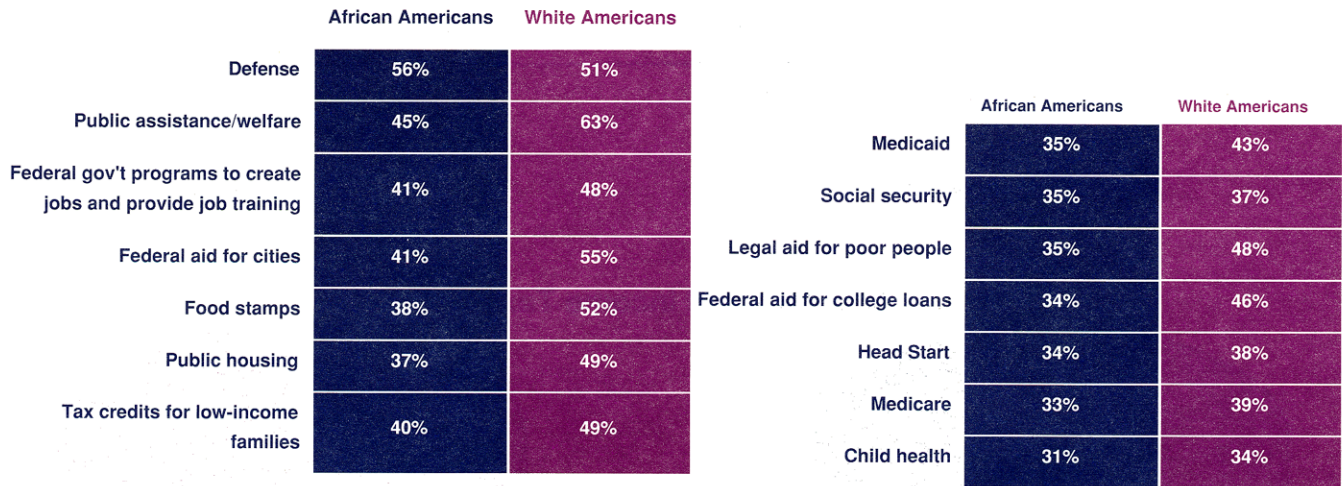
WP/Kaiser/Harvard

August/September 1995

Modest Differences on Spending Cuts

Question: A number of spending reductions have been proposed in order to balance the federal budget and avoid raising taxes. Would you favor or oppose making major spending reductions in each of the following federal programs?

percent favor spending cuts

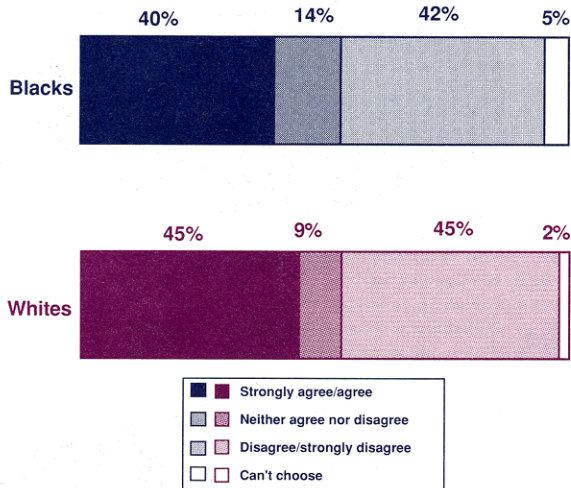


WP/Kaiser/Harvard

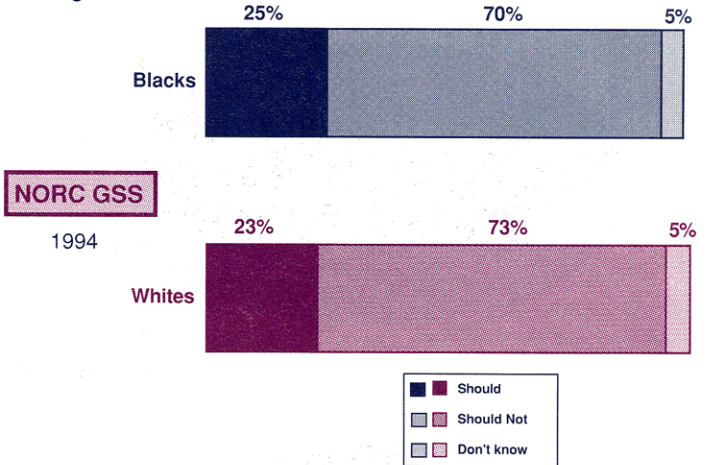
August/September 1995

And Small Differences on Abortion, Marijuana, and the Call for Firmness in the Courts

Question: Do you agree or disagree...A pregnant woman should be able to obtain an abortion for any reason whatsoever, if she chooses not to have the baby?



Question: Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal or not?



NORC GSS

1994

Question: In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals?

NORC GSS

1989-94 combined

	All Whites	All Blacks	Young Blacks
Too Harshly	2%	7%	12%
Not Harshly Enough	83%	79%	76%
About Right	9%	8%	8%

Demographics: African-Americans and Whites Compared

Population Change

	1994	1980
Black population as a percent of total population	12.7%	11.7%
White population (not Hispanic) as a percent of total population	73.6%	79.5%

Educational Attainment

	1994	1980
Blacks, 25 yrs. and over		
H.S. graduate or more	72.9%	51.2%
Bachelor's degree or more	12.9%	7.9%
Whites, 25 yrs. and over		
H.S. graduate or more	82.0%	70.5%
Bachelor's degree or more	22.9%	17.8%

Home Ownership

	Own or buying a home	Renting
Blacks, U.S.	42.5%	55.6%
Blacks, South only	47.8%	49.8%
Blacks, North & West	36.3%	62.3%
Whites, U.S.	67.8%	30.3%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "The Black Population in the U.S.: March 1994 & 1993," *Current Population Reports*, P20-480, January 1995.

Black Population Migration: Since 1970, Out of the Northeast and Midwest, into the West, Back to the South

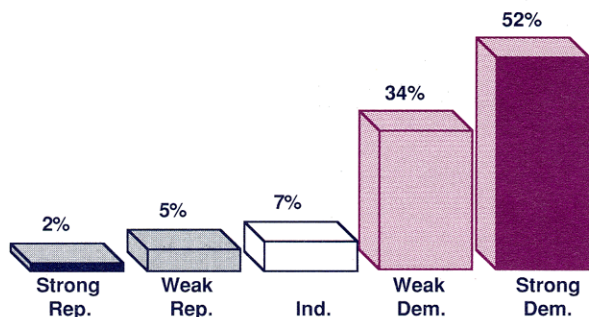
	South	Northeast	Midwest	West
1970-75	14,000	-64,000	-52,000	102,000
1975-80	195,000	-175,000	-51,000	30,000
1990-91	115,000	-132,000	4,000	13,000
1991-92	45,000	-33,000	-28,000	15,000
1993-94	61,000	-36,000	-102,000	77,000

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1982-83*; *Current Population Reports, Geographical Mobility* (for the years shown).

African Americans Continue to Differ Sharply From Whites in Party Preferences

Party Identification

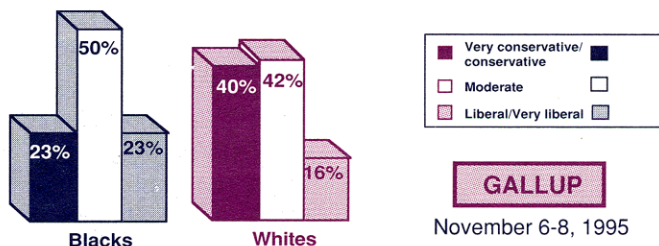
African Americans



DAWSON

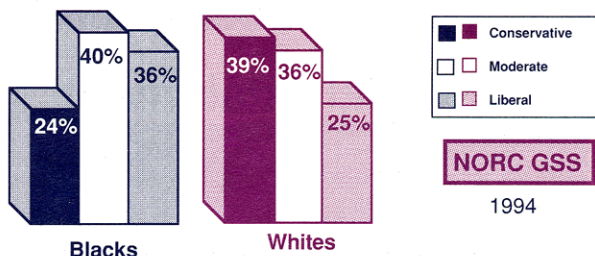
1993

Question: How would you describe your political views...very conservative, conservative, moderate, liberal, or very liberal?



GALLUP

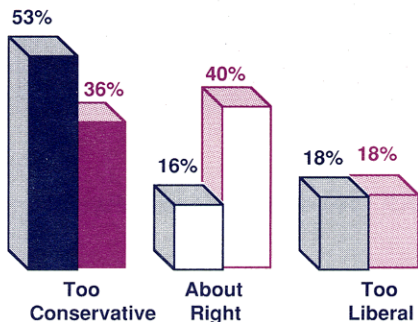
November 6-8, 1995



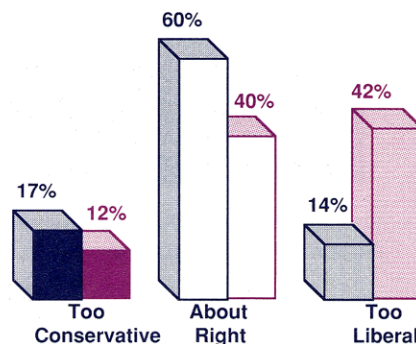
NORC GSS

1994

Question: In general, do you think the political views of...the Republican Party...are too conservative, too liberal, or about right?

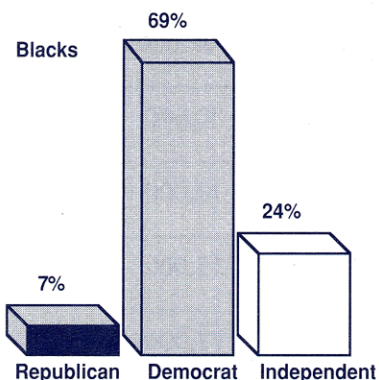


Question: In general, do you think the political views of...the Democratic Party...are too conservative, too liberal, or about right?



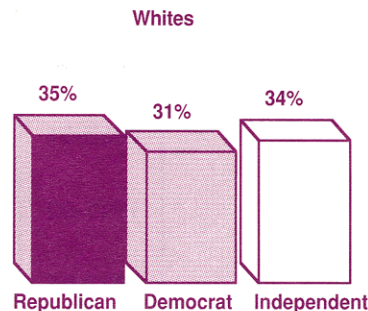
GALLUP

November 6-8, 1995



NORC GSS

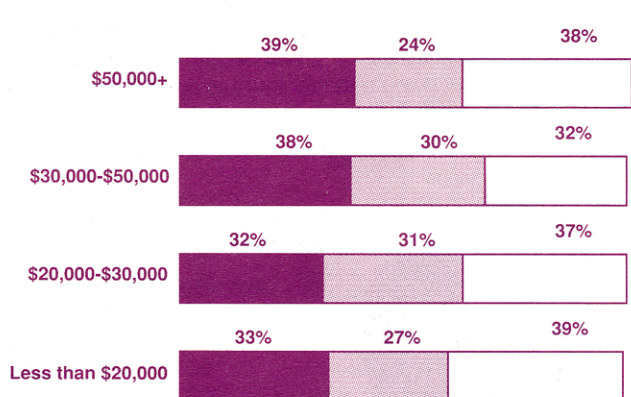
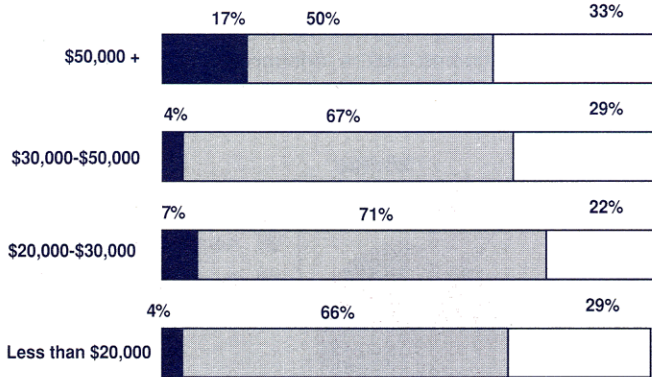
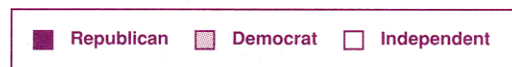
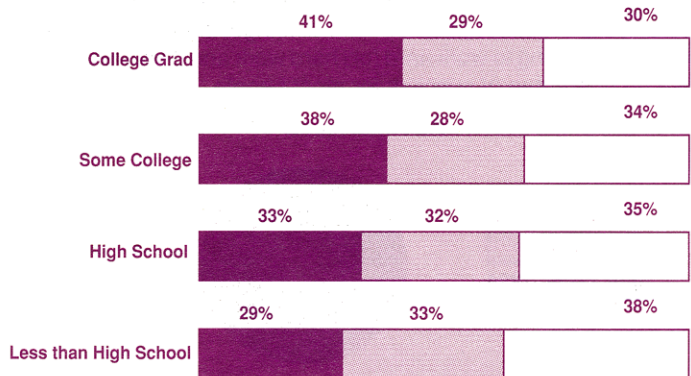
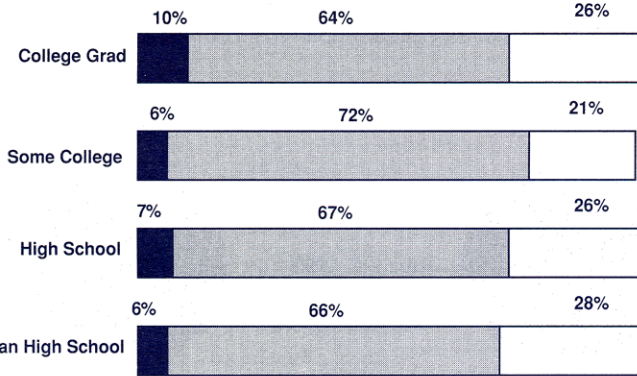
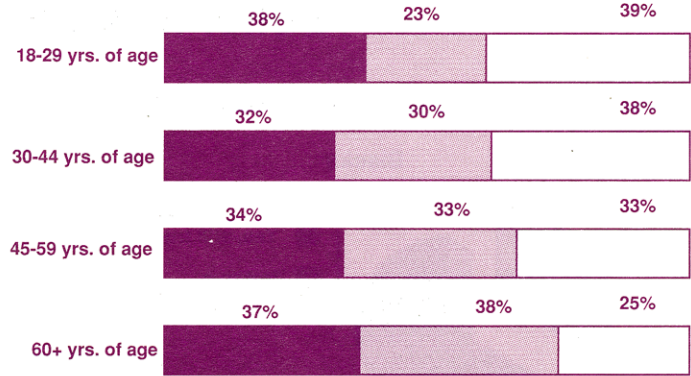
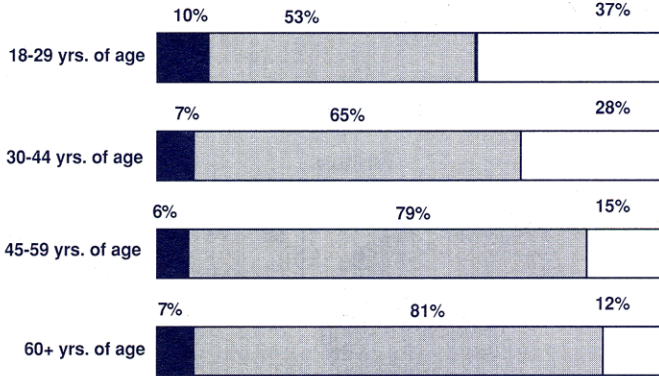
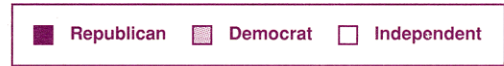
1994



Still No Republican Base Among African Americans, Save Possibly Among Those With Higher Incomes

Blacks

Whites



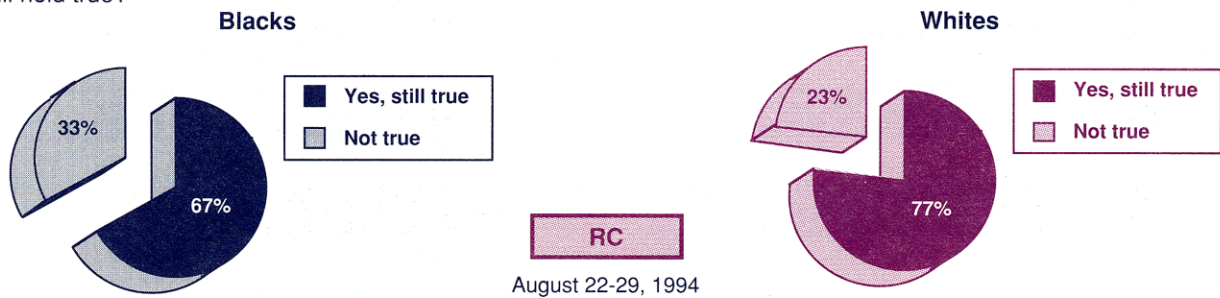
NORC GSS

1994

On Core Social and Political Values, Similarities Are Far More Striking Than Differences

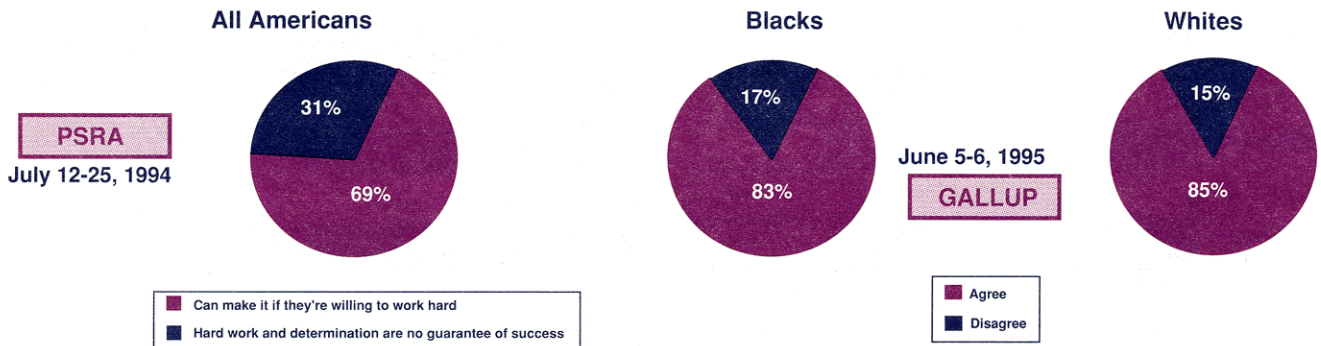
Belief in America's Promise

Question: A basic American belief has been that if you work hard you can get ahead—reach the goals you set and more. Does that still hold true?



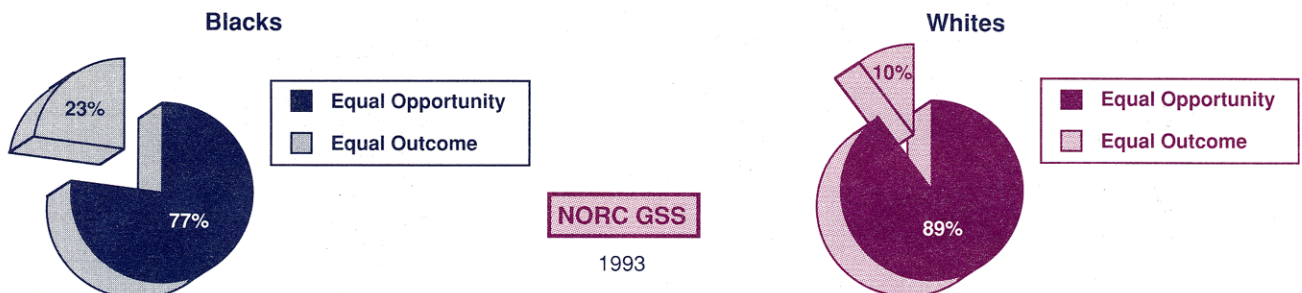
Question: ...[T]ell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right.... Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard (or) hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people.

Question: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements... People who work hard to better themselves can get ahead in this country.



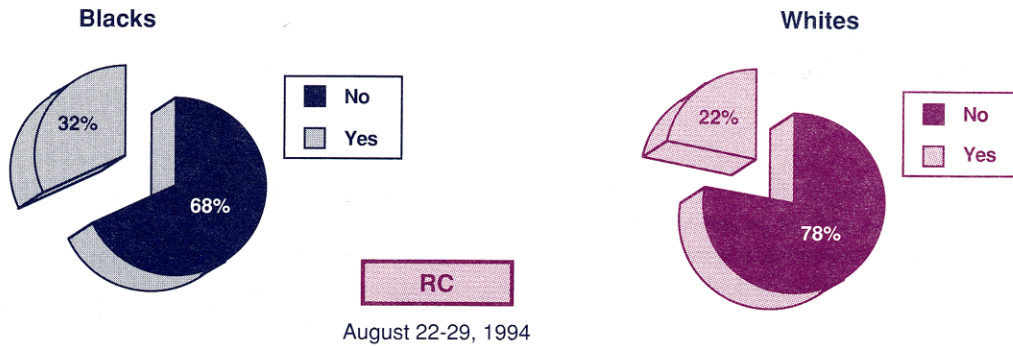
Equality of Opportunity Preferred to Equality of Result

Question: Some people think America should promote equal opportunity for all, that is, allowing everyone to compete for jobs and wealth on a fair and even basis. Other people think America should promote equal outcomes, that is, ensuring that everyone has a decent standard of living and that there are only small differences in wealth and income between the top and bottom of society. Which do you favor...?



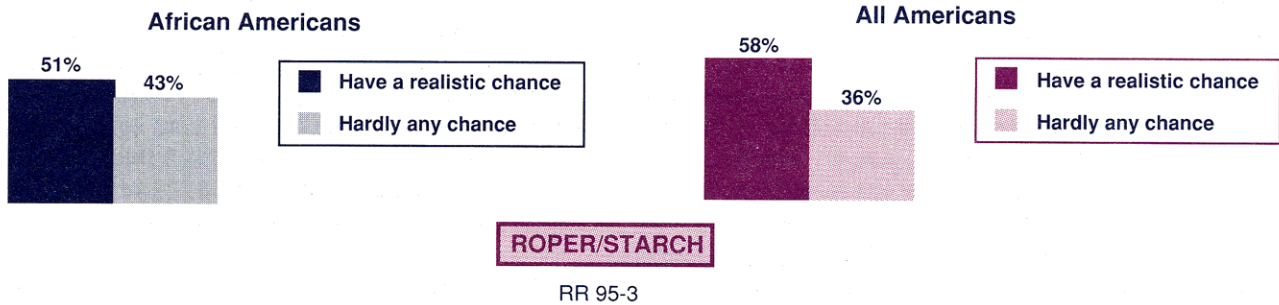
People, Opinions & Polls

Question: Should there be a top limit on incomes so that no one can earn more than one million dollars a year?

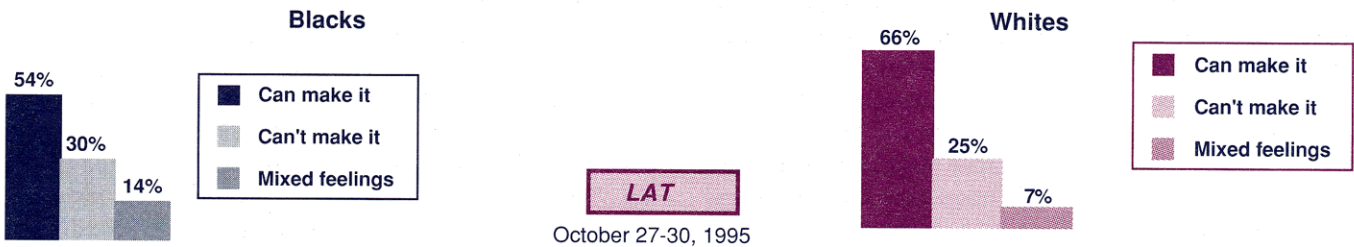


Opportunity is There

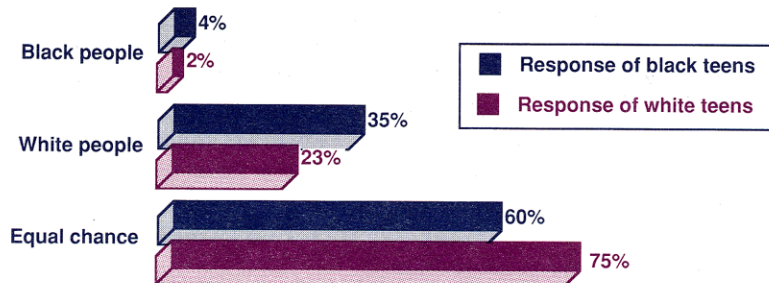
Question: In your opinion, do people who are living in poverty have a realistic chance of escaping from it, or do they have hardly any chance of getting out?



Question: Which of these statements comes closer to your opinion: "In the United States today, anyone who works hard enough can make it economically," or "No matter how hard you work you just can't make it economically in this country today...?"



Question: Who has a better chance to succeed in life: black people or white people, or do you think they have an equal chance?



Source: Survey by the *Washington Post* of 12-17 year olds in the Washington, DC area, December 13, 1995.

On Core Personal Values, Too, Similarities Abound

Question: Do you think of yourself as someone who has traditional or old-fashioned values on such things as sex, morality, family life and religion, or not?



PSRA

August 26-September 1, 1994

Question: ...[T]ell me if you agree or disagree...with[the following]statement... **Values in America have been seriously declining.**



Question: ...[T]ell me if you agree or disagree...with[the following]statement... **We need to return to traditional values.**



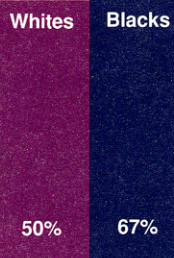
Tarrance, et al.

March 5-7, 1994

African Americans Endorse Many "Traditional" Values—Especially Religious Values

Question: In order to improve the moral climate in this country, do you think we must put more emphasis on religion, or can we improve the moral climate without necessarily placing more emphasis on religion?

Must have religion

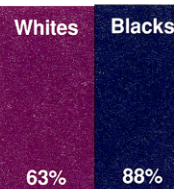


LAT

July 23-26, 1994

Question: Do you believe that religion can answer all or most of today's problems, or that religion is largely old-fashioned and out of date?

Can answer today's problems



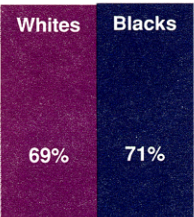
Question: ...[T]ell me if you agree or disagree...?

Agree—God is the moral guiding force of American democracy.



Question: ...[Tell me if you agree or disagree...?

Agree—People who are religious or spiritual are happier and more content than people who are not religious.



Tarrance, et al.

March 5-7, 1994

GALLUP

March 28-30, 1994

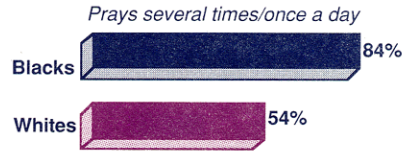
People, Opinions & Polls

Question: How important would you say religion is in your own life—extremely important, very important, fairly important, or not very important?



GALLUP September 22-24, 1995

Question: People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less, or never?

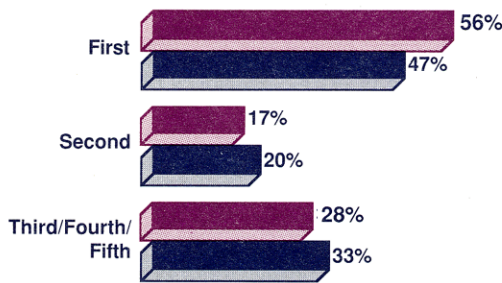


RC August 22-29, 1994

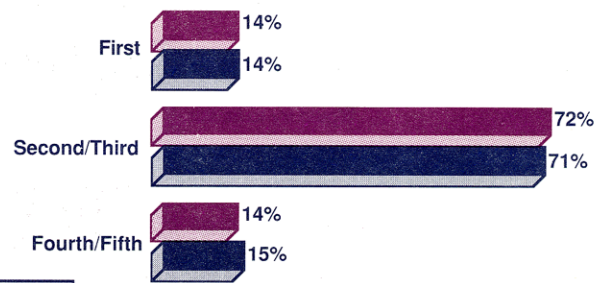
What Values to Encourage in Children? Some Similarities and Some Differences

Question: ...[W]hich...would you pick as the most important for a child to learn to prepare him or her for life?...Which comes next in importance? Which comes third? Which comes fourth?...

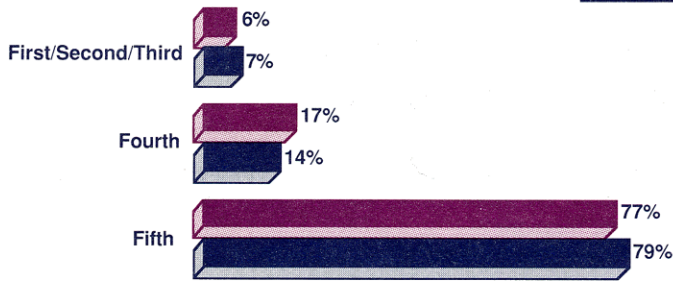
...To think for himself or herself



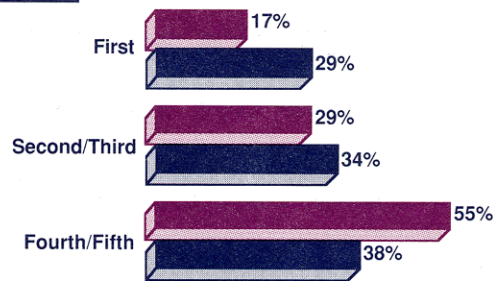
...To work hard



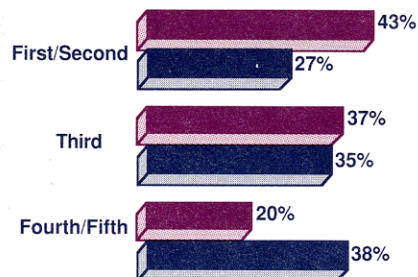
...To be well liked or popular



...To obey



...To help others when they need help



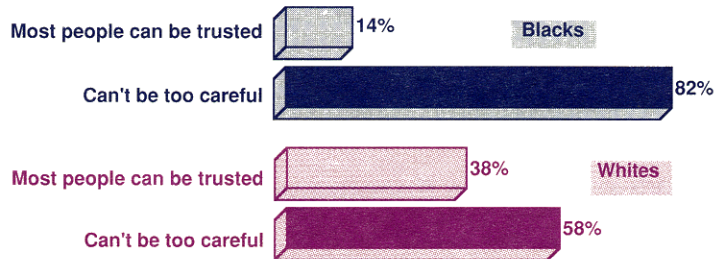
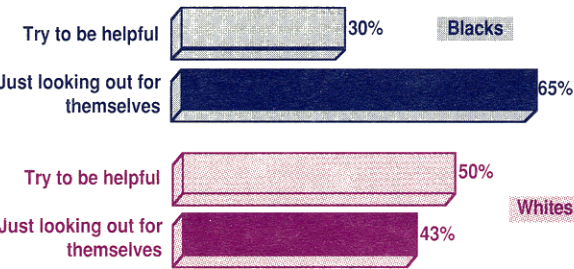
NORC GSS

1994

Yes, Experience Has Produced Greater Doubts in Black America About People's Motives

Question: Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?

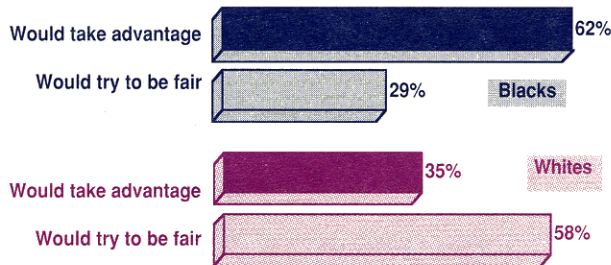
Question: ...[W]ould you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?



Question: Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?

NORC GSS

1994



For Blacks and Whites Alike, Integration Is the Widely Endorsed Norm

Question: Do you think white students and black students should go to the same schools or to separate schools?

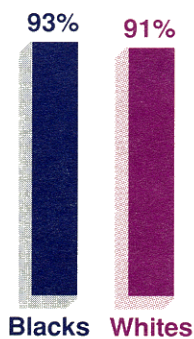
Question: Do you feel that school integration has improved relations between blacks and whites or has it worked against better relations?

percent responding "same schools"

percent responding "improved relations"

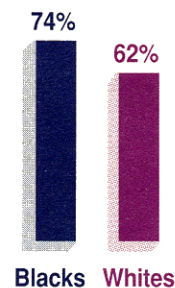
PSRA

February 1-3, 1995



GALLUP

April 22-24, 1994

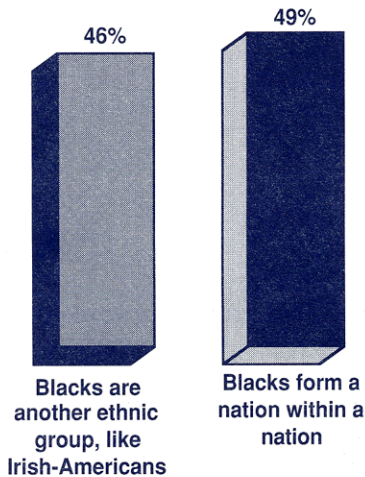


Reaching for a Society Beyond Race

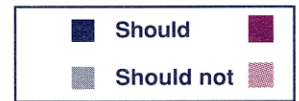
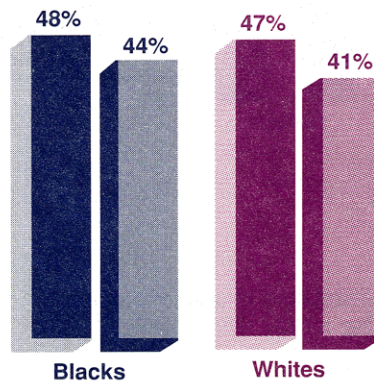
Question: Do blacks form a nation within a nation...[or, are blacks another ethnic group, like Irish-Americans]...?

Question: Some people think the U.S. Census should stop collecting information on race and ethnicity in an effort to move toward a more color-blind society—even if it becomes more difficult to measure progress on civil rights and poverty programs. Do you think the Census should stop collecting such information, or not?

African Americans



DAWSON 1993



PSRA

February 1-3, 1995

Note: Throughout the POP, the following abbreviations are used to indicate the source of the data being presented.

ABC/WP	ABC News/Washington Post	NYT	The New York Times Poll
CBS	CBS News Poll	PSRA	Princeton Survey Research Associates (here, July 12-25, 1994 for Times Mirror; all others, for Newsweek)
CBS/NYT	CBS News/New York Times Poll	RC	The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research (here, for Reader's Digest)
DAWSON	The 1993-94 National Black Politics Study of 1,206 African Americans, interviewed by telephone, November 18, 1993-February 20, 1994	ROPER/STARCH	Roper Starch Worldwide, Inc.
GALLUP	The Gallup Organization (data in the 1990s, for CNN/USA Today)	Tarrance, et al.	The Tarrance Group, Mellman, Lazarus and Lake (here, for U.S. News and World Report)
HARRIS	Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.	WP	Washington Post
LAT	The Los Angeles Times Poll	WP/Kaiser/Harvard	Conducted by Chilton Research for the Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University Survey Project
NBC/WSJ	NBC News/Wall Street Journal Poll	YANKELOVICH	Yankelovich Partners, Inc. (here, for Time/CNN)
NORC GSS	National Opinion Research Center General Social Survey, conducted each year		