

A Year After Obama's Election  
Blacks Upbeat about Black Progress, Prospects

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE TUESDAY JANUARY 12, 2010 AT 10 AM

MEDIA INQUIRIES CONTACT:  
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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. The Center does not take positions on policy issues.

The report is based on a telephone survey conducted on landlines and cell phones from October 28 through November 30, 2009 among a nationally representative sample of 2,884 adults. Interviews were conducted in English or Spanish. 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 812. The margin of error is plus-or-minus 3.0 percentage points for the full sample and plus-or-minus 4.5 percentage points for the African-American sample. The survey also included 376 Hispanics of any race; with a margin of error of plus-or-minus 7.5 percentage points for this group. The margin of error for whites is 3.5 percentage points. For a full description of the research methodology, see page 67.

The survey field work was carried out by Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Juan Williams of National Public Radio (NPR) provided counsel to the Center as we shaped the questionnaire. The survey was also shaped by the results of two focus groups we conducted with African Americans in Baltimore, Maryland, moderated by Dawn Crossland Sumners. The Center is solely responsible for the analysis, interpretation and reporting of the data. The following people at the Center carried out this project:

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## A Year After Obama's Election Blacks Upbeat about Black Progress, Prospects

### I. Overview

Despite the bad economy, blacks' assessments about the state of black progress in America have improved more dramatically during the past two years than at any time in the past quarter century, according to a comprehensive new nationwide Pew Research Center survey on race.

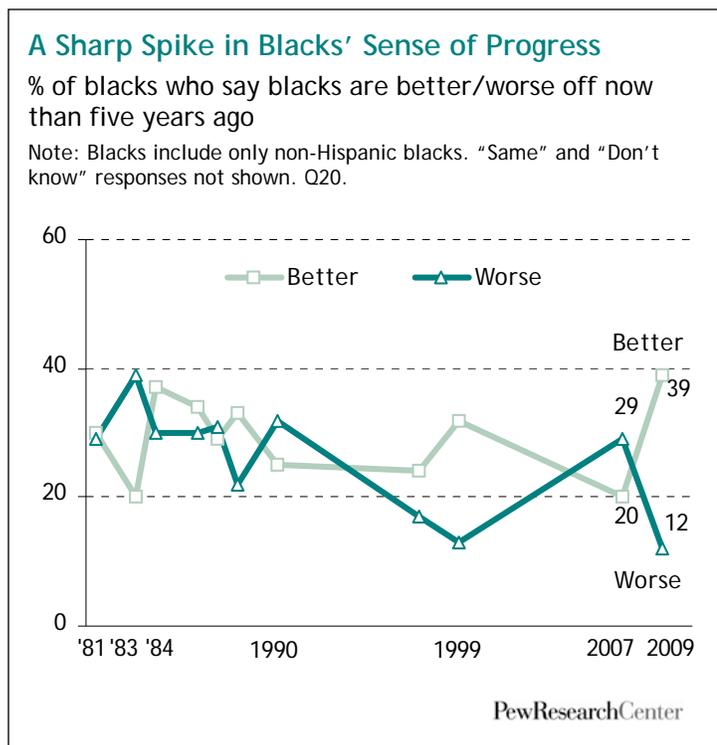
Barack Obama's election as the nation's first black president appears to be the spur for this sharp rise in optimism among African Americans. It may also be reflected in an upbeat set of black views on a range of other matters, including race relations, local community satisfaction and expectations for future black progress.

In each of these realms, the perceptions of blacks have changed for the better over the past two years, despite a deep recession and jobless recovery that have hit blacks especially hard.

The telephone survey was conducted from October 28 to November 30, 2009 among a nationally representative sample of 2,884 adults, including 812 blacks. (For details see page 67).

In some topic areas, the survey finds little change in black opinions. For example, four decades after the turmoil, triumphs and tragedies of the Civil Rights era, most blacks still doubt the basic racial fairness of American society. More than eight-in-ten blacks – compared with just over a third of whites – say the country needs to make more changes to ensure that blacks have equal rights with whites. Blacks also continue to lag behind whites in their satisfaction with their lives and local communities, and most remain skeptical that the police treat blacks and whites equally.

However, in the teeth of what may be the deepest recession since the Great Depression, nearly twice as many blacks now (39%) as in 2007 (20%) say that the “situation of black people in this country” is better than it was five years earlier, and this more positive view is apparent among blacks of all age groups and income levels. Looking ahead, blacks are even more upbeat. More than half (53%) say that life for blacks in the future will be



better than it is now, while just 10% say it will be worse. In 2007, 44% said things would be better for blacks in the future, while 21% said they would be worse.

A majority of blacks (54%) also report that Obama's barrier-breaking election has improved race relations in America; just 7% say it has made race relations worse. Whites, too, see progress on this front, though by much smaller margins. A plurality of whites (45%) say Obama's election has made no difference to race relations, while about a third (32%) say it has made things better and 15% say it has made race relations worse.

For both races, these appraisals are not as effusive as the expectations expressed immediately after the November 2008 election, when nearly half of white voters (48%) and three-quarters of black voters (74%) said they expected to see race relations improve during Obama's presidency.

As for Obama himself, one year into his presidency, his personal favorability rating runs well ahead of public support for his policies, though both have declined in the course of a year marked by highly partisan battles over his policy agenda. His support is higher among blacks than whites, but there is little to suggest that negative opinions about Obama among whites have been driven mostly by race. For example, only a small share of whites (13%) say Obama has been paying too much attention to the concerns of blacks. And while whites who score low on an index of racial liberalism have much more negative views of Obama than do other whites, it is also the case that many whites with an unfavorable opinion of the president have more liberal racial views.<sup>1</sup>

### Blacks More Upbeat on Many Fronts

% of blacks who say...

	2007	2009	Change
	%	%	
Blacks are better off than five years ago	20	39	+19
Black-white standard of living gap is smaller than 10 years ago	41	56	+14
The future for blacks will be better	44	53	+9
They are "very satisfied" with local community	36	44	+8
Blacks and whites get along "very well" or "pretty well"	69	76	+7

Note: Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Q20, Q21F1, Q54, Q1a & Q17c.

<sup>1</sup> The index of racial liberalism is based on three questions: perceptions of discrimination against blacks, acceptance of a family member's marriage to an African American, and perceptions of whether the U.S. has made all of the changes needed to ensure equal rights for blacks. For details, see p. 48.

## Most See a Black-White Convergence on Values, Living Standards

In what may be some of the most intriguing findings of this survey, most blacks join with most whites in saying that the two racial groups have grown more alike in the past decade, both in their standard of living and their core values.

Seven-in-ten whites (70%) and six-in-ten blacks (60%) say that the values held by blacks and whites have become more similar in the past 10 years. Similarly, a majority of blacks (56%) and nearly two-thirds of whites (65%) say the standard of living gap between whites and blacks has narrowed in the past decade. Compared with 2007, whites have changed little in either perception. But more blacks now say that the values of blacks and whites have become more similar (from 54% then to 60% today) and that the standard of living gap has narrowed (41% then, 56% now).

The changing views about the size of the black-white economic gap are all the more notable because they run counter to underlying economic realities. According to a widely-used indicator of a group's standard of living – median household income – blacks in this country have lost ground to whites since 2000, after having spent the previous three decades narrowing the gap. (For details see page 62).

### Blacks and Whites See a Racial Convergence in Past Decade

	Whites	Blacks
<b>In past ten years, have values of blacks and whites become more...</b>		
	%	%
Similar	70	60
Different	18	34
No change (vol.)	2	2
Don't know	9	3
Number of respondents	1447	812

### In past ten years, standard of living gap between blacks and whites has grown...

	Whites	Blacks
	%	%
Wider	16	33
Narrower	65	56
No change (vol.)	8	5
Don't know	11	6
Number of respondents	734	418

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Q28 & Q22F2.

### Black Household Income as a Percentage of White Household Income

Year	(%)
2008	61.8
2000	64.8
1989	61.5
1979	61.2
1969	56.7

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

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the Current Population Survey

## Blacks and Discrimination: No Longer the Biggest Target?

Blacks and whites continue to have very different views about the pervasiveness of discrimination against African Americans. Some 43% of blacks now say there is a lot of anti-black discrimination, about the same as in 2001. Among whites, just 13% see a lot of anti-black bias now, down from 20% in 2001.

Moreover, among whites some 21% say that Hispanics face a lot of discrimination. As a result, Hispanics have not only passed blacks as the nation's biggest minority group, they are also now seen by slightly more Americans as frequent targets of discrimination (23% vs. 18% for African Americans). This was not the case in 2001.

Fewer Americans see a lot of discrimination against three of four other demographic groups tested in this question: women (13%), whites (10%) and Asian-Americans (8%).

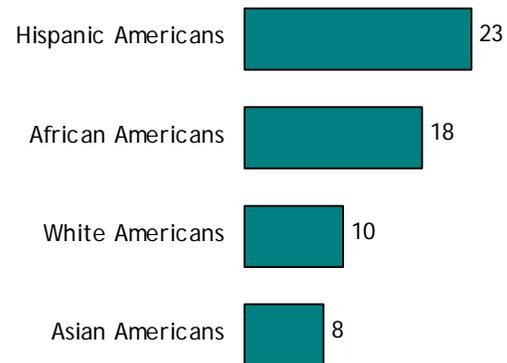
But many Americans see a lot of discrimination against another group tested: gays and lesbians. Nearly half (45%) of all Americans (and 55% of all blacks) say they face a lot of discrimination. These findings are in sync with surveys taken over the last decade that show the public perceives substantial bias against gays and lesbians.<sup>2</sup>

Overall, blacks are much more inclined than whites to see discrimination against all groups tested, except whites.

The survey finds other sizable black-white racial gaps in perceptions of bias. As noted earlier, blacks are much more likely than whites to say that the police do not treat blacks the same as whites. They are also much more likely to say the country needs to continue to make changes to ensure blacks have equal rights with whites. Fully eight-in-ten blacks (81%) say so, compared with just over a third (36%) of

### Which Group Faces Discrimination?

% saying that that each racial/ethnic group is discriminated against "a lot" in society today



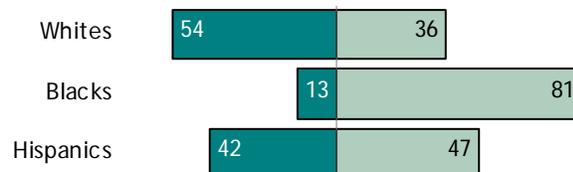
Questions Q37a, Q37b, Q37e & Q37f.

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### Has the Country Done Enough to Give Blacks Equal Rights with Whites?

% saying...

- Country has made the necessary changes
- More changes are needed



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. "Don't know" and "neither/both" responses not shown. Q10.

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<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., surveys by the National Conference for Community and Justice, January 2000 and January 2005.

whites.

But on a related question, a majority of blacks (52%) now say that blacks who cannot get ahead in this country are mainly responsible for their own situation, whereas only about a third (34%) say that racial discrimination is the main reason. Fifteen years ago, most blacks held the opposite view. Multiple surveys taken since 1994 show that this shift in blacks' perceptions has occurred in fits and starts over time, and that the change pre-dates the election of Obama.

### Racial Identity: Do the Old Categories Still Work?

From slavery to segregation to the civil rights era, the terms "black" and "white" have generally been regarded in this country as mutually exclusive. The simplicity of that classification scheme has served to obscure the racial mixing that has always been a part of the national tapestry.

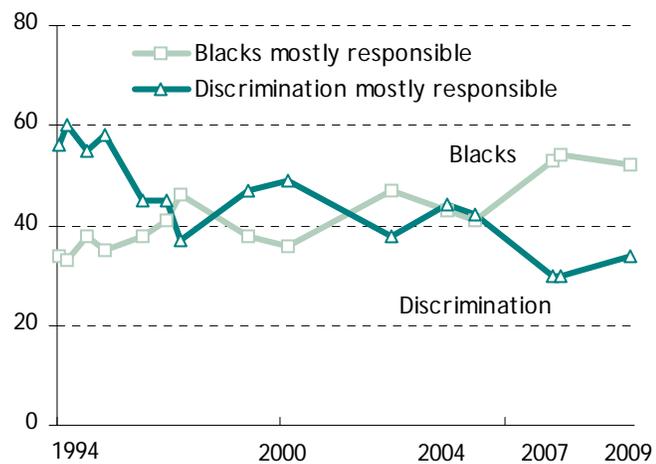
It is not clear if the nation's racial lexicon will one day grow more nuanced. But several findings from this new Pew Research survey demonstrate that, at the very least, the old categories are hard-pressed to describe America's new demographic realities – and that public opinion has begun to take notice.

A particularly vivid challenge to the old categories comes from the bloodlines of the man who now lives in the White House -- the son of an African father from Kenya and a Caucasian mother from Kansas.

Racially speaking, who is Barack Obama?

It depends on whom you ask. Offered a choice, most blacks (55%) say Obama is black, while about a third (34%) say he is mixed race. Among whites, the pattern is reversed. Most (53%) say he is mixed race, while just a quarter (24%) say he is black.

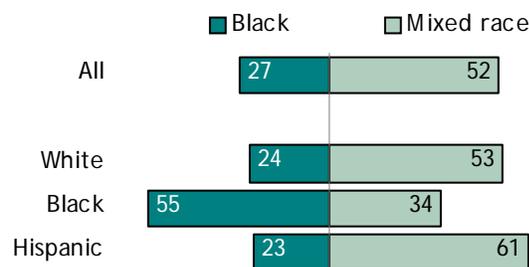
**Blacks' View of Why Many Blacks Don't Get Ahead**  
% of blacks saying...



Note: In surveys in 2005 and earlier, blacks include Hispanic blacks, In the 2007 and later surveys, blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks.  
Question wording: Which of these statements comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days, OR, Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition. Q38.

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**Do You Think of Obama as Black or Mixed Race?**  
% saying...



Notes: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. "Don't know" and "both/neither" responses not shown.

Question wording: Do you mostly think of Obama as a black person or mostly as a person of mixed race? Q63.

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Hispanics are even more inclined than whites to see him as mixed race; 61% do so.

There are only minor sub-group differences by age, education or income on this question. So race is the overriding factor that divides public opinion on the question of Obama's racial identity. But even within racial groups, there is considerable disagreement – witness the fact that only a bare majority of both blacks and whites agree among themselves.

Nor is Obama the only source of semantic confusion on the racial classification front. In this survey, when respondents were asked to state what race they are (black; white; Asian; some other race) and told they could choose as many categories as they wished, just 1% chose to identify with more than one category.<sup>3</sup> However, later in the same survey, when respondents were asked explicitly if they consider themselves to be of mixed race – fully one-in-six (16%) said they did, including 20% of blacks, 8% of whites and 37% of Hispanics.

In short, responses to racial identity questions vary widely depending on wording and context – a sign that the old classification scheme may be losing some of its descriptive power in a country that is rapidly growing more racially and ethnically diverse, and that is experiencing, from a small base, a sharp rise in interracial marriage. As of 2008, 8.1% of marriages in this country were between spouses of a different race, up from 3.2% in 1980, according to U.S. Census Bureau figures.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Starting in 2000, the U.S. Census for the first time allowed people to identify with two or more races; 2.4% of the population did so in that decennial Census.

<sup>4</sup> These figures include marriages between spouses of different races (white, black, Asian, Native American) and ethnicities (Hispanic and non-Hispanic).

## Interracial Marriage

Once a social and legal taboo in this country, interracial marriage is now widely accepted by Americans of all racial groups. In the Pew Research survey, about two-thirds of whites (64%) say they would be fine with a member of their family marrying a black person; an additional 27% say they would be bothered but would accept it.

Among blacks, eight-in-ten (80%) say it would be fine with them if a family member were to marry a white person, and another 16% say they would be bothered but would accept it. Just 6% of whites and 3% of blacks say they could not accept a black-white interracial marriage in their family.

Within both races, degrees of acceptance are higher among younger respondents than older ones.

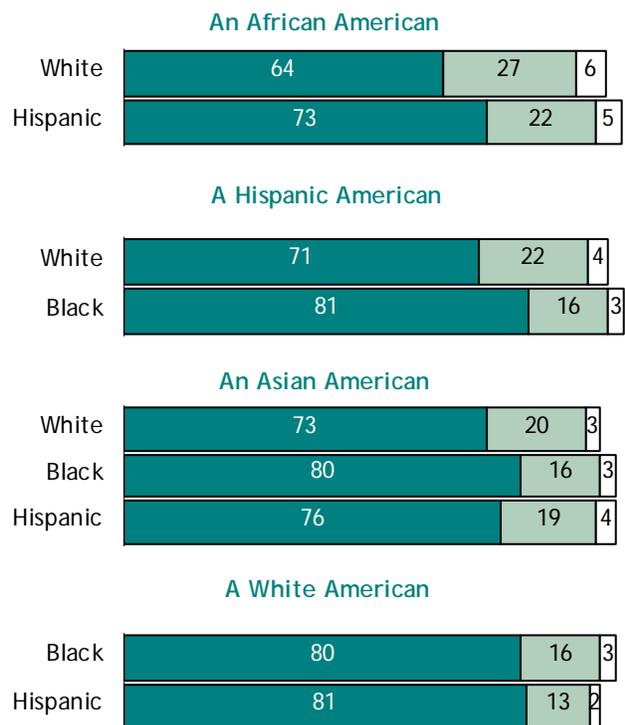
Since 2001, acceptance of black-white interracial marriage has risen slightly among whites. It is still the case that more blacks than whites approve, but the black-white gap on this question has fallen from 31 percentage points in 2001 to 16 percentage points in 2009.

The survey finds that most Americans also are ready to accept intermarriage in their family if the new spouse is Hispanic or Asian. But there is one new spouse that most Americans would have trouble accepting into their families: someone who does not believe in God. Seven-in-ten people who are affiliated with a religion say they either would not accept such as marriage (27%) or be bothered before coming to accept it (42%).

### Marriage Across Racial and Ethnic Lines

% saying they will \_\_\_ if a member of the family were to marry...

■ Be fine with it ■ Be bothered, but accept it □ Not accept it



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. "Don't know" responses not shown. Q50a, Q50b, Q50c & Q50d.

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## Obama and Race

An overwhelming share of blacks – 95% -- have a favorable opinion of President Obama. This number has remained in the stratosphere among blacks throughout his first year in office. Among whites, however, Obama has seen his popularity ratings decline significantly -- from a high of 76% just before he was inaugurated to 56% in the current survey. (Even so, Obama’s personal favorability ratings continue to run ahead of public approval for his policies; his December Pew Research Center job approval rating among whites was 39% approve and 48% disapprove).

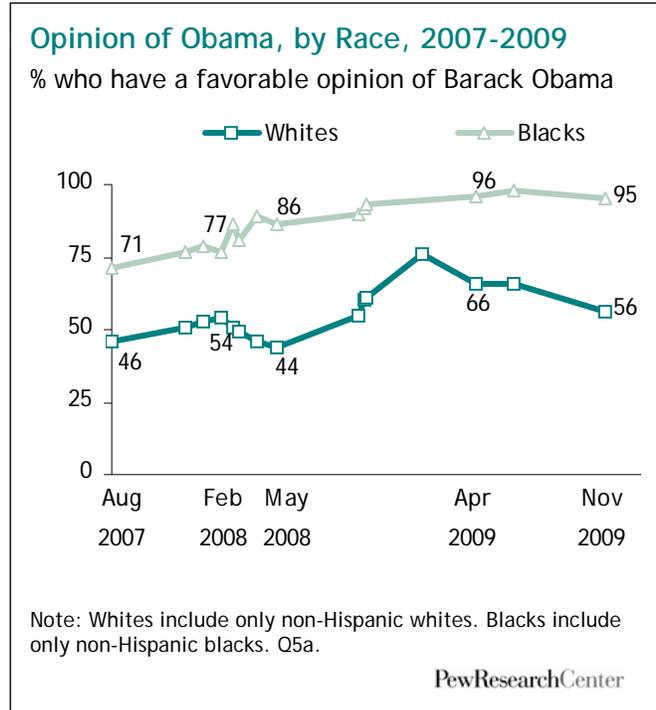
Paralleling the near-unanimous black support for Obama is the near unanimous view among blacks that he shares the values and interests of black people; 61% of blacks say he shares “a lot” of values and interests with blacks and an additional 31% say he shares “some.” These numbers are up from 2007 when, during the early stages of the Democratic nomination contest, some questioned whether the then long-shot candidate was “black enough.” In a Pew Research survey taken in the fall of 2007, 42% of blacks said he shared “a lot” of the values and interests of black people, while an additional 33% said he shared “some.”

The new survey finds that a year into Obama’s presidency, few Americans of any race believe he has been favoring his black constituents over other groups. Just 13% of both whites and Hispanics and 1% of blacks say he is paying too much attention to the concerns of blacks.

A small share of all three groups (10% of whites and Hispanics, 13% of blacks) take the opposite view; that he is paying too *little* attention to the concerns of blacks. A majority of whites (57%) and Hispanics (60%), as well as 80% of blacks say he is paying the right amount of attention to blacks.

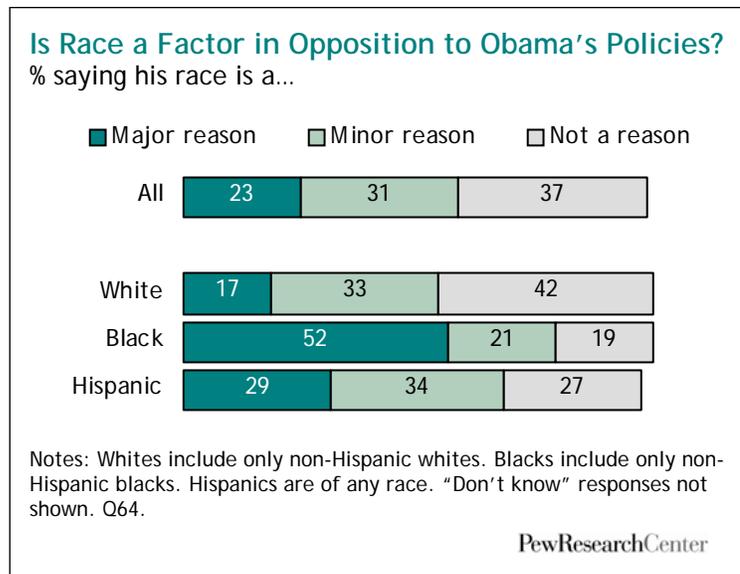
The survey findings suggest that blacks are disinclined to press race-based claims on Obama. The share who say the nation’s first African-American president is paying too little attention to blacks is not as large as the share of blacks who say he is paying too little attention to the concerns of other groups, including labor unions (23%) and seniors (22%).

Both whites and Hispanics have more group-based complaints about Obama than blacks do. Fully 42% of Hispanics say he isn’t paying enough attention to the concerns of Hispanics. And 22% of whites say he isn’t paying enough attention to the concerns of whites.



There are also sharp racial and ethnic differences in perceptions about whether people who oppose Obama’s policies are motivated to a significant degree by race. More than half of blacks (52%) say this, compared with 29% of Hispanics and just 17% of whites.

The survey also finds a striking shift in black opinions about Obama’s principal opponent for the Democratic presidential nomination, Hillary Clinton. Going back to her years in the 1990s as First Lady, blacks have always held Clinton in very high regard, but her ratings plummeted in the spring of 2008, at the height of her political battle with Obama. At that time, about six-in-10 blacks viewed her favorably, down from about eight-in-ten at the beginning of 2008. However, she has since made up all that lost ground – and more. Her current favorability rating among blacks is 93%, virtually identical to that of Obama.

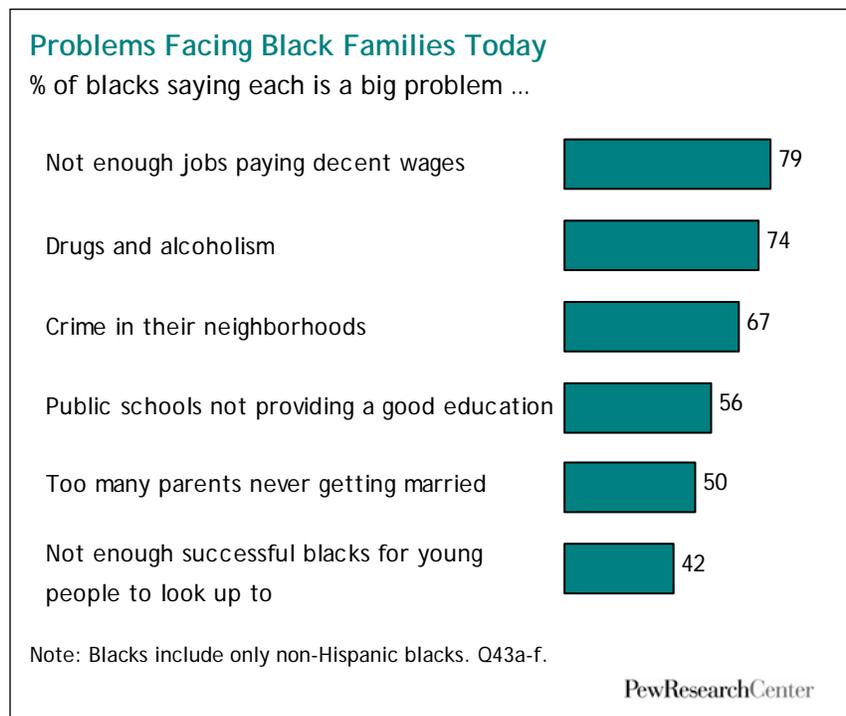


### Problems in Black Communities and Families

Blacks have long trailed whites in their level of satisfaction with their communities. This is still the case now, but the black-white gap on this question has narrowed in the past two years.

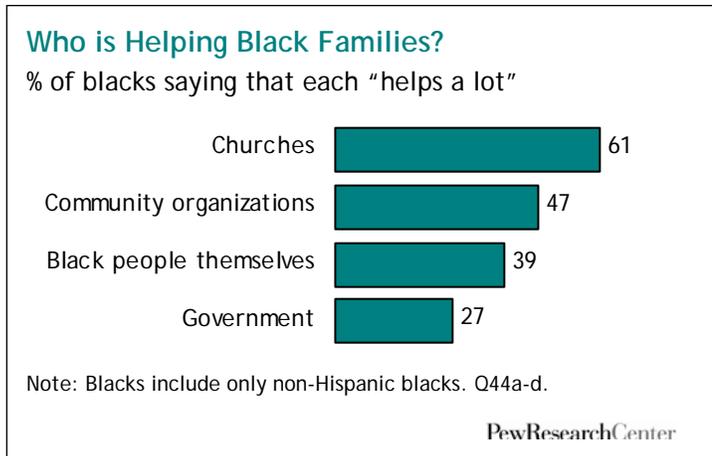
Overall, 44% of blacks say they are very satisfied with their local community as a place to live, compared with 52% of Hispanics and 64% of whites. Two years ago, just 36% of blacks were very satisfied with their community. During the same period, there was no substantial shift in community satisfaction among the other groups.

In response to a question about the problems facing black families, a majority of blacks



rate not enough jobs (79%), drugs and alcoholism (74%), crime (67%) and poor public education (56%) as big problems.

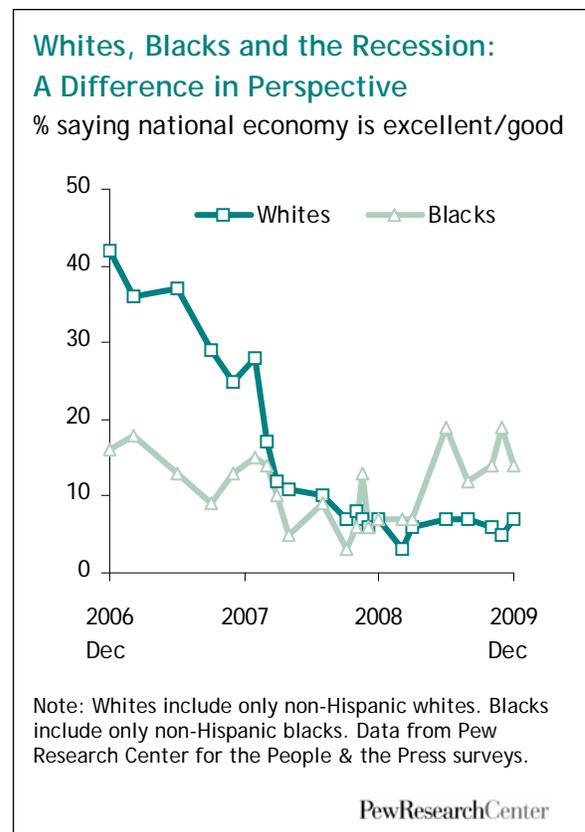
Most blacks (61%) say churches are helping “a lot” to tackle these problems. But blacks are less impressed by the problem-solving role being played by community organizations (47% say they help a lot), black people themselves (39%) and the government (26%).



### Blacks, Whites and the Economy

When it comes to employment rates, blacks have been hit harder than whites by the recession and so-far jobless recovery. But when it comes to perceptions about the economy, the opposite is true: whites have turned sharply negative since the recession began, while black perceptions (starting from a more downbeat base) have held steady. For example, the share of whites who rate the national economy as excellent or good has plummeted from 42% in late 2006 to just 7% in late 2009. During this same period, black assessments barely budged – from 16% in December 2006 to 14% three years later.

The contrast is even more dramatic in perceptions about one’s personal finances. The share of whites who rate their personal financial situation as excellent or good has declined during this period from 52% to 35%, while the share of blacks who rate their personal finances as excellent or good has changed very little (32% in late 2009, 27% in late 2006).



## II. Black Progress, Prospects and Values

Black Americans express much more positive views about black progress today than they did just two years ago. Nearly four-in-ten (39%) African Americans now say that the situation of black people in this country is better than it was five years ago, while just 12% say it is worse; about half (48%) say the situation of black people is unchanged. In comparison, in 2007, just 20% of African Americans offered an upbeat assessment of black progress over the previous five years, while 29% said the situation of blacks was worse than it had been five years earlier.

**Is the Situation of Blacks Better, Worse or About the Same, Compared With Five Years Ago?**

	All	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Better	48	49	39	47
Worse	6	6	12	5
About the same	41	40	48	43
Don't know	5	5	1	5
Number of respondents	2884	1447	812	376

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 years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same? Q20.

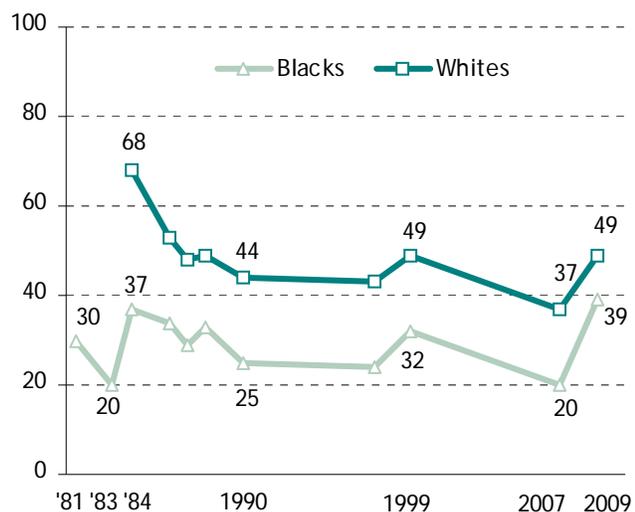
Current views of black progress among black Americans are the most positive in nearly three decades. The last time African Americans offered a similarly upbeat view of the situation of blacks was in 1984, following the 1981-1982 recession; 37% said blacks had made progress then. In 1983, with an economic recovery just beginning, only one-in-five African Americans said the situation of black people had improved.

Blacks across demographic groups are much more likely than they were two years ago to say the situation of black people in this country has improved over the past five years. For example, 38% of African Americans who have attended college, and about the same percentage (40%) of those who have not, say things are better for blacks now. In 2007, about one-in-five among both groups said that was the case (19% of those with at least some college education and 21% of those with a high school degree or less).

Whites also offer more positive assessments of black progress than they did in the 2007 survey. Nearly half of whites (49%) say the situation of blacks in this country is better than it was five years ago; in 2007, 37% of

**Are Blacks Better Off Now Than Five Years Ago?**

% who say blacks are now better off ...



Note: Figures from 1999 from a Newsweek survey, those from 1997 and earlier from Gallup/JCPS surveys. In surveys in 1999 and earlier, whites include white Hispanics, blacks include black Hispanics. In the 2007 and later surveys, whites include only non-Hispanic whites and blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. "Don't know" responses not shown. Q20.

whites expressed this view. The change has been especially pronounced among higher income whites; more than twice as many whites with annual household incomes of \$75,000 or more now say the situation of blacks has improved as did so in 2007 (50% vs. 24%). In contrast, positive assessments among whites with household incomes below \$30,000 are up just eight percentage points (48% today vs. 40% in 2007).

### Views about the Future

About the same percentage of blacks (53%), whites (56%) and Hispanics (55%) expect things to be better for blacks in the future. In 2007, blacks were somewhat less optimistic – 44% said blacks would be better off and 21% thought they would be worse off. The views of whites and Hispanics are virtually unchanged since 2007.

As was the case two years ago, blacks with higher levels of education express more optimism about the future, and the opinion gap between the more and the less educated is even greater today. About six-in-ten African Americans who graduated from college (59%) or with at least some college experience (60%) now expect blacks to be better off in the future; about half in each group were optimistic in 2007 (48% and 51%, respectively). Among blacks who did not complete high school, just 34% say life will be better for blacks in the future, unchanged from two years ago.

Blacks in higher income groups are also considerably more optimistic about the future of black Americans than they were in 2007. Nearly two-thirds (65%) of African Americans with annual household incomes of \$75,000 or more expect blacks to be better off in the future; just half had similar expectations two years ago. Among blacks in households with less than \$30,000 in annual income, 45% are optimistic about the future, compared with 42% in 2007.

#### Views about the Future for Black Americans

% who say they future for blacks will be...

	All	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Better	55	56	53	55
Worse	6	5	10	5
About the same	33	33	33	36
Don't know	6	6	5	4

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

Question wording: 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? Q54.

#### Blacks View the Future for Black Americans

	Percent "Better"		
	2007	2009	Change
	%	%	
All blacks	44	53	+9
Men	44	53	+9
Women	43	52	+9
18-29	40	50	+10
30-49	44	58	+14
50-64	46	48	+2
65+	48	51	+3
College grad+	48	59	+11
Some college	51	60	+9
High school grad	41	51	+10
Less than H.S.	34	34	0
<i>Family income</i>			
\$75,000 or more	50	65	+15
\$30,000-\$74,999	45	57	+12
Less than \$30,000	42	45	+3

Note: Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Q54.

## Black Progress Relative to Whites

When asked if there is a wider or narrower gap between blacks and whites in their standard of living compared with five years ago, about half of whites and blacks say the black-white gap has gotten smaller. Only 21% of whites and about a third of blacks say it has gotten wider. Among Hispanics, however, 49% say the gap in the standard of living between blacks and whites is wider than it was five years ago, while just 37% say it is narrower.

Asked about changes in the black-white gap in standard of living compared with 10 years ago,

majorities of whites (65%), blacks (56%) and Hispanics (53%) all say the gap has narrowed.<sup>5</sup> Blacks and Hispanics are much more likely than they were in 2007 to say that is the case; two years ago, 41% of blacks and 37% of Hispanics said the economic gap was narrower than it had been 10 years earlier.

Blacks in virtually all demographic groups now say the gap between black people and white people in their standard of living is narrower, but the views of those age 40 or older have changed the most. In 2007, fewer than four-in-ten (37%) blacks in that age group said the black-white gap had narrowed compared with 10 years earlier, while 44% said it had gotten wider. Today, 59% of blacks age 40 or older see a smaller gap in standard of living between blacks and whites and just 30% see a wider gap.

Overall, the views of whites have not changed significantly; 65% say the standard of living gap between blacks and whites versus 10 years ago is narrower, and a similar percentage (61%) said the same in 2007. But white women, those with at least some college education and those with annual household incomes of \$50,000 or more are now more likely than they were in 2007 to say the black-white gap is narrower compared with 10 years ago.

### Views about the Black-White Gap in Standard of Living

	All	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
<b>Standard of living gap vs. 5 years ago</b>				
Wider	26	21	36	49
Narrower	50	53	49	37
No change (vol.)	14	15	7	5
Don't know	10	10	8	9
<b>Standard of living gap vs. 10 years ago</b>				
Wider	20	16	33	24
Narrower	61	65	56	53
No change (vol.)	8	8	5	9
Don't know	11	11	6	14

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

Question wording: Compared with (five/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? Q21F1 & Q22F2.

<sup>5</sup> For a review of Census data tracking standard of living changes by race in the past decade, see page 62.

### Views of Black-White Values Divide

Solid majorities of whites, blacks and Hispanics believe that the values held by blacks and whites have become more similar over the past 10 years: Seven-in-ten whites and a similar share of Hispanics (67%) say the values held by blacks and whites are converging; 60% of blacks see the same pattern.

Compared with 2007, African Americans are now more likely to say blacks and whites have become more similar than they were 10 years ago. Just over half of blacks (54%) said blacks and white values were converging when asked this question two years ago. The change reflects, in part, a more widespread belief among African Americans age 65 and older that the values held by blacks and whites are becoming more similar; 65% now share that view, compared with 52% in 2007. Among those 18-29 years old, 63% see a convergence, as was the case two years ago.

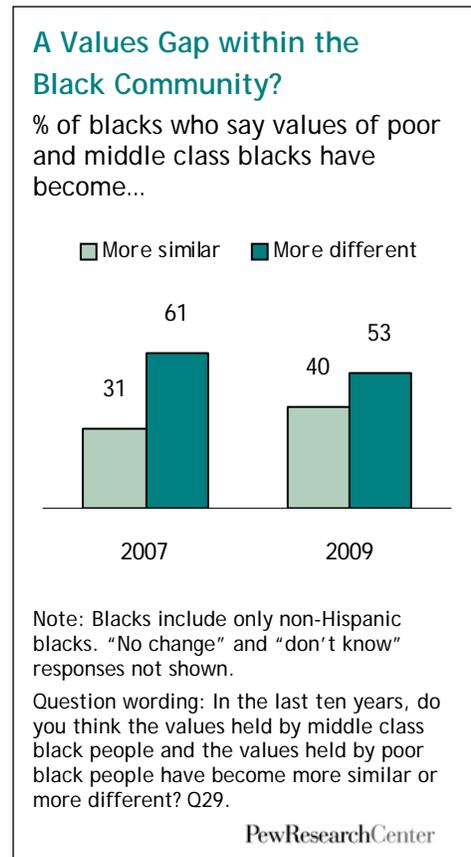
Black and White Values Seen as Becoming More Similar				
	All	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Similar	68	70	60	67
Different	20	18	34	22
No change (vol.)	2	2	2	1
Don't know	9	9	3	10

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.  
 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? Q28.

### The Values Gap within the Black Community

While majorities of blacks say the values of blacks and whites are becoming more similar, 53% believe that the values held by middle-class and poor blacks have become more different in the last 10 years; 40% say that the values held by middle-class and poor blacks are converging. Still, more African Americans see similarities between middle-class and poor blacks than did so two years ago.

The change has been especially pronounced among higher income and better educated blacks. In 2007, seven-in-ten African Americans with a college degree believed that the values of middle-class and poor blacks were diverging, while just 22% said they were becoming more similar. Today, a slim majority (51%) in that group sees a growing values gap between middle-class and poor blacks; 40% say the gap is getting smaller.



Black women are also considerably more likely than they were in 2007 to say that the values of middle-class and poor blacks are becoming more similar. Two years ago, more than twice as many black women said the values gap within the black community was getting wider as said it was getting smaller (63% vs. 30%). The views of black women are more balanced now – 48% say middle-class and poor blacks are becoming more different and 42% said they are becoming more similar. In comparison, 59% of black men say there is a growing gap within the black community.

### Shared Values of the Poor and the Middle Class

As was the case in 2007, solid majorities of African Americans see commonality in values between middle-class and poor blacks – about two-thirds (66%) say that blacks in these two groups share at least some values. When white respondents were asked the same question about middle-class and poor whites, about the same number (63%) said the two groups shared at least some values in common.

Similarly, 64% of Hispanics say that Hispanic immigrants and Hispanics born in the U.S. have shared values; immigrants and U.S.-born respondents offer nearly identical views.

The view that middle class and poor blacks share values in common is more prevalent among better-educated blacks than among those with less education. More than eight-in-ten (83%) African Americans who have graduated from college and 74% of those with at least some college experience share that view, compared with 60% of blacks with a high school diploma and even fewer (49%) of those who did not complete high school.

The education gap is less pronounced among whites. Two-thirds of whites who completed college and about the same share (68%) of those with at least some college say middle class and poor whites share values in common; 57% of whites with a high school degree or less agree.

### A Narrower Values Gap within the Black Community

	Percent "More similar"		
	2007	2009	Change
All blacks	31	40	+9
Male	34	36	+2
Female	30	42	+12
18-29	38	39	+1
30-49	27	39	+12
50-64	32	36	+4
65+	35	44	+9
College grad+	22	40	+18
Some college	30	43	+13
High school grad	37	37	0
Less than H.S.	32	39	+7
<i>Family income</i>			
\$75,000 or more	28	44	+16
\$30,000-\$74,999	30	37	+7
Less than \$30,000	32	37	+5

Note: Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Q29.

### How Much Do Different Members of Your Own Group Share Values in Common?



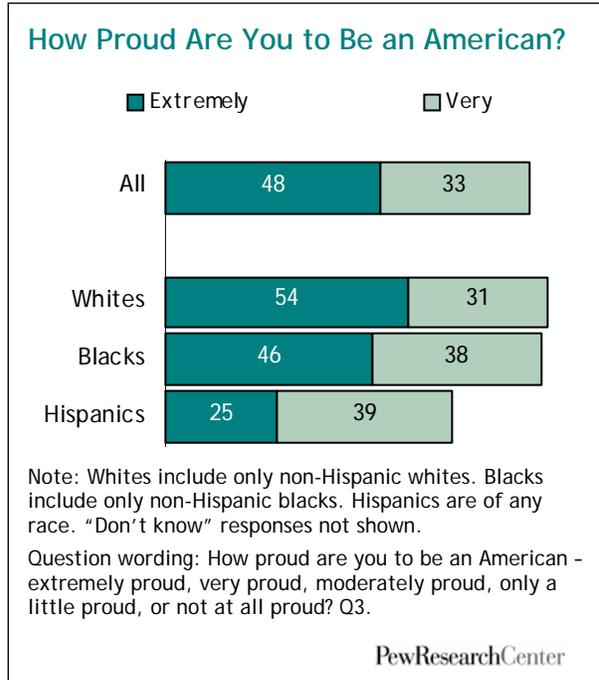
Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. "Don't know" responses not shown. Question wording for whites and blacks: How much do you think middle class (whites/blacks) and poor (whites/blacks) share values in common? Q30 & Q31. Question wording for Hispanics: How much do you think Hispanic immigrants and Hispanics born in the U.S. share values in common? Q32.

## Proud to Be an American

More than eight-in-ten Americans express great pride in their country; 48% of the public say they are *extremely* proud and another 33% say they are *very* proud to be an American. Overall, blacks and whites express similar levels of patriotism, but whites are somewhat more likely than blacks to say that being an American makes them feel extremely proud (54% vs. 46%). Fewer than two-thirds of Hispanics (64%) say they are either extremely or very proud to be an American, but that number jumps to 88% when only those who were born in the U.S. are considered.

The gap in the intensity of patriotism between blacks and whites is considerably smaller than it was earlier in the decade, as the result of a sharp decline in the percentage of whites who say they are extremely proud to be an American. In 2002, about seven-in-ten (72%) whites and 48% of blacks said that was the case.

The decline in patriotism among whites is evident among all key demographic groups.



### III. Views of Life and Community

Over the last two years, the black community has been buffeted by both positive forces (the election of the first black U.S. president) and negative ones (high levels of joblessness related to the economic downturn). Yet blacks as a group, like whites and Hispanics, report generally high levels of overall satisfaction with their lives.

As in 2007, nine-in-ten blacks (90%) now say they are at least somewhat satisfied with their lives, essentially the same proportion as among whites (91%) and close to that reported by Hispanics (95%).

However, as was also true in 2007, fewer blacks say they are very satisfied with their lives (61%) than do whites (68%). Hispanics register in between the two groups in high levels of satisfaction (64%), although that is a significant decline from the 72% who said so in 2007.

Disparities in high levels of life satisfaction among the three racial and ethnic groups are significant only among the relatively young. Among blacks ages 18-39, 57% say they are very satisfied with their lives, compared with 69% of whites and 70% of Hispanics in this age group. A similar disparity was observed in 2007. No other statistically significant differences among racial and ethnic groups are observed.

Within the black community, variations in life satisfaction track along the same lines as in 2007. Those with incomes of \$75,000 a year or more are substantially happier with their lives than those with lesser incomes; in the higher income group 74% report being very satisfied compared, with percentages in the 50%-60% range for lower income groups.

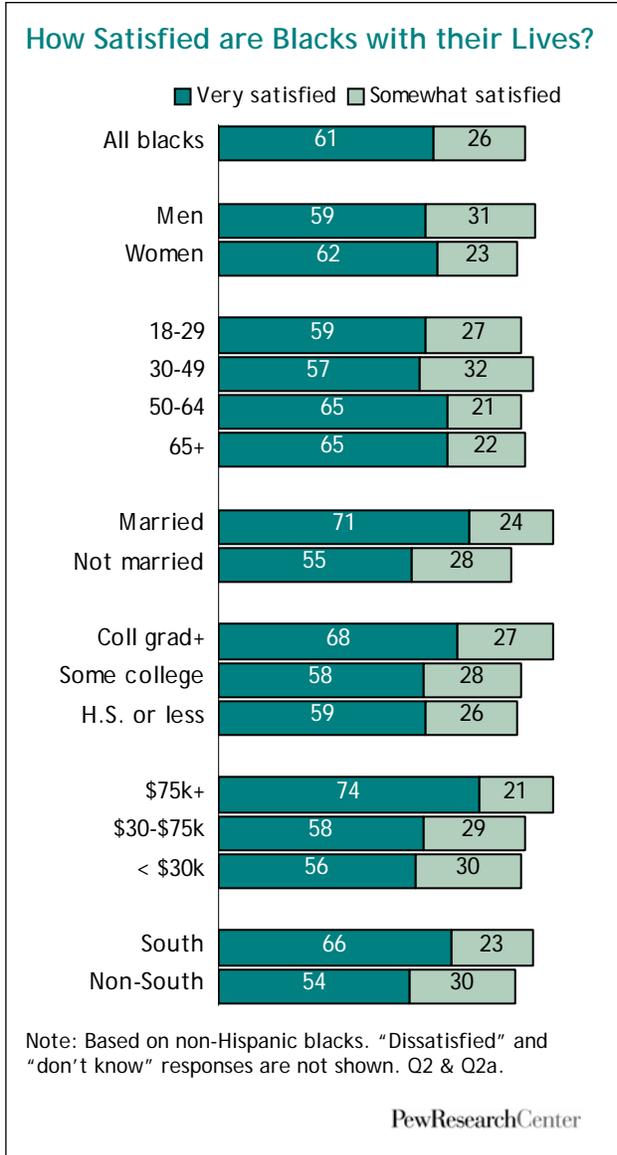
Blacks who own their homes also report substantially higher levels of life contentment compared with renters (66% vs. 53% very satisfied). College graduates are also more likely to be satisfied with their lives (95% at least somewhat satisfied, 68% very satisfied) than those with lesser education.

Life Satisfaction								
	All		Whites		Blacks		Hispanics	
	07	09	07	09	07	09	07	09
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Satisfied	91	91	92	91	90	90	90	95
<i>Very satisfied</i>	70	67	71	68	64	61	72	64
<i>Somewhat satisfied</i>	19	22	19	21	24	26	15	28
Dissatisfied	7	6	6	6	8	9	8	5
<i>Very dissatisfied</i>	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	1
<i>Somewhat dissatisfied</i>	4	4	4	3	5	7	5	4

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. "Don't know" responses not shown. Question wording: All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your life? & Would you say you are very (satisfied/dissatisfied) or just somewhat (satisfied/dissatisfied)? Q2 & Q2a.

Blacks who are married are more likely than those who aren't married to express satisfaction with their lives; this is true both for those who have children in the household (68%) and those without children at home (74%). And, as in 2007, blacks living in the South report the highest levels of life satisfaction (93% satisfied, 66% very satisfied).

Life satisfaction among blacks varies little across age groups and between men and women in total, although among those ages 40 and older, black men are more likely to report they are at least somewhat satisfied with their lives (94%) than are comparably aged black women (88%).



### Satisfaction with Community

Not surprisingly, satisfaction with one's community tends to go along with satisfaction with one's life. Fully 96% of blacks who report they are very satisfied with their communities as places to live say they are at least somewhat satisfied with their lives and 75% say they are very satisfied. By comparison, among those who are dissatisfied with their community, 76% say they are satisfied with their lives and only 44% say they are very satisfied. (A similar pattern is seen in the full sample of all adults in the population.)

In general, however, blacks are more dissatisfied with the communities in which they live than they are with their personal lives. Overall 81% express at least some measure of satisfaction with their communities but just 44% say they are very satisfied. By comparison, 90% of whites, and 88% of Hispanics are generally satisfied with their communities and 64% and 52%, respectively, express high levels of satisfaction.

Still the proportion of blacks saying they are very satisfied with their community as a place to live has risen significantly from the 36% who expressed that view two years ago; no substantial change is seen in the other two groups.

Within the black community, those with higher incomes (above \$75,000) and college degrees are more likely than others to express high satisfaction with their communities (53% in both groups say they are very satisfied). But, as in 2007, blacks in virtually every age, income, and education group express less satisfaction with their communities than do whites and, in most cases, Hispanics. These disparities exist to greater or lesser degree at both higher and lower levels of income and education. For example, 66% of whites and 58% of Hispanics with college experience are very satisfied with their communities, while 45% of blacks with similar educational attainment share that view. Among adults with annual incomes of less than \$30,000, 51% of whites, 45% of Hispanics and 40% of blacks are very satisfied with their communities.

Community Satisfaction				
	All	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Satisfied	89	90	81	88
<i>Very satisfied</i>	60	64	44	52
<i>Somewhat satisfied</i>	27	24	34	34
Dissatisfied	10	8	18	10
<i>Very dissatisfied</i>	3	2	8	3
<i>Somewhat dissatisfied</i>	6	5	9	6

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. "Don't know" responses not shown.  
Question wording: All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your community as a place to live in? & Would you say you are very (satisfied/dissatisfied) or just somewhat (satisfied/dissatisfied)? Q1 & Q1a.

### Community Problems

When asked to volunteer what they thought was the most important problem facing their local community today, a substantial plurality (45%) of respondents named a problem of an economic nature. Unemployment or a lack of jobs was the most frequently mentioned economic concern among all three racial/ethnic groups, cited by 25% overall, 27% of whites, 24% of blacks and 15% of Hispanics.

Concerns about economic and financial problems have risen markedly in recent years across all three ethnic/minority populations. In 2001 and 2006, fewer than three-in-ten whites (25% and 29%, respectively) cited an economy-related concern as the top local problem; now 50% do.

In the early-2001 survey, only 18% of blacks named an economic or financial problem as the most troubling in their community; in the current survey, 40% do so.

While whites are the most likely to cite an economic concern in the current survey, this does not necessarily reflect a lack of concern about the state of the economy among blacks and Hispanics. More likely is that other problems – specifically crime, drugs, gang violence and related problems – weigh more heavily among their concerns. While only 9% of whites named crime- or drug-related problems as the most pressing in their localities, 27% of blacks and 30% of Hispanics do so.

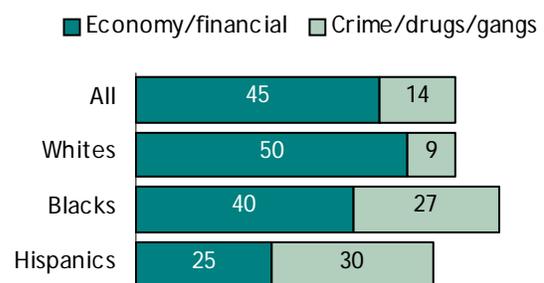
Hispanics are the only group among which economic concerns do not outweigh crime/drug/gang-related problems (30% of Latinos cite crime, drugs or gangs, while 25% cite an economic concern).

Top Community Problems			
% mentioning ...			
	Feb 2001	Mar 2006	Dec 2009
	%	%	%
<b>All</b>			
Economy/financial	23	28	45
Crime/drugs/gangs	22	21	14
Infrastructure/transportation	13	10	6
Education	14	12	4
Other	20	25	21
<b>Among whites</b>			
Economy/financial	25	29	50
Crime/drugs/gangs	19	18	9
Infrastructure/transportation	13	12	6
Education	16	13	4
Other	20	24	21
<b>Among blacks</b>			
Economy/financial	18	32	40
Crime/drugs/gangs	29	36	27
Infrastructure/transportation	6	2	2
Education	9	10	2
Other	35	20	18
<b>Among Hispanics</b>			
Economy/financial	--	22	25
Crime/drugs/gangs	--	27	30
Infrastructure/transportation	--	3	5
Education	--	7	4
Other	--	33	21

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. Question wording: "What do you think is the most important problem facing your local community today?" (open-ended). Q4F1. Data from February 2001 and March 2006 surveys conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press.

### What is the Most Important Problem Facing Your Local Community Today?

% citing...



Note: Responses not related to economic or crime-related problems are not shown. Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. Q4F1.

Relatively small percentages cite infrastructure and transportation (6%) or education (4%) as the most important problems facing their communities. About one-in-five respondents (21%) name other types of community concerns – including traffic, overcrowding, pollution, discrimination, or lack of a sense of community – as the most pressing in their communities. And 6% of respondents, including 13% of Hispanics, now say their communities have no pressing problems.

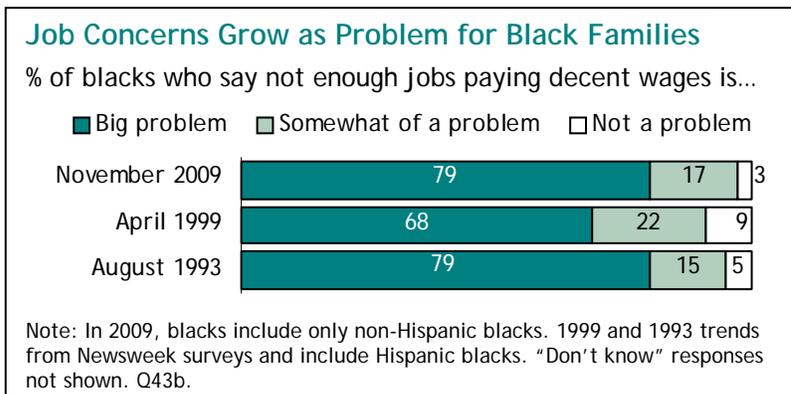
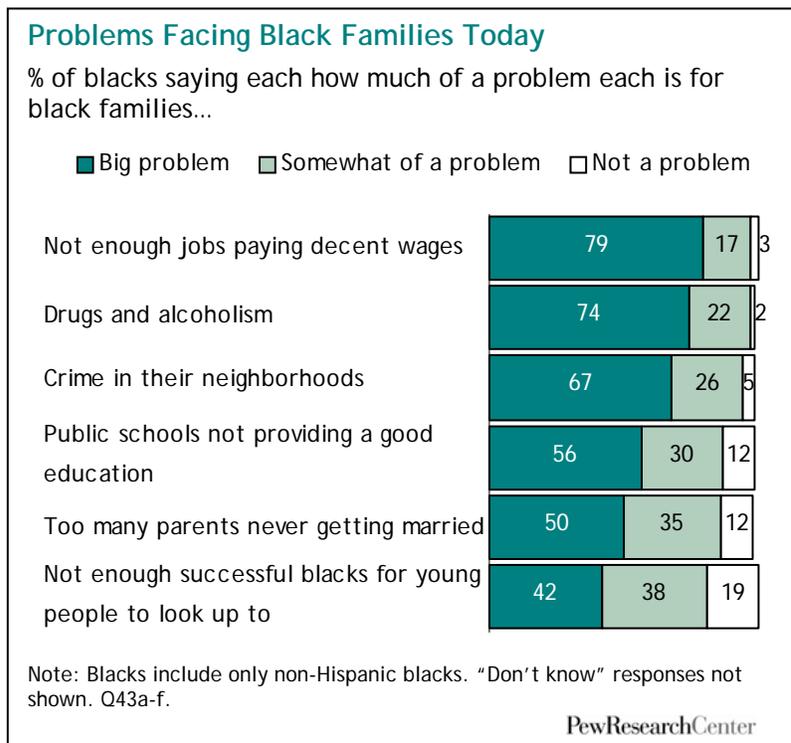
### Black Family Problems

When asked to rate the seriousness of various personal and societal problems for black families today, large majorities of African Americans agree that joblessness, drugs and alcoholism and neighborhood violence are major problems for today’s black families. Concern about many of these problems has increased over the last decade.<sup>6</sup>

A lack of jobs paying decent wages is cited as a major problem more frequently than any other difficulty listed. Nearly eight-in-ten (79%) called the shortage of such jobs a big problem, while an additional 17% see it as somewhat of a problem. With concern about jobs ubiquitous in the black community, few differences are seen among demographic subgroups.

These findings represent a substantial increase over those recorded in a 1999 poll in which 68% of blacks saw the lack of decently-paid jobs as a big problem while 22% called it somewhat of a problem. However, the current numbers are virtually identical to those from a poll conducted in August 1993 when unemployment remained relatively high (6.8%) in the wake of the 1990-91 recession.

Drugs and alcoholism are rated as nearly as great a source of concern for black families as joblessness. Fully 96% of African Americans call these either a big problem (74%) or somewhat of a problem (22%). Little variation in these assessments is seen



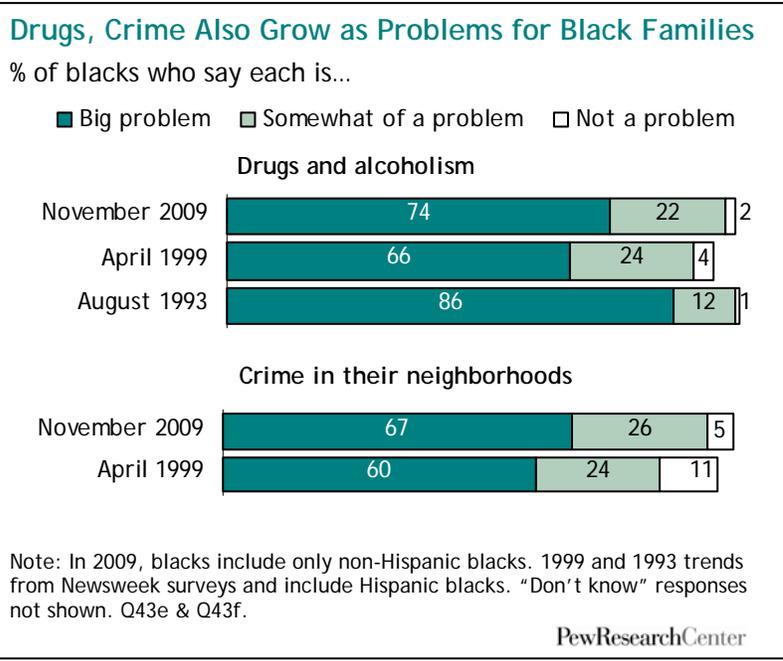
<sup>6</sup> Trend figures for 1999 and 1993 are from *Newsweek* polls. In these surveys, whites include Hispanic whites and blacks include Hispanic blacks.

among demographic groups, although college graduates (67%) are less likely than those with who have no post-secondary education (77%) to call drugs and alcohol a big problem. The percentage viewing drugs and alcohol as a big problem has increased substantially since April 1999, when 66% of blacks expressed this view, but is lower than the 86% who identified drugs and alcoholism as a big problem in August 1993.

Neighborhood crime ranks third on the list of black family problems, with 67% calling it a big problem – up from 60% a decade ago – and 26%

saying it is somewhat of a problem. Younger African Americans (18-39 years old) are most concerned about crime: about three-in-four (76%) describe it as a big problem, compared with 62% of those ages 40 and older.

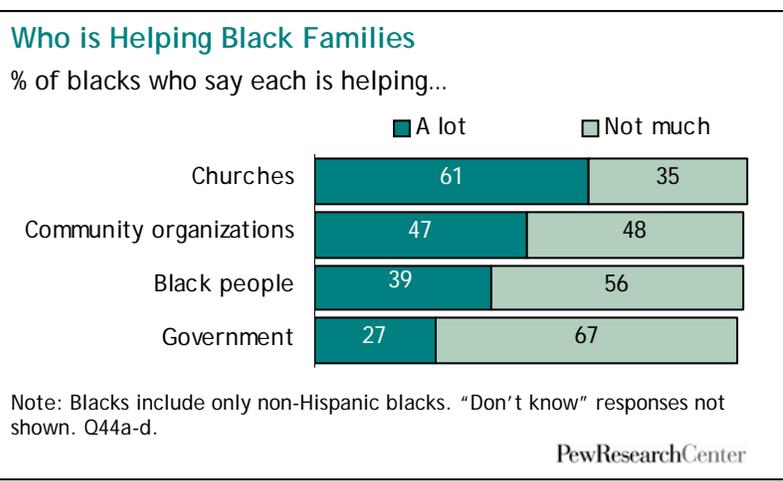
There has been little shift over the last decade in perceptions about other problems examined in the survey. As was the case in 1999, a narrow majority (56%) now identifies the failure of public schools to provide a good education as a big problem. About half of blacks (50%) say “too many parents never getting married” is a big problem, a nearly identical percentage as in 1999 (when 51% said this), but up from the 43% saying this in 1993. Ranking lowest on the list of concerns about black families is a shortage of “successful blacks for young people to look up to.” More than four-in-ten (42%) continue to call this big problem, and the election of the President Obama does not appear to have altered these perceptions: nearly identical percentages expressed this view in both 1993 and 1999.



### Solving Black Families’ Problems

Among possible sources of assistance to black families facing major problems, churches earn the biggest vote of confidence. About six-in-ten African Americans (61%) say that churches have helped a lot to address these problems, while 35% say they haven’t helped much.

Community organizations rank second on the list of helpers, with blacks evenly split (47% to 48%) on



whether they help a lot or not much.

Blacks themselves are not given much credit as problem solvers for black families: 39% say they have helped a lot but a 56%-majority says they haven't helped much. However, the lowest ranking is accorded to government. Just 27% of African Americans see government as a major source of help for black families, while 67% say that government has not helped much.

Very little variation is seen in these assessments across age, income, sex and education groups. Those who attend religious services at least once a week give substantially higher ratings to the role churches have played in addressing the major problems of black families than do those who seldom or never attend religious services (65% vs. 49%); although even among the less religious, churches are accorded relatively high marks. Blacks with at least some college education are more likely than those who have not attended college to credit community organizations with providing important help (52% vs. 42%).

## IV. Race Relations and Racial Identity

Overall, whites and blacks share similar views of relations between their racial groups. In both cases, more than three-quarters (79% of whites and 76% of blacks) say blacks and whites get along “very” or “pretty” well. A smaller majority of Hispanics (55%) say blacks and whites get along at least pretty well.

Black views of black/Hispanic relations are about equally positive. An identical proportion of blacks say that blacks and Hispanics get along “very” or “pretty” well (76%) as say this about black/white relations, although more say blacks and Hispanics get along “very well” than say this about blacks and whites (22% vs. 16%). Whites are slightly less

positive about white/Hispanic relations than black/white relations, although more than seven-in-ten (71%) say whites and Hispanics get along “very” or “pretty” well.

On the whole, Hispanics are less upbeat than both blacks and whites in their views of inter-group relations. While Hispanics say that whites and Hispanics (56%) and blacks and Hispanics (50%) get along “very” or “pretty” well, these percentages are considerably smaller than those among whites and blacks. Also, Hispanics are nearly twice as likely as whites to say Hispanics and whites don’t get along (41% vs. 22%) and more than twice as likely as blacks to say Hispanics and blacks don’t get along (44% vs. 20%). Yet there is a wider range of views on these questions among Hispanics than among other groups. Hispanics are twice as likely as whites to say whites and Hispanics get along “very” well (20% vs. 10%), and about equally likely as blacks to say blacks and Hispanics get along “very” well (19% vs. 22%).

### How Well Do Blacks, Whites and Hispanics Get Along?

	Very well	Pretty well	Not too well	Not at all well	Don’t Know
	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Blacks &amp; Whites</b>					
All	13	63	16	3	5
Whites	11	68	13	2	5
Blacks	16	60	20	2	2
Hispanics	20	35	30	10	5
<b>Blacks &amp; Hispanics</b>					
All	9	39	24	6	22
Whites	5	37	25	6	28
Blacks	22	54	18	2	4
Hispanics	19	31	32	12	6
<b>Whites &amp; Hispanics</b>					
All	11	56	22	3	8
Whites	10	61	20	2	7
Blacks	14	43	26	6	11
Hispanics	20	36	36	5	3

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

Figures read across. Q17a-c.

### Some Improvement in Black Views of Race Relations since 2007

These assessments of inter-group relations have shifted since 2007. Slightly larger percentages of blacks now say that whites and blacks (+7), blacks and Hispanics (+6), and whites and Hispanics (+4) are getting along well than did so two years ago. And this shift among blacks has occurred across demographic groups. White views of relationships between these groups have, however, remained largely stable.

Hispanic opinion has moved in the opposite direction, as fewer now say that these groups are getting along. This decline is particularly evident in judgments about white/Hispanic relations. In 2007, about seven-in-ten (71%) Hispanics said whites and Hispanics were getting along well; today, a much slimmer majority (56%) expresses this view. Foreign-born Hispanics are driving much of this change—only 48% view white/Hispanic relations positively today, compared with 65% in 2007. Opinions among Hispanics born in the U.S. have undergone less change (71% today, 77% in 2007).

#### Shifts Since 2007 in Assessments of Racial and Ethnic Relations

% who say getting along “very” or “pretty” well

	2007	2009	Change
	%	%	
<b>Blacks &amp; Whites</b>			
Whites	77	79	+2
Blacks	69	76	+7
Hispanics	61	55	-6
<b>Blacks &amp; Hispanics</b>			
Whites	39	42	+3
Blacks	70	76	+6
Hispanics	57	50	-7
<b>Whites &amp; Hispanics</b>			
Whites	70	71	+1
Blacks	53	57	+4
Hispanics	71	56	-15

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. Q17a-c.

### Most Americans Have Friends of a Different Race

As was the case in 2007, most people have friendships with individuals of a different race. Nine-in-ten whites (90%) and three-quarters of non-black Hispanics (75%) say there is at least one black person they consider a friend. Among blacks, about nine-in-ten (88%) say there is at least one white person they consider a friend.

Nevertheless, few whites (5%) say that “most” or “all” of their friends are black. The plurality of whites (47%) characterize their groups of friends as including “just a few” blacks, while 37% say that “some” of their friends are black. Among whites, there are few demographic differences in reports of friendships with blacks.

Blacks are about equally likely to say that “just a few” (35%) or “some” (38%) of their friends are white, while 13% report that “most” or “all” of

#### How Many of Your Friends are Black/White?

	All non-blacks	Whites	Non-black Hispanics
	%	%	%
Yes, have black friends	88	90	75
All of them	1	1	2
Most of them	5	4	9
Some of them	36	37	30
Just a few	44	47	32
No, do not have black friends	12	10	25
	<b>Blacks</b>		
Yes, have white friends		88	
All of them		2	
Most of them		11	
Some of them		38	
Just a few		35	
No, do not have white friends		12	

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

Figures read down. Blacks asked about white friends, non-blacks asked about black friends. “Don’t know” responses not shown. Q48 & Q49.

their friends are white. Blacks who have attended college are more likely than those who have not to report having white friends (93% vs. 83%).

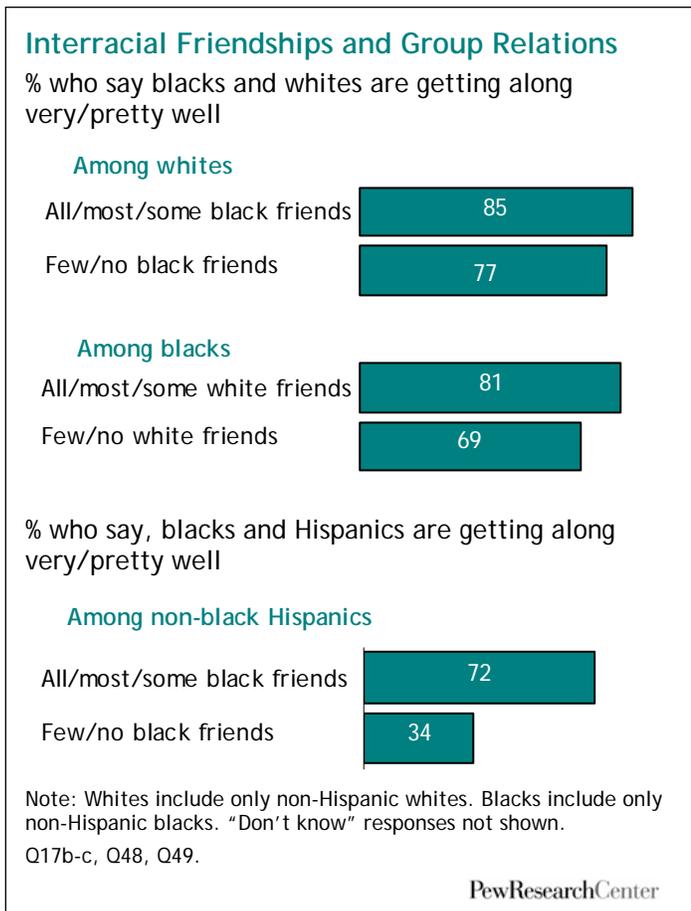
Among non-black Hispanics, a quarter report having no black friends. Three-in-ten say they have “some” black friends, while 32% say they have just a few. College attendance is strongly correlated with having black friends; 88% of Latinos who have attended college report having black friends, compared with 69% of those who have no post-secondary education. Nativity is also a strong correlate; 88% of Hispanics born in the United States have black friends, compared with just two-thirds (67%) of Hispanic immigrants.

### Those with Friends of Another Race More Likely to Say Groups Get Along

Having a greater number of friendships across racial and ethnic groups is associated with a more positive outlook on race relations.

Among whites, 85% of those who report that at least some of their friends are black say blacks and whites are getting along “pretty” or “very” well. Somewhat fewer (77%) of those with few or no black friendships say the two groups get along well. This pattern also holds among blacks—81% of those with at least some white friends view relations between blacks and whites positively, 69% of those with few or no white friendships say whites and blacks get along well.

Among non-black Hispanics, having black friends is even more strongly related to opinions about how well blacks and Hispanics get along. More than seven-in-ten Hispanics (72%) with at least some black friendships say blacks and Hispanics get along well—more than twice the percentage (just 34%) who say this among those with a few or no black friendships.



### Majorities Would be Okay with Interracial Marriage in their Families

Views of interracial dating and marriage have undergone a steady shift over the last several decades. In Pew Research Center surveys tracking attitudes about interracial dating since 1987, whites and blacks have become increasingly likely to express approval of interracial dating. The current survey asks a more detailed set of questions—not just about interracial dating, but also about reactions to a family members’ marriage to those in other racial and ethnic groups.

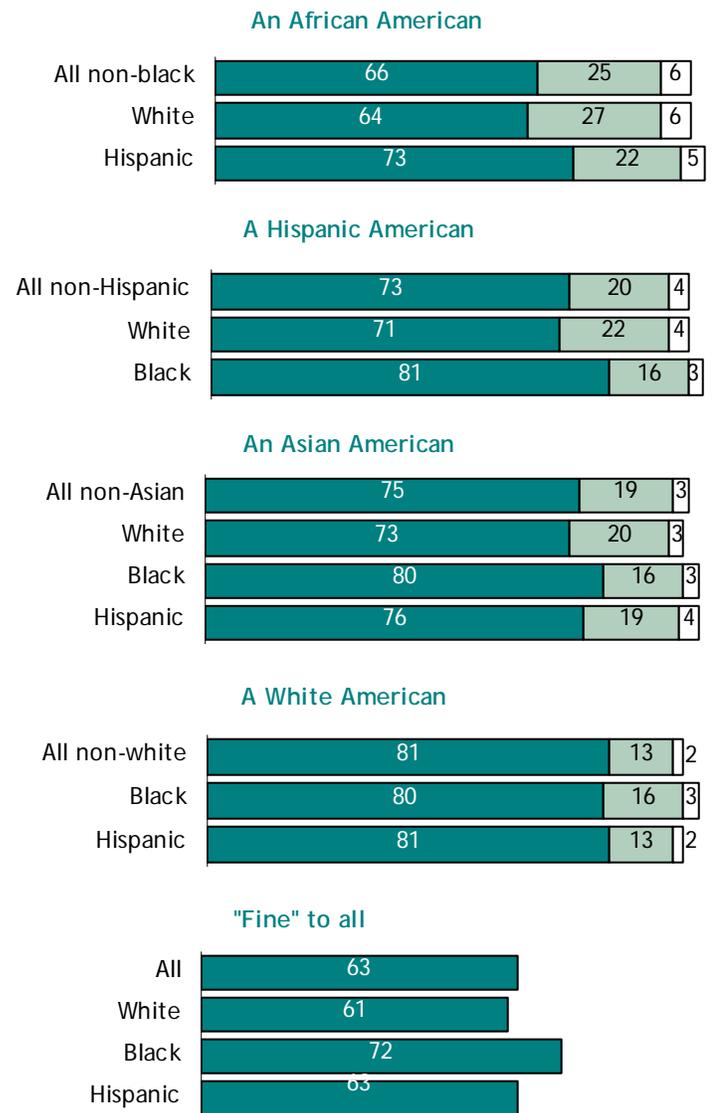
On the whole, Americans are accepting of interracial marriage. When asked about marriage to people from four groups—African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans and white Americans—more than six-in-ten (63%) say it “would be fine” with them if a member of their family told them they were going to marry a member of *any* other racial or ethnic group. But there are racial and ethnic differences—both in how accepting members of different racial groups are of intermarriage and in the degree to which intermarriage to a member of each group is accepted.

Of the four groups asked about, openness to a family member’s marriage to an African American ranks lowest. About two-thirds of non-blacks (66%) say they would be fine with it; by contrast, about three-quarters of non-Hispanics (73%) say they would be fine with a marriage to a Hispanic American. A similar percentage of non-Asians (75%) say the same about marriage to an Asian American and more than eight-in-ten non-whites (81%) say they would be fine with a family member’s marriage to a white American.

#### Marriage Across Racial and Ethnic Lines

If a member of your family were to marry \_\_\_\_\_ would you...

■ Be fine with it ■ Be bothered, but accept it □ Not accept it



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. “Don’t know” responses not shown. Q50a-d.

PewResearchCenter

Overall, blacks are the most accepting of intermarriage—72% say it would be fine with them if a family member chose to marry a white, Hispanic or Asian American. By contrast, 61% of whites and 63% of Hispanics say they would be fine with a family member marrying someone from any of the other groups.

Lower levels of acceptance of marriage to any other racial or ethnic group among whites are driven in part by attitudes towards a family member marrying an African American (64% fine), but whites are also less likely than blacks to approve of marriage to an Asian American (73% vs. 80% fine) or a Hispanic American (71% vs. 81% fine).

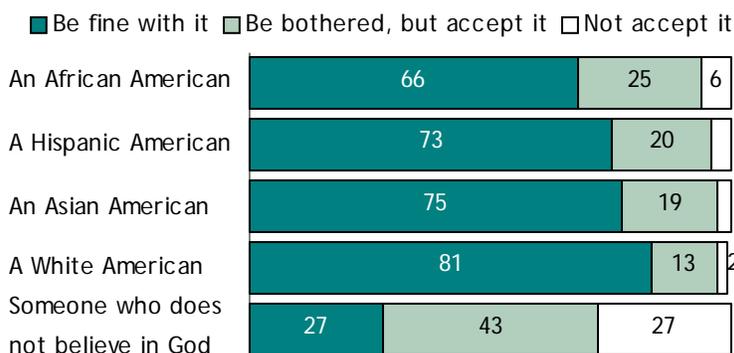
Latinos are also somewhat less likely to accept interracial marriage than blacks; while Hispanics are about equally likely as blacks to accept a family member's marriage to a white American (81% vs. 80% fine) or an Asian American (76% vs. 80% fine), blacks are more likely than Hispanics to accept black/Hispanic intermarriage (73% of Hispanics and 81% of blacks would be fine with this).

### Interracial Marriage More Widely Accepted than Marriage to an Atheist

In contrast to the high rates of acceptance of marriage to those of a different racial or ethnic group, the majority of Americans affiliated with a religion would have a difficult time with a family member's decision to marry someone who does not believe in God. Almost seven-in-ten of those associated with a religion say they would either not accept such a marriage (27%), or be bothered by it before coming to accept it (43%). Just 27% say they would be fine with a relative's decision to marry someone who did not believe in God.

#### Fewer Would Accept Marriage to Someone who Doesn't Believe in God

If a member of your family were to marry someone who does not believe in God would you...



Note: Based on responses of individuals who are not a part of the group being asked about. "Don't know" responses not shown. Q50a-e.

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Among people who are affiliated with a religion, blacks, who are the most likely to be accepting of interracial marriages, are more likely than whites and Hispanics to express discomfort with marriage to an atheist. This racial difference is driven to some degree by religiosity. Overall, those who regularly attend religious services are less likely to approve of marriage to someone who does not believe in God (16% of believers who attend services at least weekly say they "would be fine" with a marriage to someone who does not believe in God compared with 36% of those who attend less frequently), and blacks are more likely than whites to regularly attend religious services. Among high-attending believers, whites are somewhat less likely than blacks, and much less likely than Hispanics, to approve of marriage to an atheist (11% of white high-attenders, 16% of black high-

attenders and 35% of Hispanic high-attenders say it “would be fine” if a relative married someone who does not believe in God). Among believers who attend less frequently, whites (36%) and Hispanics (41%) are more likely than blacks (26%) to approve of such a marriage.

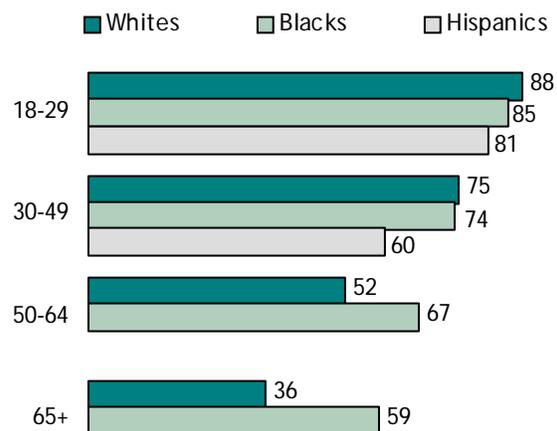
### Age and Marriage outside of One’s Own Racial/Ethnic Group

The overall differences between white and black attitudes towards marriage are primarily the result of differences among older Americans. Regardless of race, younger Americans (18-29 year olds) overwhelmingly say they would be fine with a family member’s marriage to someone in another ethnic or racial group, with no significant racial differences among this age group. And while 30-49 year olds are somewhat less likely to be accepting of interracial marriage than are younger people, the opinions of whites ages 30-49 are comparable to those of their black counterparts.

Across racial groups, racially conservative views about interracial marriage are strongly correlated with age. Americans ages 50 and over, and particularly those ages 65 and over, are considerably less accepting of interracial marriage than those in younger age groups. While this is true of blacks, it is more strongly pronounced among whites. Just over half of whites ages 50-64 (52%) and only 36% of whites ages 65 and older say they would be fine with a relative marrying someone from any other racial groups (this is 15 points and 23 points less than blacks in their age groups, respectively).

#### Young of All Racial and Ethnic Backgrounds More Supportive of Interracial Marriage

% of those who would be fine with marriage to someone of any other race/ethnicity



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. Insufficient cases of Hispanics ages 50-64 and 65+ for analysis.

Question wording (asked about race/ethnic groups other than respondent’s): How do you think you would react if a member of your family told you they were going to marry... (An African American/A Hispanic American/An Asian American/A white American)? Would it be fine with you, would it bother you but you would come to accept it, or would you not be able to accept it? Q50a-d. Shown here--the percentage who say “it would be fine with (them)” to all three other ethnic/racial groups.

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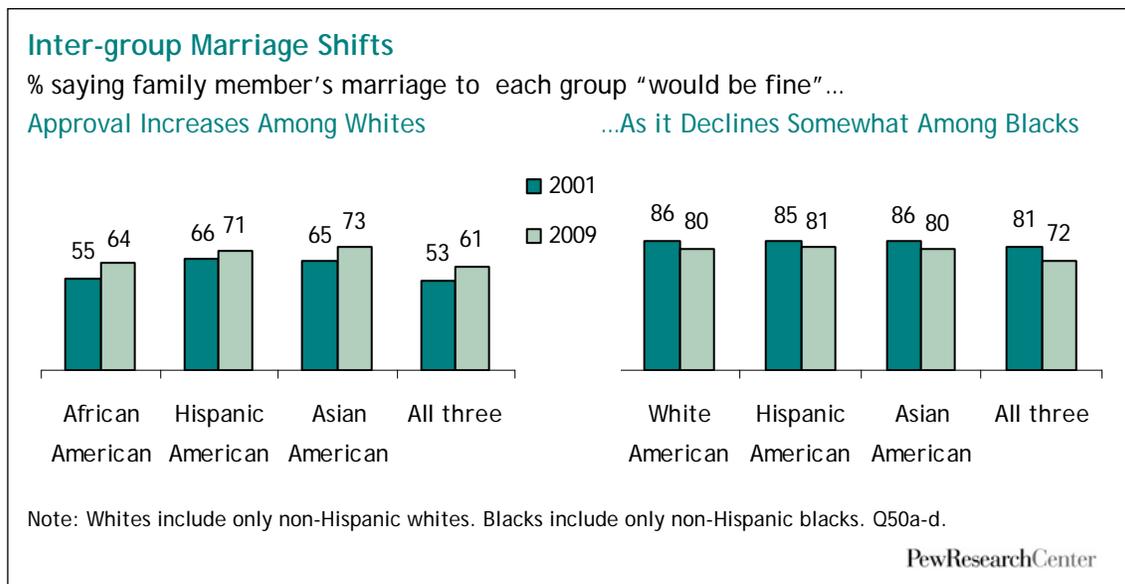
For whites, blacks and Hispanics, older respondents express greater discomfort with the possibility of a family member marrying someone of a difference race or ethnic group. Resistance to a family member marrying an African American is especially strong among older whites; just 55% of 50-64 year old whites and 41% of those ages 65 and older say they “would be fine” with this. By contrast, more than seven-in-ten older blacks (76% of those 50-64 and 71% of those ages 65 and older) say they would be fine with a family member marrying a white American; among blacks ages 18-29, 89% would be fine with it. And among older whites, acceptance of a relative’s marriage to an African American lags behind acceptance of a family member’s marriage to Hispanic or Asian Americans. Among 18-29 year olds there are no differences by race of respondent in the acceptance of marriage to those in other racial and ethnic groups.

<b>If a Family Member Married Someone Who is____...</b>						
<b>% saying “would be fine with it”</b>						
	<b>An African American</b>	<b>A Hispanic American</b>	<b>An Asian American</b>	<b>A white American</b>	<b>All three other</b>	<b>N</b>
<b>Whites</b>						
18-29	88	92	93	--	88	177
30-49	79	82	83	--	75	428
50-64	55	65	65	--	52	425
65+	41	53	58	--	36	391
<b>Blacks</b>						
18-29	--	93	91	89	85	157
30-49	--	81	84	80	74	240
50-64	--	76	74	76	67	250
65+	--	69	61	71	59	146
<b>Hispanics</b>						
18-29	88	--	93	96	81	115
30-49	72	--	76	78	60	154

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. Insufficient cases of Hispanics ages 50-64 and 65+ for analysis. Q50a-d.

### Whites Grow More Accepting of Interracial Marriage

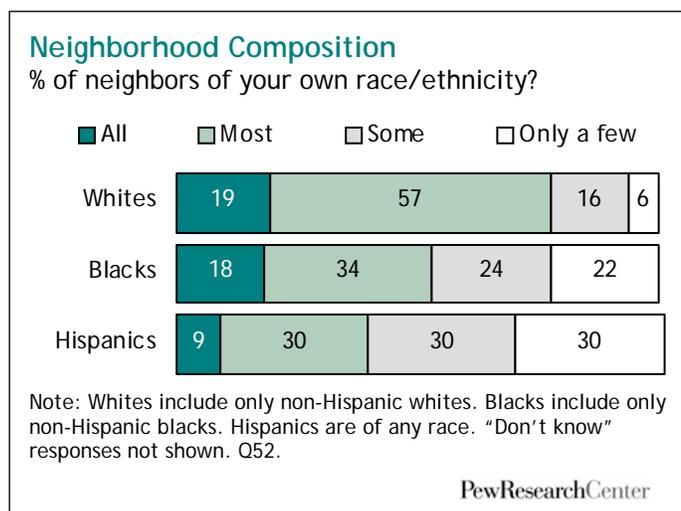
While blacks remain the most accepting of interracial marriage, approval is on the rise among whites. The proportion of whites who now say they “would be fine” with a relative’s marriage to a member of each different groups is up eight points since 2001. To some extent, this is the result of a decline in racially conservative attitudes across all generational cohorts, but it is also driven by the more racially liberal views of younger whites today.



At the same time, black approval of interracial marriage has declined somewhat over the last eight years. In 2001, more than eight-in-ten (81%) blacks reported they would be fine with a marriage to someone from any other group. Today, 72% say this. This decline is evident in black attitudes about intermarriage to all three other groups.

### Who Lives in Racially Diverse Neighborhoods?

Although the majority of Americans live in neighborhoods with at least some racial diversity, there is variation in the way Americans experience the nations’ ethnic and racial diversity in their own communities. Not surprisingly, as the majority racial group in the country, whites are much more likely than either blacks or Latinos to say they live in a neighborhood in which all or most of their neighbors share their racial background; 76% of whites report that they live in a majority-white neighborhood. Although blacks and Hispanics account for much smaller



percentages of the total population, about half (52%) of blacks and four-in-ten (39%) Hispanics live in majority-black or majority-Hispanic neighborhoods, respectively.

Among blacks, those who have attended college are considerably less likely than those who have not to live in majority-black neighborhoods (43% vs. 60%). Income is similarly correlated with neighborhood racial makeup—blacks with incomes of \$75,000 or more are about equally likely to say they live in a majority-black neighborhood (34%), a neighborhood with some blacks (31%), or a neighborhood with “just a few” blacks (34%). By contrast, the majority of blacks with incomes of \$30,000 or less (63%) say they live in a majority-black neighborhood.

Older and more affluent whites are more likely than other whites to report living in majority-white neighborhoods. Seven-in-ten (70%) whites under age 40 say all or most of their neighbors are white, compared with nearly eight-in-ten (79%) whites ages 40 and older. More than eight-in-ten whites (83%) with annual family incomes of \$75,000 or more live in majority-white neighborhoods, compared with 69% of those with incomes of less than \$30,000 a year. There are also regional differences among whites, those in the East and Midwest are more likely than whites in either the South or West to say they live in majority-white neighborhoods. Nevertheless, across demographic groups few whites report living in neighborhoods with “only a few” whites.

In a pattern similar to that of blacks, Hispanics who have not attended college are much more likely than those who have to live in a majority-Latino neighborhood (45% vs. 27%)—and by a similar margin, foreign-born Hispanics are more likely than U.S. born-Hispanics to live in majority-Hispanic neighborhoods (48% vs. 27%). Across most demographic groups, Hispanics are more likely than either their white or black counterparts to report living in a neighborhood with “just a few” of those in their own racial or ethnic group.

<b>Neighborhood Composition</b>			
% of neighbors of your race/ethnicity?			
	All/most	Some	Only a few
	%	%	%
<b>Among whites</b>	76	16	6
College	78	17	4
No college	74	16	9
18-39	70	21	8
40+	79	14	5
\$75,000 or more	83	14	3
\$30-74,999	74	19	6
Less than \$30k	69	18	12
<b>Among blacks</b>	52	24	22
College	43	30	24
No college	60	19	19
18-39	56	27	16
40+	51	22	24
\$75,000 or more	34	31	34
\$30-74,999	48	26	25
Less than \$30k	63	19	16
<b>Among Hispanics</b>	39	30	30
College	27	37	33
No college	45	25	30
18-39	36	26	36
40+	43	30	27
U.S. -born	27	42	30
Foreign-born	48	20	31

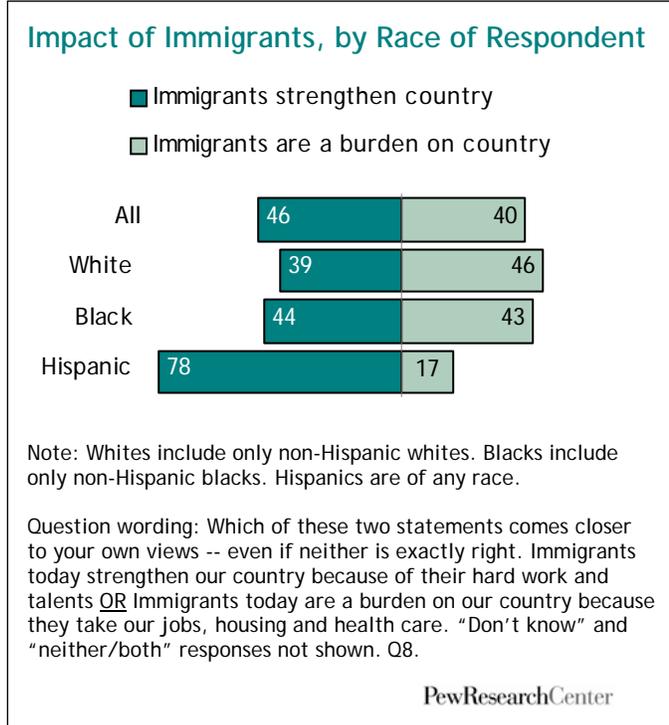
Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. “Don’t know” responses not shown. Q52.

## Views of Immigrants

Just under half of Americans (46%) say that immigrants strengthen the country, while four-in-ten (40%) say they do not. Views on the impact of immigrants have grown slightly more positive since 2006, when 41% said they strengthened the country. This marks a return to where these attitudes stood for much of the past decade, and a more positive view of immigration than was seen throughout the 1990s.

The views of blacks and whites on immigrants differ somewhat from each other; they also differ considerably from those of Hispanics. A plurality of whites believes that immigrants are a burden rather than a benefit (46% vs. 39%), largely unchanged since 2006. Blacks are divided: 44% say immigrants have strengthened the country while 43% say they have had a negative impact.

Latinos, by a ratio of more than 4-1, see immigrants as strengthening the United States (78% vs. 17%) – not a surprising finding in light of the fact that Latinos are by far the nation’s biggest immigrant group. Those born outside of the United States are particularly likely to say that immigrants strengthen the country. About nine-in-ten Hispanics born in another country (91%) say this, compared with about six-in-ten Latinos born in the U.S. (62%).



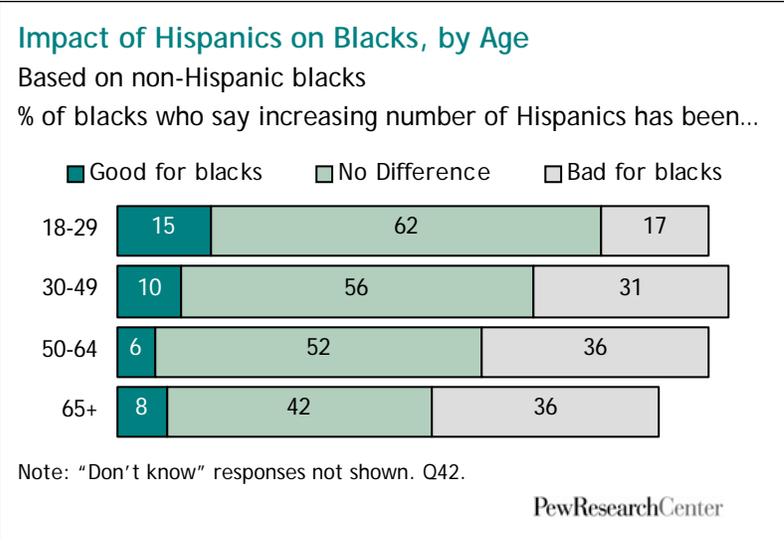
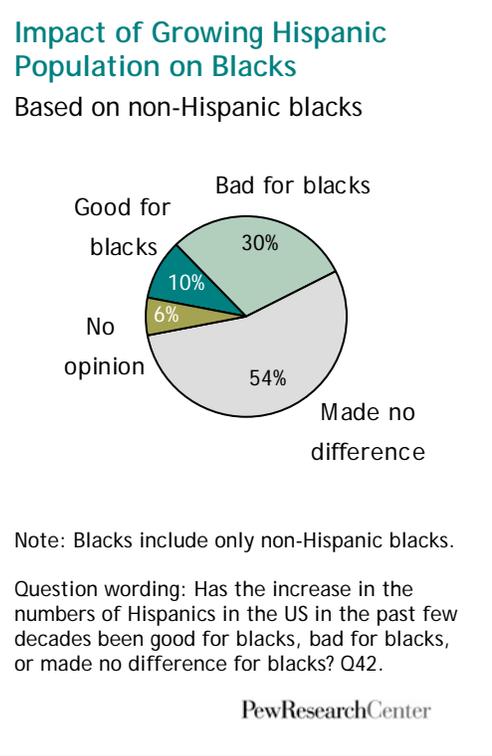
### Black Views of the Growing Hispanic Population

A majority of blacks (54%) say that the growing number of Hispanics in the United States over the past few decades has made no difference for blacks. But of those who do see an impact, blacks are much more likely to say Hispanic population growth has been bad for blacks than to say the increase has been a good thing (30% vs. 10%).

These views differ dramatically by age. Younger blacks are far more likely than older generations to say that the growing Latino population has made no difference, and significantly less likely to say it has been bad for blacks.

More than six-in-ten blacks under the age of 30 (62%) say the country’s growing Hispanic population has had no impact on blacks; 15% say this increase has been good for blacks while 17% say it has been bad for blacks. Among blacks ages 65 and older, just 42% say the growing numbers of Hispanics have made no difference for blacks, while more than a third (36%) say the increasing numbers of Hispanics in the country has been bad for blacks and just 8% say the growth in the Hispanic population has been good for blacks.

The opinions of those ages 50-64 largely mirror those of their older counterparts. There are no significant differences on this question by other key demographics.



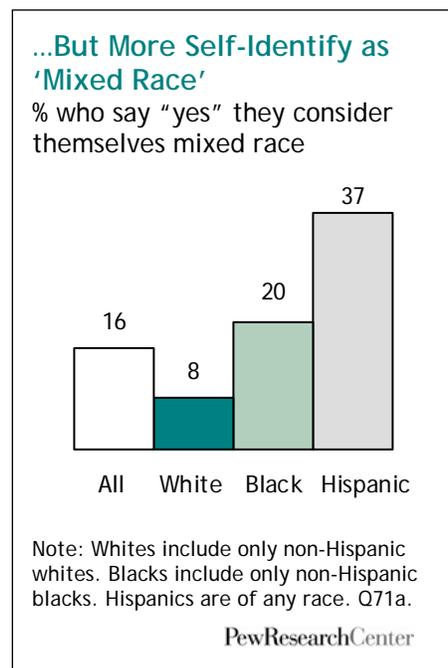
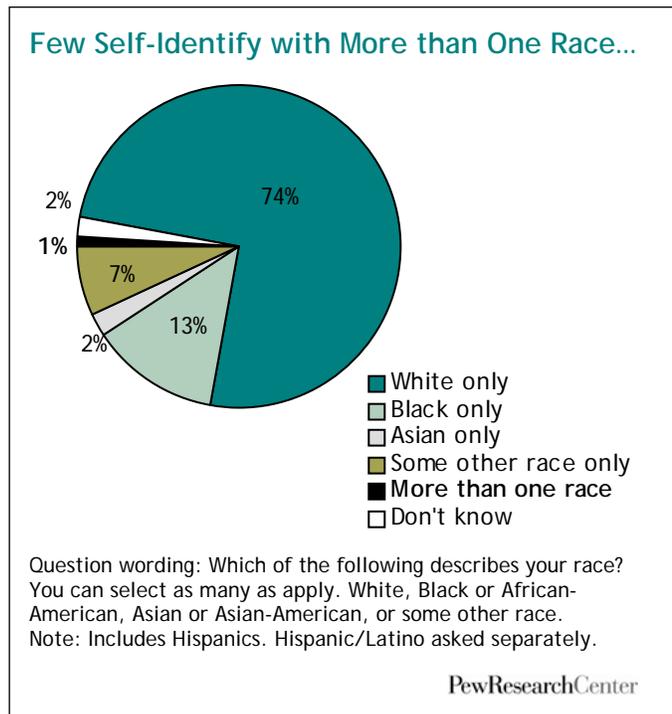
### Mixed Race Identification

When asked to describe their race, most Americans describe themselves as belonging to a single race, even when given the option to identify with more than one racial group. In the current survey, just 1% of the public identifies with more than one racial group. Even among Hispanics, just 3% identify as more than one race (an additional 40% either opt out of the question or identify as “some other race”).

Yet when asked in a separate question later in the survey whether they consider themselves to be mixed race, fully 16% of Americans say that they do.

The proportion of those who identify as mixed race differs considerably by race and ethnicity. One-fifth of blacks (20%) (those who identified previously as non-Hispanic and black only) say they are of mixed race, as do nearly four-in-ten Hispanics (37%). Just 8% of whites (those who earlier in the survey identified as non-Hispanic and white only) say they are of mixed race.

Within each racial and ethnic group there are few differences in the proportion identifying as mixed race by age or education. Whites who have not attended college are somewhat more likely than those who have to say they consider themselves to be of mixed race (11% vs. 5%).



### Mixed Race Children, Acquaintances

There are, however, some differences across groups in the proportion who say they have a child of mixed race. Overall, 22% of Hispanics, 15% of blacks, and 7% of whites say they have a child of mixed race. Whites ages 30-49 are more likely than those in older age groups to have a mixed race child (12% vs. 5%). Similarly, blacks of that age group are also more likely than older blacks to have a mixed race child (18% vs. 10%).

The proportions of those who say they have a mixed race child are somewhat lower for 18-29 year olds, a result of fewer parents among this younger cohort. Looking at all of those living in households with children under the age of 18, the percentages who say they have a child of mixed race rise to one-fifth of the total (20%), 13% of whites, 23% of blacks and 27% of Hispanics.

Large majorities of blacks (85%), whites (84%) and Hispanics (70%) say they know someone of mixed race. This is particularly true of younger whites and blacks: about nine-in-ten whites and blacks under age 50 say they know an adult or child of mixed race.

Among Hispanics, those born in the U.S. are about as likely as whites and blacks to say they know someone of mixed race (90%). In contrast, just 58% of foreign-born Hispanics say they know someone of mixed race.

#### Mixed Race % who say "yes"

	-----Mixed Race-----		
	Self	Child	Know someone
	%	%	%
All	16	12	82
White	8	7	84
Black	20	15	85
Hispanic	37	22	70
<b>Among whites</b>			
18-29	9	4	91
30-49	8	12	91
50-64	8	7	85
65+	6	4	69
College	5	6	87
No college	11	8	79
<b>Among blacks</b>			
18-29	21	17	90
30-49	18	18	90
50-64	22	10	83
65+	16	10	71
College	19	15	94
No college	20	15	78
<b>Among Hispanics</b>			
18-49	39	20	72
50+	37	29	68
College	34	24	88
No college	39	22	63
U.S.-born	43	26	90
Foreign-born	35	21	58
<b>Racial identification</b>			
White or black only	37	20	66
Multiple/other/DK	36	25	74

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. Question wording: Please tell me which of the following, if any, apply to you. Do you: a. Consider yourself to be of mixed race? b. Have a child of mixed race? c. Personally know an adult or child of mixed race? Q71a-c.

## V. Discrimination

More than four decades after the Civil Rights era focused national attention on the rights of minorities, most Americans say that discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation continues to be a feature of American life. Big majorities of the public say there is at least some discrimination against Hispanics (70%), blacks (69%) and women (56%). Nearly half say Asian Americans (48%) are victims of prejudice while 45% say whites also face bias.

In recent years, however, the nation's most heated civil rights debates have focused not on race or gender, as they did decades ago, but on sexual orientation. Gays and lesbians currently are viewed as facing more discrimination than any of the other five groups tested in the survey.

A plurality of the public (45%) believes that gays and lesbians face “a lot” of bias—roughly double the proportions that see widespread discrimination against blacks (18%) or Hispanics (23%) and three-to five-times the proportion that see similarly high levels of prejudice directed at women, Asian Americans or whites. Overall, nearly eight-in-ten (78%) adults say gays and lesbians face at least “some” discrimination.

Even blacks see discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation as more pervasive than racial bias. A majority of blacks (55%) say gays and lesbians face “a lot” of discrimination, 12 percentage points higher than the proportion who say African Americans often confront prejudice.

Overall, the new Pew Research survey finds that black attitudes about anti-black bias are somewhat in flux. On the one hand, many fewer blacks now than 15 years ago say that when a black person cannot get ahead in this country, discrimination is mainly to blame. On the other hand, 81% of African Americans say that this country has not yet done enough to ensure that blacks have equal rights with whites. Also, most blacks continue to be skeptical that blacks in this country are treated

### Perceptions of Discrimination

How much discrimination is there against...?

	A lot	Some	A little	None
	%	%	%	%
<b>African Americans</b>				
All	18	51	21	6
Whites	13	57	21	5
Blacks	43	39	14	2
Hispanics	19	35	30	13
<b>Hispanic Americans</b>				
All	23	47	19	6
Whites	21	51	18	4
Blacks	33	41	16	5
Hispanics	24	31	29	11
<b>Asian Americans</b>				
All	8	40	32	13
Whites	7	42	31	13
Blacks	16	40	28	8
Hispanics	7	29	42	16
<b>White Americans</b>				
All	10	35	31	20
Whites	10	40	31	15
Blacks	10	31	31	25
Hispanics	6	22	31	40
<b>Women</b>				
All	13	43	29	12
Whites	10	46	30	12
Blacks	27	45	19	7
Hispanics	12	31	36	19
<b>Gays and lesbians</b>				
All	45	33	12	5
Whites	43	37	11	4
Blacks	55	25	11	3
Hispanics	47	24	17	5

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. “Don’t know” responses not shown. Question wording: Please tell me how much discrimination there is against each of these groups in our society today. How about...? Would you say there is a lot of discrimination, some, only a little, or none at all? Q37a-f.

fairly by police. This chapter reviews these and other opinions about discrimination held by blacks, whites and Hispanics.

### Changes Since 2001

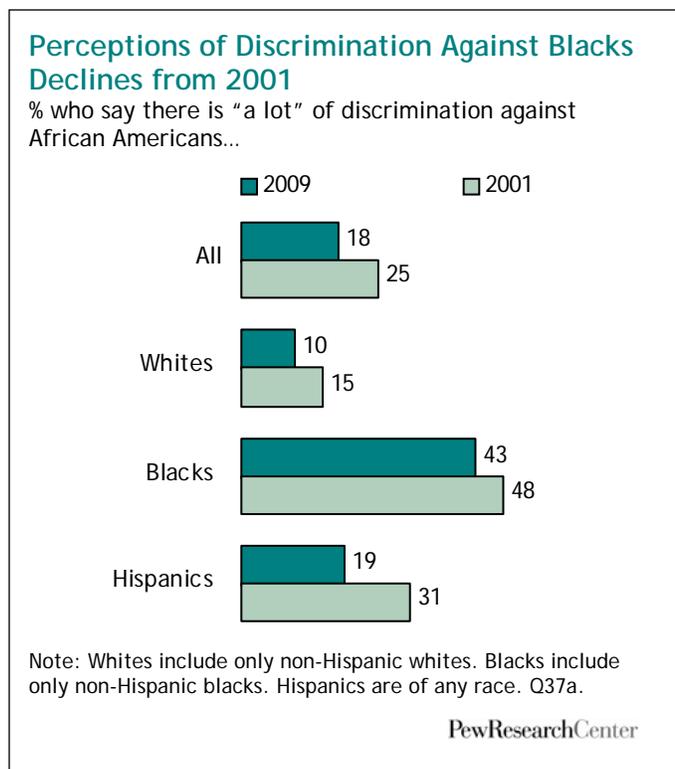
Public perceptions of widespread discrimination against blacks has declined somewhat over the decade. Overall, the proportion of the public that says that blacks face “a lot” of discrimination stands at 18%, down seven percentage points from a national survey conducted in 2001 by the *Washington Post*, the Kaiser Family Foundation and Harvard University. But there has been no change in the percentage saying that blacks face “some” discrimination (51% now, 49% in 2001).

	2001	2009	Change
African Americans	25	18	-7
Hispanic Americans	19	23	+4
White Americans	8	10	+2
Asian Americans	8	8	0

Q37a, Q37b, Q37e & Q37f.

This decline is most evident among whites and Hispanics. One-fifth of whites (20%) in 2001 said blacks faced a lot of discrimination; in the latest survey, the proportion fell to 13%. Among Hispanics, the share seeing widespread discrimination against blacks dropped from 31% then to 19% now.

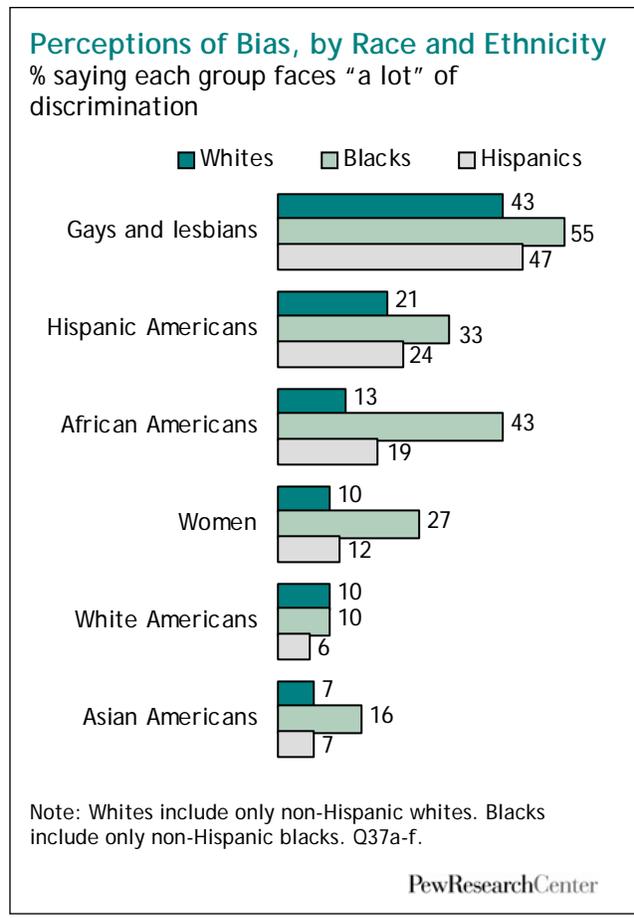
Other surveys confirm that public perceptions of discrimination against blacks have receded over time. Using a slightly different question, surveys conducted in 2000 and again in 2005 by Princeton Survey Research Associates International for the National Conference for Community and Justice found that the proportion of respondents who said there was “a great deal” of discrimination against blacks declined from 34% to 26% during that six-year period.



Another notable change emerges when the results of the 2001 and 2009 surveys are compared. Among the four racial or ethnic groups tested—whites, blacks, Hispanics and Asian Americans—Latinos have moved ahead of blacks as the group the public most frequently says is the target of discrimination.

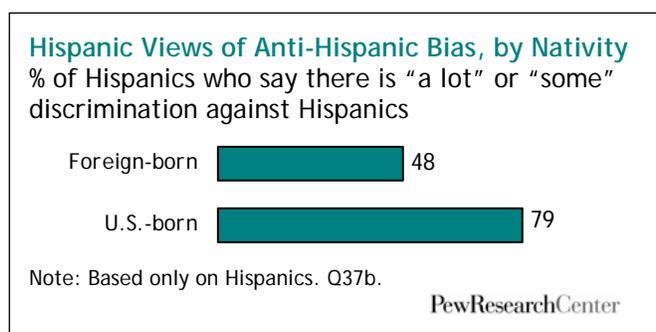
In 2001, a quarter of survey respondents (25%) said blacks face “a lot” of discrimination, compared with 19% who offered a similar view of Latinos. In the latest poll, those numbers are nearly reversed: 23% say Latinos face a lot of discrimination while 18% say African Americans face similarly high levels of discrimination.

The picture changes only slightly when the analysis is expanded to include respondents who say the groups face “some” discrimination. Seven-in-ten adults (70%) say Hispanics face a lot or some discrimination and about the same proportion say blacks face at least some prejudice (69%). In the 2001 survey, a somewhat larger proportion of the public believed that blacks faced discrimination than believed Latinos did (74% vs. 66%).



### Race, Ethnicity, Nativity and Perceptions of Discrimination

Blacks are more likely than whites or Hispanics to say that most of the groups tested face widespread discrimination. For example, a majority of blacks (55%) say gays and lesbians face a lot of discrimination, compared with 43% of whites. Blacks are even more likely than Latinos to say Hispanics are often the targets of prejudice (33% vs. 24%).



The survey also finds sharp differences in perceptions of bias among Hispanics depending on whether they are immigrants or U.S.-born. About half (48%) of all foreign-born Hispanics say there is a lot or some discrimination against Hispanics, compared with nearly eight-in-ten Hispanics (79%) born in the United States.

### The Pervasiveness of Bias

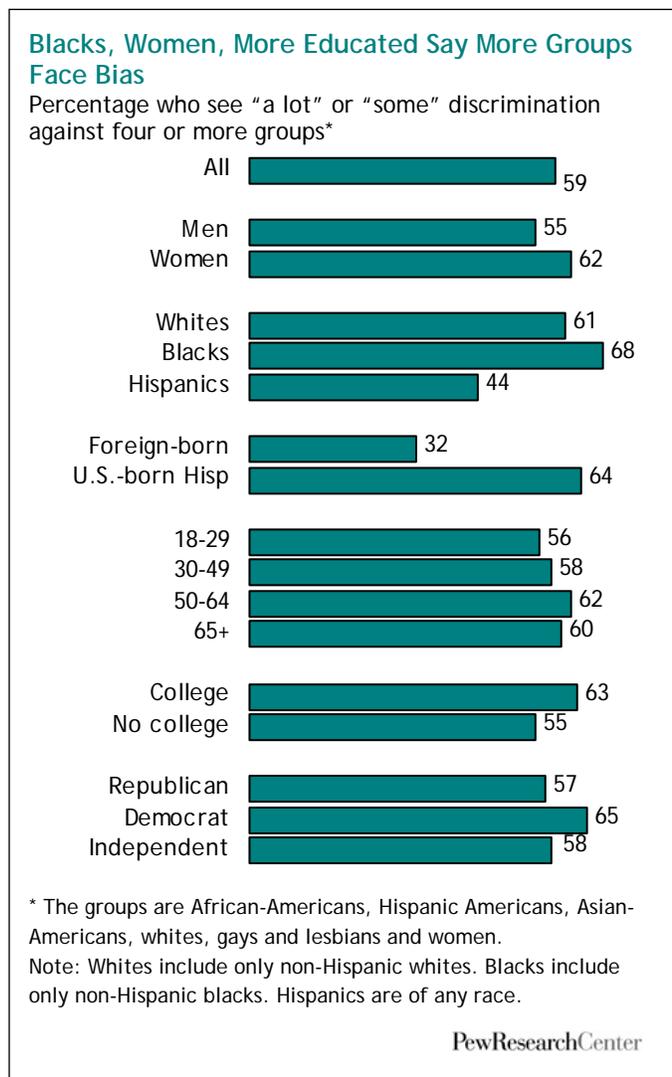
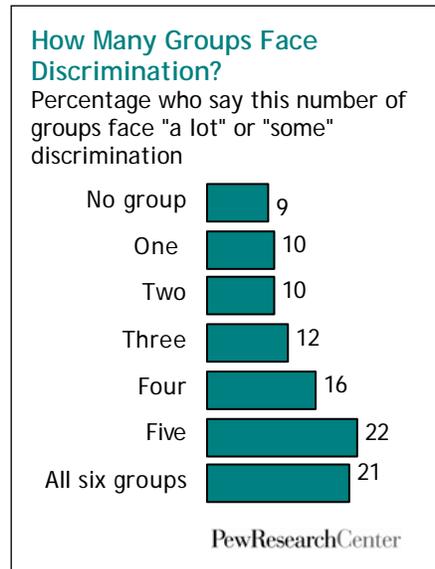
Most Americans believe there is at least some discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation, and many see bias that spans many groups. To measure the pervasiveness of perceptions of prejudice, each respondent was given a score based on the number of groups that the respondent said faced “a lot” or “some” discrimination. A score of six meant that a respondent answered that each of the six groups tested faced at least some discrimination. Similarly, a score of zero indicated that the respondent consistently said each of the groups faced “only a little” discrimination or “none at all.”

The picture that emerges is telling. Only about one-in-ten (9%) of those interviewed say that none of the groups faces discrimination. More than twice as many (21%) report that each of the six groups

faces at least some discrimination, and a clear majority (59%) says that at least four of the target groups encounter bias.

Women, better-educated adults and Democrats are more likely to say many groups face discrimination than are Hispanics, men, those with less than a high school education, Republicans and independents.

According to the survey, 62% of women compared with 55% of men say most of the groups face discrimination. More than six-in-ten (63%) of those who have attended college see discrimination as a problem for most of the groups tested while 55% who have not attended college agree. And about two-thirds of Democrats (65%) but 57% of Republicans and 58% of political independents say most of these groups encounter at least some discrimination. Blacks are somewhat more likely than whites or Hispanics to say many groups face discrimination (68% for blacks vs. 61% for whites and 44% for Latinos). But again, the racial and ethnic comparisons are complicated by nativity. Among native-born Hispanics, fully



64% see discrimination as a problem for at least four of the groups tested—double the proportion of Latino immigrants who agree (32%). If the analysis is limited to only native-born Latinos, the overall differences between Hispanics and blacks, and Hispanics and whites, would largely disappear.

### Why Don't Blacks Get Ahead?

Most blacks, whites and Hispanics agree: Blacks who don't get ahead in this country have mostly themselves to blame. Fully two-thirds of those interviewed (67%) say blacks in this country who can't get ahead "are mostly responsible for their own condition" while only 18% say discrimination is mainly at fault. These proportions are virtually unchanged since a 2007 Pew Research Center survey. But the proportion laying primary blame on discrimination is down significantly from 1994 when 32% blamed discrimination and 59% said blacks were themselves responsible for not getting ahead.

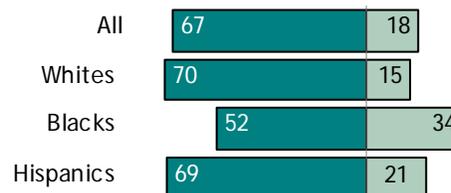
About half of blacks (52%) hold blacks mostly responsible for their circumstances while 34% say discrimination is mainly to blame. While this division of opinion is similar to that seen in 2007, it represents a very substantial change in black opinion over the past 15 years. In fact, the current result is virtually the mirror opposite of findings from 1994 when 34% of African Americans said blacks who don't do well in life are mostly responsible for their own condition, while a 56%-majority said racial discrimination was the main reason.

Whites (at 70%) and Hispanics (at 69%) are more likely than African Americans to say blacks are mainly responsible for their condition. The proportion of whites who express this view is virtually unchanged from two years ago but the proportion is up 10 percentage points among Latinos. On this question, unlike those measuring perceptions of discrimination, the views of native-born Latinos and immigrants are very similar: 66% of native-born Hispanics and 69% of those born in another country say blacks who can't get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition.

Views on the prevalence of racial discrimination are clearly associated with attitudes toward black advancement. Among respondents who say there is a "a lot" of discrimination against blacks, a third (33%) say discrimination is the main reason that more blacks don't advance; only 11% of those who say blacks face hardly any or no discrimination agree. Even among those who say blacks face a lot of discrimination, fully half (51%) say blacks who don't succeed are mainly responsible for their own condition.

#### When Blacks Don't Make Progress, Who or What is to Blame?

■ Blacks mostly responsible ■ Racism mostly responsible



Question wording: Which of these statements comes closer to your views—even if neither is exactly right: 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...? Q38.

Note: Don't know/no opinion not shown. Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

PewResearchCenter

### Does Everyone Have the Power to Succeed?

Compared with people in many other countries, the American public is more likely to reject a fatalistic view of personal success. The vast majority (82%) of the poll’s respondents, regardless of race, agrees that “everyone has it in their own power to succeed.” Very few (12% overall) say that success in life is mainly decided by forces outside of one’s own control. This view of individual empowerment has held steady since the Pew Research Center first posed this question in July 1994.

About eight-in-ten whites (82%) and Hispanics (84%), as well as 77% of blacks, say all individuals have it within their power to succeed.

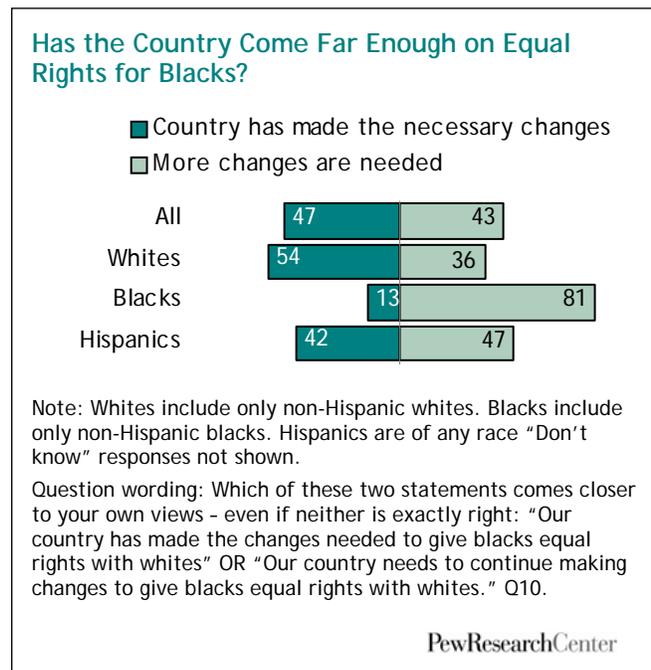
Success in Life				
	All	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
	%	%	%	%
Success is determined by forces beyond one’s own control	12	11	16	13
Everyone has the power to succeed	82	82	77	84
Don’t Know/Refused	6	7	7	2

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.  
 Question wording: Which of these two statements comes closer to your own views - even if neither is exactly right: “Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside of our control” OR “Everyone has it in their power to succeed.” Q9.

### Have Blacks Achieved Equal Rights?

Although African Americans are increasingly positive in their assessments of black progress and the black-white gap in standard of living, about eight-in-ten (81%) believe that the country needs to continue making changes to give blacks the same rights whites enjoy. Just 13% of blacks say the necessary changes have been made.

In contrast, a majority of whites (54%) believe that the country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites, while 36% say more changes are needed. The views of whites are strongly associated with political ideology. Nearly two-thirds (66%) of white conservatives say the country has made the changes necessary to give blacks equal rights; a slim majority of moderates (51%) agree. Among whites who describe themselves as liberal, however, 56% say more changes are needed, while 37% say the country has made the changes necessary to ensure that blacks and whites have the same rights.



## Many Blacks Suspicious of Police

Regardless of their age, income or educational status, most blacks remain broadly skeptical of the police in their communities. Only slightly more than half (54%) of all African Americans say they have a “great deal” or “fair amount” of confidence that their local police will do a good job enforcing the law. Just four-in-ten (41%) express confidence that police will not use excessive force when dealing with crime suspects. And fewer than four-in-ten sat they trust police to treat blacks and whites equally (38%) or deal with Hispanics in the same way they deal with whites (37%).

In contrast, large majorities of whites have confidence in police in their area to enforce the law (78%) and avoid the use of excessive force (71%); 69% are confident that police in their communities treat blacks the same way that they deal with whites and 65% say the same about Hispanics and whites.

The views of Hispanics are closer to those of blacks. For example, half (50%) of Hispanics say they trust police not to use excessive force compared with 41% of blacks but 71% of whites. And fewer than half of Hispanics and blacks, but about two-thirds of whites, are confident that police in their area will treat Latinos and whites equally.

To measure trust in law enforcement, respondents were asked how much confidence they had in the police in their communities to “do a good job of enforcing the law,” “to not use excessive force on suspects,” and “to treat blacks and whites equally.” Specifically, respondents were asked if they had a “great deal,” a “fair amount,” “just some” or “very little” confidence in local police.

The same three questions were first asked in a national survey by NBC News and the *Wall Street Journal* in 1995 and repeated in a 2007 poll by the Pew Research Center. In the latest survey, a new item was added: Respondents were asked how much confidence they had in police to “treat Hispanics and whites equally.”

The racial divide opens even wider when the analysis focuses just on respondents who have a “great deal” of trust in police and, at the other extreme, on those who have “very little” faith in local law enforcement. According to the survey, whites are significantly more likely than blacks to say they have “a great deal” of trust in police on each of the three questions. For example, a plurality of whites (38%) but only 14% of blacks expressed the

### Trust in Police Remains Low among Blacks

How much confidence do you have in local police to...

	Great Deal	Fair Amount	Just Some	Very Little
	%	%	%	%
<b>Enforce the law</b>				
All	41	30	16	10
Whites	46	32	14	7
Blacks	24	30	21	22
Hispanics	37	24	24	14
<b>Not use excessive force</b>				
All	33	30	18	13
Whites	39	32	16	8
Blacks	14	27	22	30
Hispanics	24	26	26	19
<b>Treat blacks and whites equally</b>				
All	33	28	18	14
Whites	38	31	16	9
Blacks	14	24	22	34
Hispanics	29	17	27	19
<b>Treat Hispanics and whites equally</b>				
All	29	28	20	15
Whites	34	31	18	10
Blacks	11	26	26	29
Hispanics	25	17	29	26

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race “Don’t know” responses not shown. Q41a-d.

highest level of confidence in police to treat blacks and whites equally. And by more than two to one, whites are more likely than blacks to say they have a great deal of trust that the police will not use excessive force.

The attitudes of blacks are just as consistent—but in the opposite direction: African Americans are at least twice as likely as whites on each of the questions to express the lowest level of trust in local law enforcement.

According to the survey, blacks are nearly four times more likely than whites to say they have “very little” confidence in police to deal fairly with blacks and whites (34% vs. 9%) and three times more likely to have little faith that their local police will do a good job enforcing the law (7% vs. 22%).

In addition to differences by race and ethnicity, the survey found that young people, Democrats, Southerners and Westerners express less confidence in their local police than older Americans, Republicans and those living in the Midwest.

### Inside the Police Confidence Gap

The confidence gap between whites, blacks and Hispanics on police performance comes sharply into focus when the three questions first asked in 1995 are analyzed together. Overall, fully 55% of whites express a great deal or a fair amount of confidence in police on all three measures; that is more than double the proportion of blacks (24%) who express similarly high levels of trust in their local police. Among Hispanics, barely three-in-ten (31%) have confidence in the police to enforce the law, avoid the use of excessive force and treat blacks and whites equally.

At the same time, a third (34%) of blacks express some, little or no confidence in their local police on all three questions— almost triple the proportion of whites (12%).

Significantly, Latinos are nearly as likely as blacks to be mistrustful of their local police: 29% say they have some, little or no confidence on each of the three questions.

#### Trends in Confidence in Police, by Race and Ethnicity

% with “a great deal” or “fair amount” of confidence in local police to...

	1995	2007	2009	07-09 change
<b>Enforce the law</b>				
All	73	73	71	-2
Whites	78	78	78	0
Blacks	49	55	54	-1
Hispanics	--	62	61	-1
<b>Not use excessive force</b>				
All	59	66	63	-3
Whites	63	73	71	-2
Blacks	34	38	41	+3
Hispanics	--	51	50	-1
<b>Treat blacks and whites equally</b>				
All	58	66	61	-5
Whites	62	74	69	-5
Blacks	32	37	38	+1
Hispanics	--	45	46	+1
<b>Confident on all three*</b>				
All	43	50	47	-3
Whites	47	58	55	-3
Blacks	21	23	24	+1
Hispanics	--	28	31	+3
<b>Some/little/no confidence on all three</b>				
All	14	13	18	+5
Whites	10	9	12	+3
Blacks	37	30	34	+4
Hispanics	--	18	29	+11

Note: \*Confidence index is based on the three-items; respondents are split into two groups: those with higher and lower levels of confidence. Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Percentage of Hispanics in 1995 survey too small for analysis.

Perhaps just as striking as the racial divide is the relative stability of these views among blacks. Overall, the proportion of blacks who express confidence in police on all three questions has edged up only slightly, from 21% to 24%, in the past 14 years, while the proportion expressing some, little or no trust in police has declined slightly by three percentage points.

The improvements have been larger among whites: The proportion of whites who express confidence in local police on all three measures rose from 47% in 1995 to 55% in the current survey. At the same time, the proportion with little confidence in local law enforcement remained virtually unchanged, at 10% in 1995 and 12% today.

### Beyond Race

There are substantial demographic differences in whites' attitudes toward police. But demographic differences are conspicuously absent among blacks.

About four-in-ten whites younger than age 30 express "a great deal" or "a fair amount" of confidence in police on all three areas of police performance tested in the survey. In contrast about six-in-ten whites age 30 and older have similarly high levels of trust in local law enforcement.

The confidence gap is similarly wide among whites with different levels of education. Whites who have not attended college express significantly lower levels of overall confidence in police than those who have completed at least some college (50% vs. 59%).

Blacks age 30 and younger are about as likely to express higher levels of confidence in police as are those age 65 and older (23% vs. 26%). And blacks who attended college are no more likely to trust police than those who have not (25% vs. 24%).

There is one notable exception to this pattern. Significantly larger proportions of blacks as well as whites who are registered to vote express high levels of confidence in police than do those who are not registered.

Among whites, the gap is large: 59% of registered voters trust police versus 41% of whites who are unregistered. This confidence gap is smaller but still significant among blacks who are registered and those who are not (26% vs. 19%). In addition, Republicans (62%) are significantly more likely than Democrats (38%) or political independents (48%) to express consistently high levels of confidence in their local police.

#### The Demographics of Trust % who have a great deal of trust in local police

	All	Whites	Blacks
All	47	55	24
Men	49	57	26
Women	45	53	23
18-29	36	41	23
30-49	50	59	21
50-64	48	56	29
65+	51	57	26
College	52	59	25
No college	42	50	24
Republican	62	65	--
Democrat	38	48	25
Independent	48	55	25
<i>Registered voter</i>			
Yes	51	59	26
No	35	41	19

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Insufficient number of Hispanics for most analyses.

## VI. Race and Barack Obama

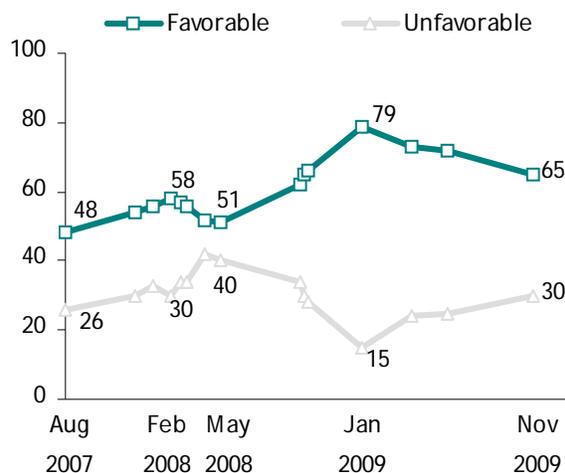
Despite the heated political and policy debates that have characterized his first year in office, Barack Obama is personally popular with much of the public. In this survey, 65% of Americans say they have a very (33%) or mostly (32%) favorable view of the president. However, that is down from the nearly eight-in-ten (79%) who had a favorable impression of him last January and on par with public evaluations of Obama toward the end of the 2008 general election.

Despite this decline, Obama’s personal rating with the public remains significantly higher than his job approval rating (49% in a December 2009 Pew Research poll). Opinions of Obama also compare favorably with views of his two immediate predecessors. Although exact comparisons to this point in their presidencies are not available, Obama’s current favorability rating is about the same as the highest the Pew Research Center has on record for Bill Clinton during his two terms in office (66% in January 1997); it is also closer to George W. Bush’s highest ratings during his tenure than to Bush’s ratings throughout much of his presidency (Bush’s ratings ranged from 31% to 72% favorable).

### Racial Differences in Obama’s Ratings

African-American opinions of Barack Obama as a person remain unequivocally favorable. As has been the case since he became the Democratic Party’s presidential nominee, more than nine-in-ten blacks (95%) see Obama favorably. Obama’s ratings among blacks have been high since August 2007, when the Pew Research Center first began tracking public impressions of the then-candidate. In the early stages of the

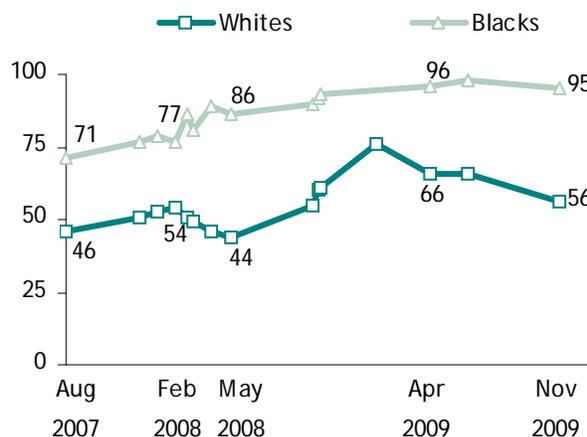
**Obama’s Favorability Dips, but Remains High**  
% who say their overall opinion of Barack Obama is...



Note: “Don’t know” responses not shown.  
Question wording: Would you say your overall opinion of Barack Obama is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? Q5a.

PewResearchCenter

**Black Opinion Overwhelmingly Positive**  
% who have a favorable opinion of Barack Obama



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

PewResearchCenter

2008 primary campaign (December 2007-March 2008), about one-in-ten African Americans expressed an unfavorable view of Obama. In the current survey just 3% say they have an unfavorable opinion of him, and 77% have a *very* favorable opinion, the highest such percentage since Pew Research began polling on Obama in 2007.

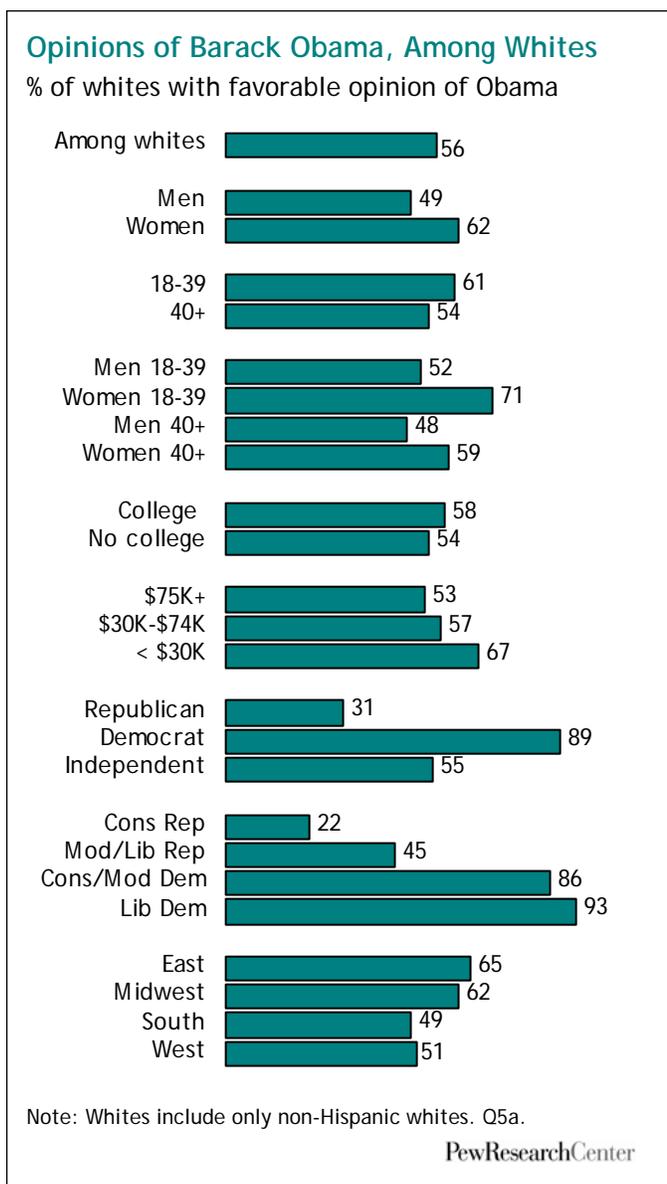
Although most whites (56%) also have a favorable view of the president, white opinion of Barack Obama is less uniform—38% of whites say their opinion of him is unfavorable, including 21% with a *very* unfavorable view. In contrast to black opinion, Obama’s ratings among whites have shifted significantly since the inauguration—in January 2009, about three-quarters of whites (76%) gave Obama a positive rating, 20 points higher than in the current survey.

### Variation in Obama’s Ratings among Whites

Black opinions of Obama do not vary much by demographic groups—across all major demographic categories more than nine-in-ten blacks say they have a favorable view of the president. Hispanic opinion of Obama is also quite positive; 83% of Latinos say their opinion is favorable, with young Hispanics more likely than older Hispanics to view him favorably (90% of 18-39 year olds compared with 76% of those 40 and older).

White opinion is more varied. The strongest correlates of views about Obama are partisanship and ideology. Just 31% of white Republicans (and 22% of white conservative Republicans) give him a favorable rating. In stark contrast, nearly nine-in-ten (89%) white Democrats view him favorably. White independent opinion is less uniform—55% have a favorable view of Obama.

White women—especially younger women—are more likely than white men to have a favorable view of Obama. More than six-in-ten (62%) white women say their opinion of the president is favorable, compared with 49% of white men. And Obama’s favorable rating rises to 71% among women under 40, whose opinions are 19 points more favorable than their male counterparts.



Among whites, lower income is positively correlated with favorable views of Obama. Two-thirds of whites with annual household

Whites who score lower on an index of racial liberalism have somewhat less favorable views of Obama than other whites.

Among the 18% of whites with the least racially liberal views, just 41% have a favorable opinion, compared with 77% favorable among whites who rate high in racial liberalism and 53% among other whites. But racial attitudes are only one among many factors in determining reactions to the president. Even among whites with an unfavorable view of Obama, only 27% score low on the index of racial liberalism.

**Racial Liberalism and Opinion about Obama among Whites**

	<i>Index of Racial Liberalism*</i>		
	High	Med	Low
<i>Opinion of Obama</i>	%	%	%
Favorable	77	53	41
Unfavorable	16	41	56
N	303	856	288

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Figures read down. "Don't know" responses not shown. Q5a.

- \*Index is based on responses to three questions:
- 1) How much discrimination is there against African Americans? Q37a.
  - 2) Acceptance of a family member's marriage to an African American. Q50a.
  - 3) Response to whether the country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites. Q10.

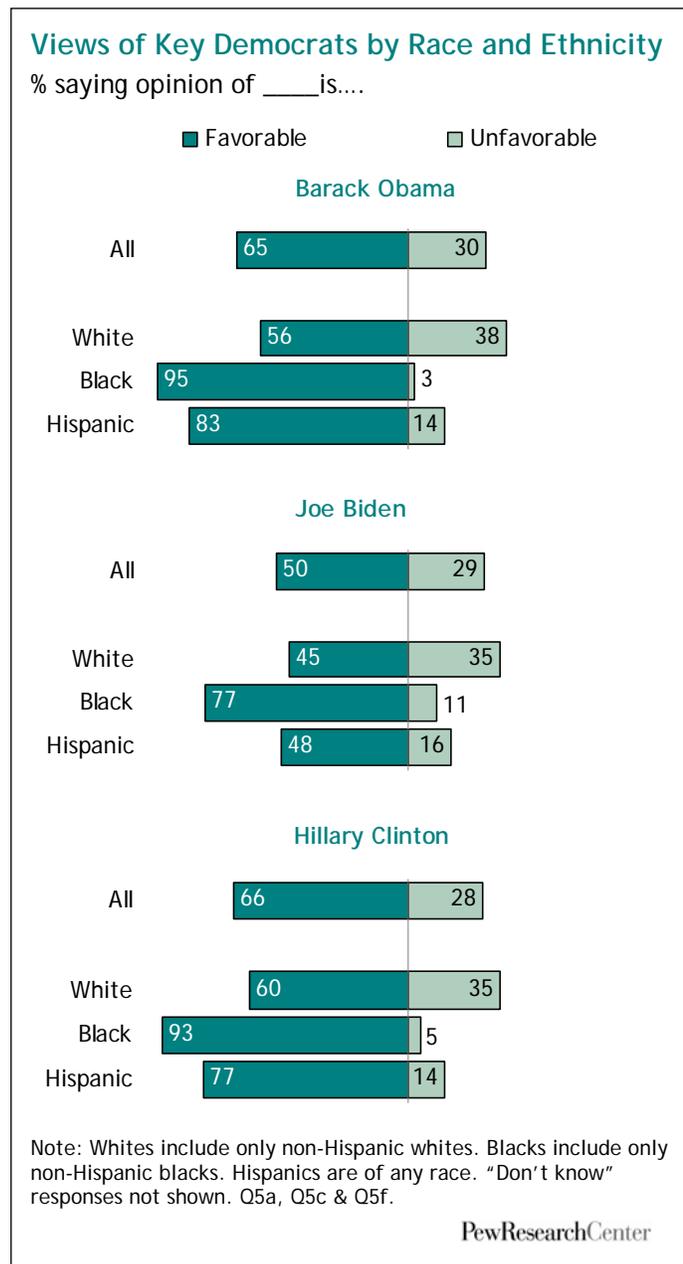
## Putting Obama's Ratings in Context

As with Barack Obama's ratings, there are differences between black and white opinions about other political figures. The gaps observed for two of the most prominent members of the Obama administration—Vice President Biden and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton—mirror views about Obama, with blacks having much more favorable views of these Democrats than do whites. Conversely, whites are significantly more likely to view two prominent Republicans—Sarah Palin and Mitt Romney—favorably.

Joe Biden's overall favorability rating, although on balance positive, lags Obama's; 50% of Americans have a favorable view of the vice president, while 29% have an unfavorable view. However, the difference in opinions of Biden between blacks and whites parallels the gap seen in opinions of Obama. In the current survey, more than three-quarters of blacks (77%) have favorable opinions of Biden; by comparison 45% of whites express a positive opinion of Biden.

Opinions of Hillary Clinton also echo those of Obama. Black opinion of Obama's secretary of state and former rival for the Democratic Party's nomination is overwhelmingly positive, as more than nine-in-ten African Americans (93%) say they have a favorable opinion of her. A clear majority of whites (60%) also views Clinton favorably, but the gap in opinions by race is nearly as pronounced as for Obama (33 points in opinions of Clinton, 39 points in opinions of Obama).

In contrast, blacks are significantly less likely than whites to have a positive view of Sarah Palin. By a greater than two-to-one margin, African Americans have unfavorable views of Palin (26% favorable, 61% unfavorable). Whites are divided in their opinions of the former Republican vice presidential candidate (47% favorable, 41% unfavorable).



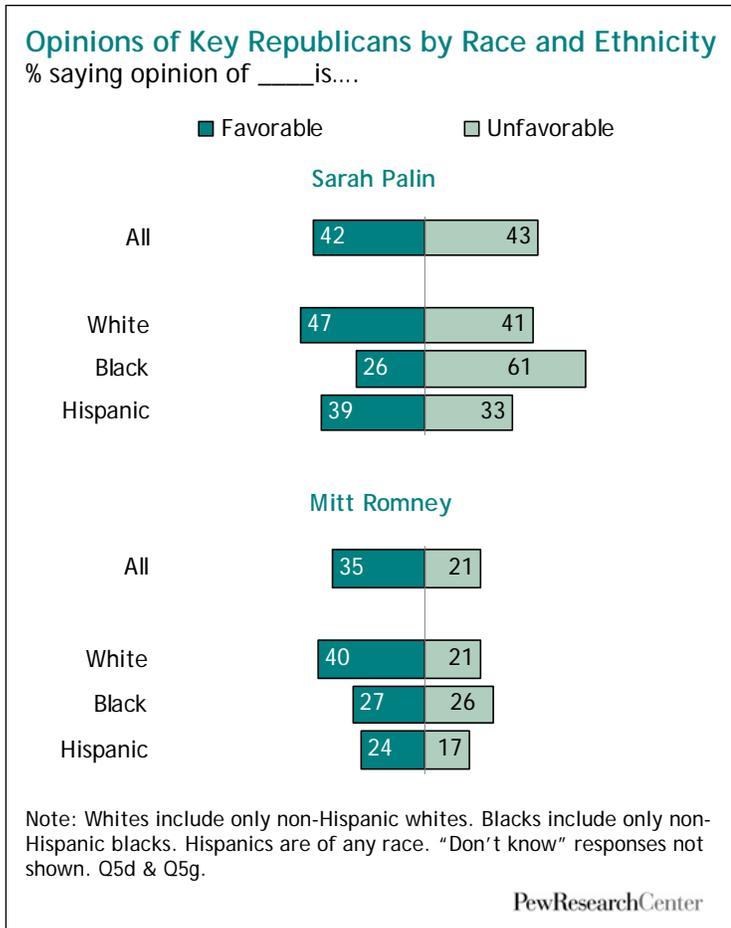
Although the differences are less striking, opinions of Mitt Romney are also more favorable among whites than blacks.

Blacks are evenly split in their impressions of the former Massachusetts governor and candidate for the Republican presidential nomination (27% favorable, 26% unfavorable); opinions of Romney among whites are more positive (40% favorable, 21% unfavorable).

In large part, the racial differences in evaluations of these figures diminish when partisanship is controlled for. Among white Democrats, nearly nine-in-ten (89%) have a favorable view of Obama (compared with 98% of black Democrats), and about the same percentage (87%) have a favorable view of Clinton (as do 95% of black Democrats).

Similarly, there are only modest differences in the ratings of Palin and Romney between white and black

Democrats. Just 22% of black Democrats and 15% of white Democrats view Palin favorably. And less than one-third of both black (29%) and white (26%) Democrats have a favorable impression of Romney.



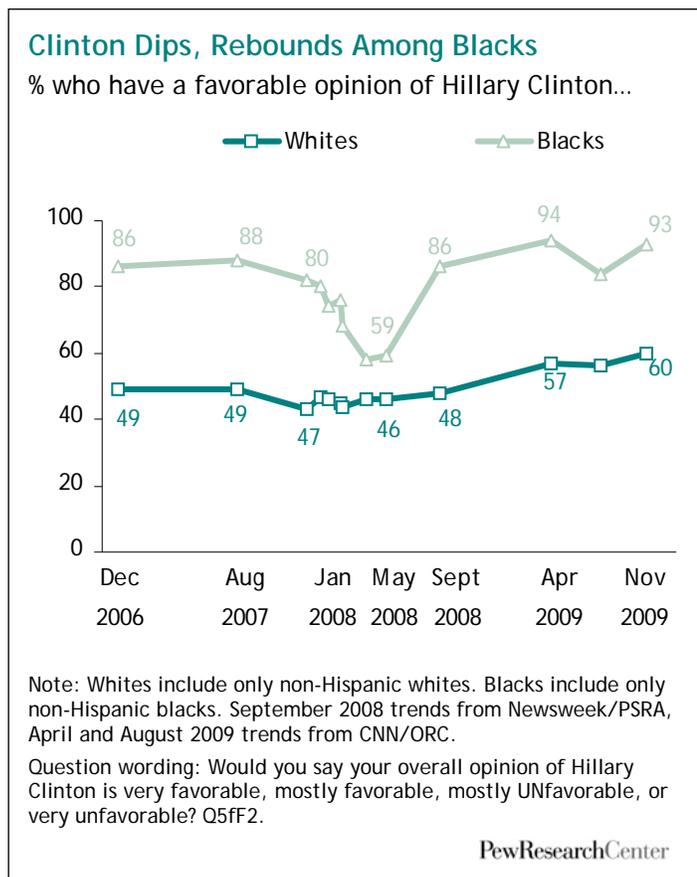
## Hillary Clinton's Ratings

Hillary Clinton has long been viewed favorably among African Americans and, after a precipitous drop during the heat of the 2008 primary contest between Clinton and Barack Obama, her current ratings reflect a near record high favorability rating among blacks for the secretary of state.

During Bill Clinton's presidency, the then-first lady's rating among blacks varied between about 70% and 85%. At the close of the Clinton administration in January 2001, 88% of African Americans said they had a favorable opinion of Hillary Clinton. Clinton continued to enjoy similar ratings among blacks throughout her years in the Senate and at the early stages of her campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. Until January of 2008, eight-in-ten or more blacks said they viewed her favorably. But during the hard-fought Democratic primaries, African Americans views of Clinton became far less favorable—although they remained, on balance, positive. In the heat of this period in April and May, Clinton's popularity among blacks had dropped to below 60%—her lowest rating in the 16 years Pew Research has tracked Clinton's favorability.

But views of Clinton among African Americans have since rallied. Since at least April of 2009—and largely by the end of the Democratic convention in September 2008—African American opinions of Clinton have been overwhelmingly positive. In the current survey, Clinton's ratings among blacks stand at 93% favorable. While her overall favorable rating among blacks is similar to that of Obama's, the number of African Americans saying they have a very favorable view of her is smaller (47%).

Whites' opinions of Clinton did not fluctuate much during the campaign. But since she became secretary of state, there has been an increase in her popularity. In the current survey 60% of whites have a favorable opinion of her, reflecting a rise of about 15 points since the 2008 election season. Clinton's overall ratings are now among the highest she has received since Pew Research first began measuring them in 1993.

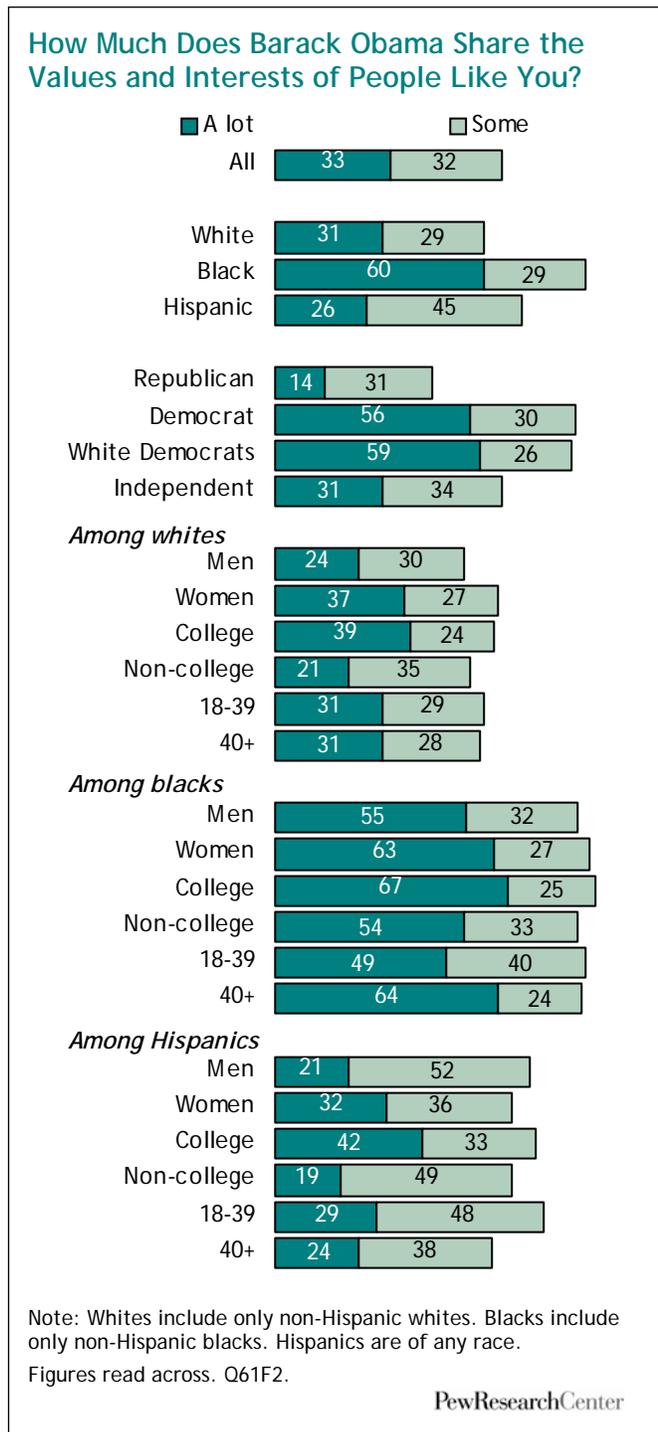


### Obama’s Values

The political campaigns of both Hillary Clinton during the primaries and John McCain during the general election questioned whether Barack Obama shared the values of ordinary Americans. Both campaigns explicitly or implicitly charged Obama with having an elitist attitude, pointing as evidence, for example, to Obama’s remark that economically marginalized small town people in the Midwest get bitter and “cling to guns or religion or antipathy toward people who aren’t like them....”

Obama was able to win the election despite this issue – and also despite critics who questioned whether he is an American and a Christian. A 57% majority of voters in the NEP exit poll said they believed that Obama was in touch with people like themselves. The current survey – with a somewhat different question – also finds a solid majority of the public saying that Obama shares the values and interests of people like themselves “a lot” (33%) or “some” (32%). Fully 60% of blacks say Obama shares their values a lot; 29% say some. Even among whites, most say he shares their values at least “some”: 31% say a lot and 29% some. Among Hispanics, 26% say he shares their values a lot, 45% say some.

Two key demographic patterns are apparent among whites, blacks and Hispanics: in each group, women are more likely than men to say Obama shares their values a lot. Similarly, in each group, people with college experience are more likely than those who did not attend college to say Obama shares their values a lot. Among whites the gap between college and non-college respondents is 18 points (39% vs. 21%), and it is even larger among Hispanics (42% vs. 19%). It is smaller but still significant among blacks: 67% of college educated blacks say Obama shares their values a lot, compared with 54% among non-college blacks.



When asked if Obama shares the values and interests of *black people*, blacks gave similar answers to the question about sharing *your* values: 63% of African Americans said he does so “a lot”; 32% said he shares their values and interests “somewhat.”

This question was first asked by Pew Research two years ago in a racial attitudes survey conducted in Fall 2007, during the prelude to the Democratic nominating process. At the time, Hillary Clinton was the favorite candidate among black Democrats. The issue of whether Obama could appeal to blacks was discussed, often taking the form of the rhetorical question “Is Obama black enough?” At the time, Obama was already well known, but familiarity with him was not universal, as 27% of respondents overall, and 16% of blacks were unable to answer the question about whether he shared the values and interests of African Americans.

To facilitate a comparison of respondents in 2007 and today, those who had no opinion in each year are excluded from the analysis. As the table shows, there has been a modest uptick in the overall percentage of the public

who thinks Obama shares the interests of black people “a lot.” But the increase among blacks is larger: 13 percentage points. Virtually all of the increase in blacks’ perception that Obama shares the values of blacks occurred among lesser-educated and lower-income blacks. For example, 41% of non-college blacks in 2007 said Obama shares the values and interests of blacks “a lot.” Today 65% say this, an increase of 24 points. By comparison, the percentage of college educated blacks who say Obama shares the interests of blacks is virtually unchanged (from 59% to 60%). There also has been a sizable jump among southern blacks in the perception that Obama shares the values of blacks, but hardly any change outside of the South.

One gap that has not closed over time is between younger and older blacks. In both 2007 and 2009, older blacks were considerably more likely than younger blacks to say that Obama shares the values and interests of blacks “a

### Most Blacks Say Obama Shares the Values and Interests of Black People

	2007		2009		Change in “a lot”
	A Lot	Some	A Lot	Some	
<i>Does Obama share values and interests of black people in this country?</i>					
All	40	44	43	44	+3
Whites	38	47	40	46	+2
Blacks	50	39	63	32	+13
Hispanics	39	43	42	43	+3
<i>Among blacks</i>					
Men	49	40	62	31	+13
Women	51	38	64	32	+13
18-39	41	46	53	42	+12
40+	56	34	71	24	+15
College	59	36	60	34	+1
No college	41	42	65	30	+24
\$50k or more	62	32	63	29	+1
Less than \$50k	45	42	61	35	+16
South	46	41	65	31	+19
Non-South	55	36	60	33	+5

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. All figures exclude respondents who had no opinion or were unfamiliar with Obama. “Not too much,” “not at all” and “don’t know” responses not shown. Q62F2.

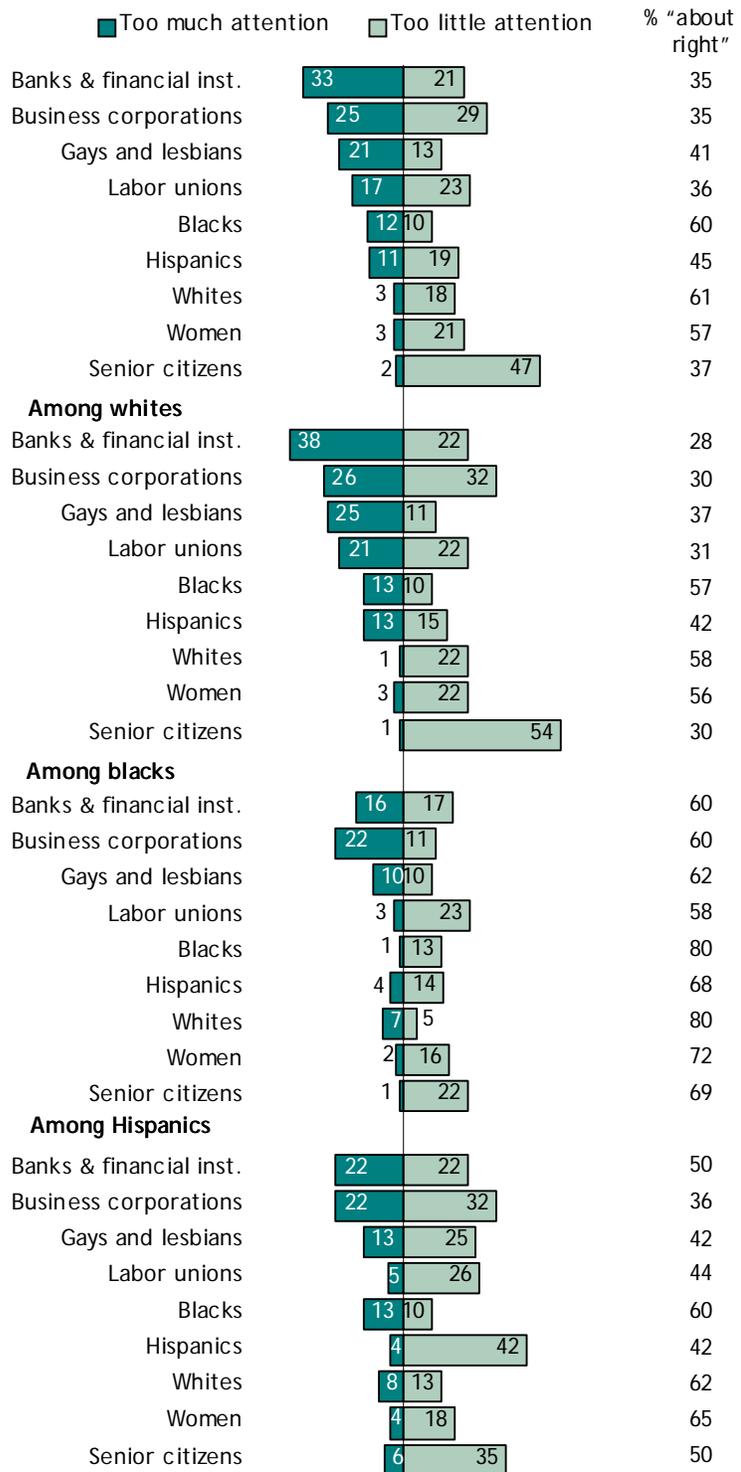
lot.” Since 2007 both younger and older respondents have become more apt to believe this is true, but the sizeable gap remains: today, 71% of blacks 40 and older say Obama shares the values of blacks a lot, while just 53% of blacks 18-39 say this.

### Obama’s Focus

Every new administration is judged, in part, on what groups and political constituencies are getting the attention of the president. Asked about nine different groups, sizeable pluralities or majorities of the public say that Obama is paying “the right amount of attention” to the concerns of six of them: whites, blacks, women, Hispanics, gays and lesbians, and labor unions. But there is a significant division of opinion over how the president is dealing with banks and financial institutions, and business corporations. And a solid 47% plurality says he is paying too little attention to the concerns of senior citizens.

Black respondents are solidly supportive of the president’s priorities on these questions. Majorities of blacks say he is paying the right amount of attention to each of these groups, including 80% who say he’s paying the right amount of attention to blacks. Around one-fifth to one-fourth of blacks say Obama is paying too little attention to labor unions (23%) and senior citizens (22%). And 22% of blacks say he is paying too much attention to business

### Is Barack Obama Paying Too Much, Not Enough, or the Right Amount of Attention to the Concerns of...?



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. Q7a-Q7f2. Figures read across.

corporations.

The responses of whites and Hispanics are more variable, though neither group sees Obama as giving blacks too much attention (just 13% of each group says this). A majority of whites (58%) say Obama is giving whites the right amount of attention. But Hispanics are more divided, with 42% saying he's giving the concerns of Hispanics too little attention, and 42% saying he giving them the right amount of attention.

Whites, in particular, say Obama is not giving senior citizens enough attention (54% say this), but so too do 35% of Hispanics. Slightly more whites say he's giving business corporations too little attention (32%) than say he's giving them too much attention (26%).

### Race Relations and Obama's Election

About half of voters (52%) interviewed by Pew Research just after the 2008 election said they expected that Obama's election would lead to improved race relations. But fewer people today think his election has actually done so.

Among all adults, 36% now say the election improved race relations, while 13% said it made them worse and 43% say it has made no difference. A majority of blacks believe the election has helped race relations: 54% say this, compared with 32% among whites and 42% among Hispanics. There are few demographic differences within racial groups in views on this question.

In a Pew Research post-election survey of voters, 52% overall foresaw better race relations, including 48% of whites and

74% of blacks (there was an insufficient number of Hispanic voters in the survey to make a reliable estimate).

#### Obama Election's Impact on Race Relations

Forecasts of the impact of Obama's election on race relations compared with current assessments of the impact

	All	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
<i>(Nov. 09) Has Obama's election made race relations...</i>	%	%	%	%
Better	36	32	54	42
Worse	13	15	7	6
No difference	43	45	33	45
<i>(Nov. 08 voters) Will Obama's election make race relations...</i>				
Better	52	48	74	-
Worse	9	11	*	-
No difference	35	37	25	-
<i>Difference in % "better"</i>	<i>-16</i>	<i>-16</i>	<i>-20</i>	<i>-</i>

Note: "Don't know" responses not shown. Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. Nov. 2008 data from Pew Research post-election survey of voters. There were too few Hispanic voters in that survey for a reliable estimate. O59.

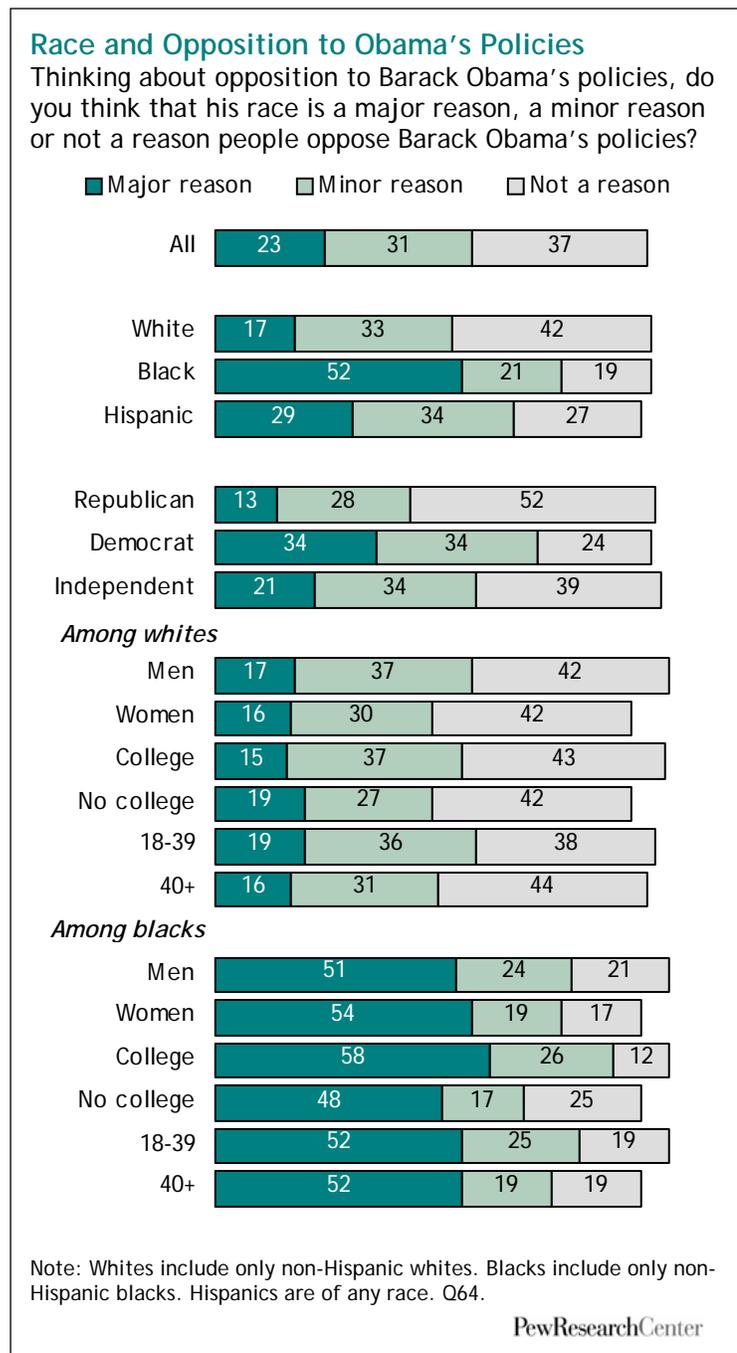
### Is Opposition to Obama Racially Motivated?

Many supporters of President Obama have argued that his race is an important reason for opposition to Obama’s policies, and black respondents are especially likely to hold this view. Overall, 23% of all adults say his race is a “major reason” why people oppose the president’s policies. Nearly one-third (31%) say that his race is a minor reason, and 37% say it’s not a reason.

Whites are less likely than blacks or Hispanics to cite race as a major reason, but even among white respondents, 17% say race is a major reason for opposition to the president’s policies. Whites with a favorable view of Obama are much more likely than those with an unfavorable view to say that race is at least a minor factor in opposition to the president. About six-in-ten (61%) whites with a favorable view of Obama say race is a major or minor factor, compared with 34% among whites with an unfavorable view of the president. But even among whites with a favorable opinion of Obama, just 21% say his race is a *major* reason for opposition.

About half of blacks (52%) and 29% of Hispanics say Obama’s race is a major reason for opposition to his policies. Only 19% of blacks say race is not a reason for opposition (21% say it’s a “minor reason”). By contrast, 42% of whites say race is not a factor in opposition to the president.

College educated blacks are more apt than those with no college experience to say race is a major factor; 58% of those with at least some college experience say race is a major reason for opposition, compared with 48% among those who did not attend college.



Among whites, demographic differences on this question are modest. But white Republicans are significantly less likely than white Democrats to believe that race is factor in opposition to Obama’s policies.

### The Obamas at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue

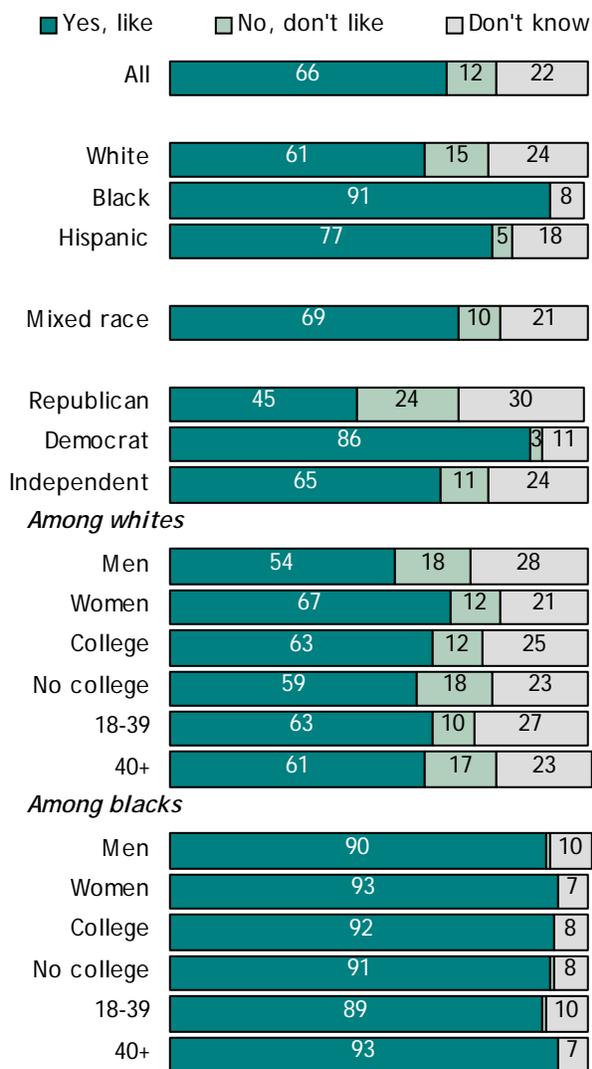
Reactions to the Obama family’s presence in the White House are very similar to personal ratings of the president himself. About two thirds (66%) of the public overall says they like the way Obama and his family lead their life in the White House. Just 12% say they don’t like it, and 22% decline to express an opinion.

Blacks are overwhelmingly positive (91% like), and more than three-fourths of Hispanics (77%) agree. Among whites, 61% say they like the family’s life in at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Even among whites with the least racially liberal views, 45% say they like the way the president’s family leads its life in the White House; about one-quarter (24%) of this group does not like it.

Compared with Democrats and independents, Republicans are significantly less positive about the Obama family’s lifestyle, but a plurality of 45% approves; 24% say they don’t like the way the family leads its White House life, and 30% have no opinion. Among whites, there are only modest demographic differences. Women (at 67%) are more favorable than are men (54%).

#### Reactions to Obama’s Family Life in the White House

Do you like the way Barack Obama and his family lead their life at the White House, or not?



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race. “Mixed race” are people who self-identify as mixed race. Q6.

## First Lady a Popular Figure

About seven-in-ten (71%) Americans say they have a favorable view of Michelle Obama. This reflects a slight decline in the popularity of the first lady since the spring of 2009, but she remains well-regarded and her popularity is now on par with her ratings on the eve of the inauguration.

As with views of her husband, black opinions of Michelle Obama are near-universally positive; across key demographic groups, nine-in-ten or more African Americans say they have a favorable impression of the first lady. And Hispanic opinion is also quite positive, as 81% of Hispanics say their opinion is favorable.

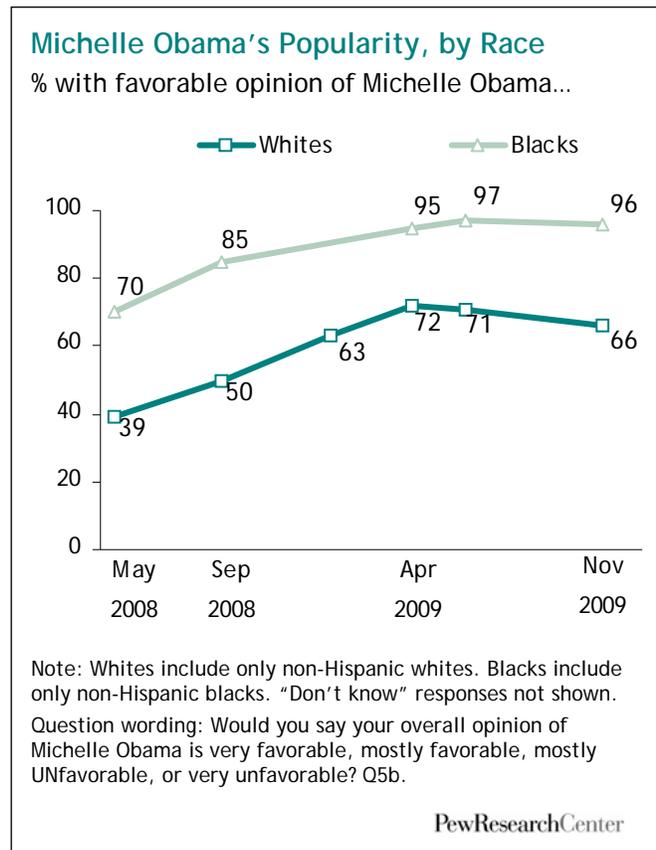
Among whites, Michelle Obama is viewed most favorably by women, those with lower incomes, and those living in the East and Midwest. And 65% of white independents and 90% of white Democrats have favorable opinions of the first lady; by contrast, just 47% of white Republicans

view her favorably. As is the case for Barack Obama, whites with less racially liberal views have less favorable opinions of Michelle Obama (53% favorable among the least racially liberal, compared with 83% favorable among the most racially liberal and 62% favorable among other whites).

## Perceptions of Barack Obama's Racial Identity

Barack Obama's multi-national and multi-ethnic family history was as unusual for a presidential candidate as the fact that he was African-American. Media references variously described him as African-American, black, biracial and multi-racial. The survey finds that perceptions of Obama's racial identity differ substantially by the race of the respondent.

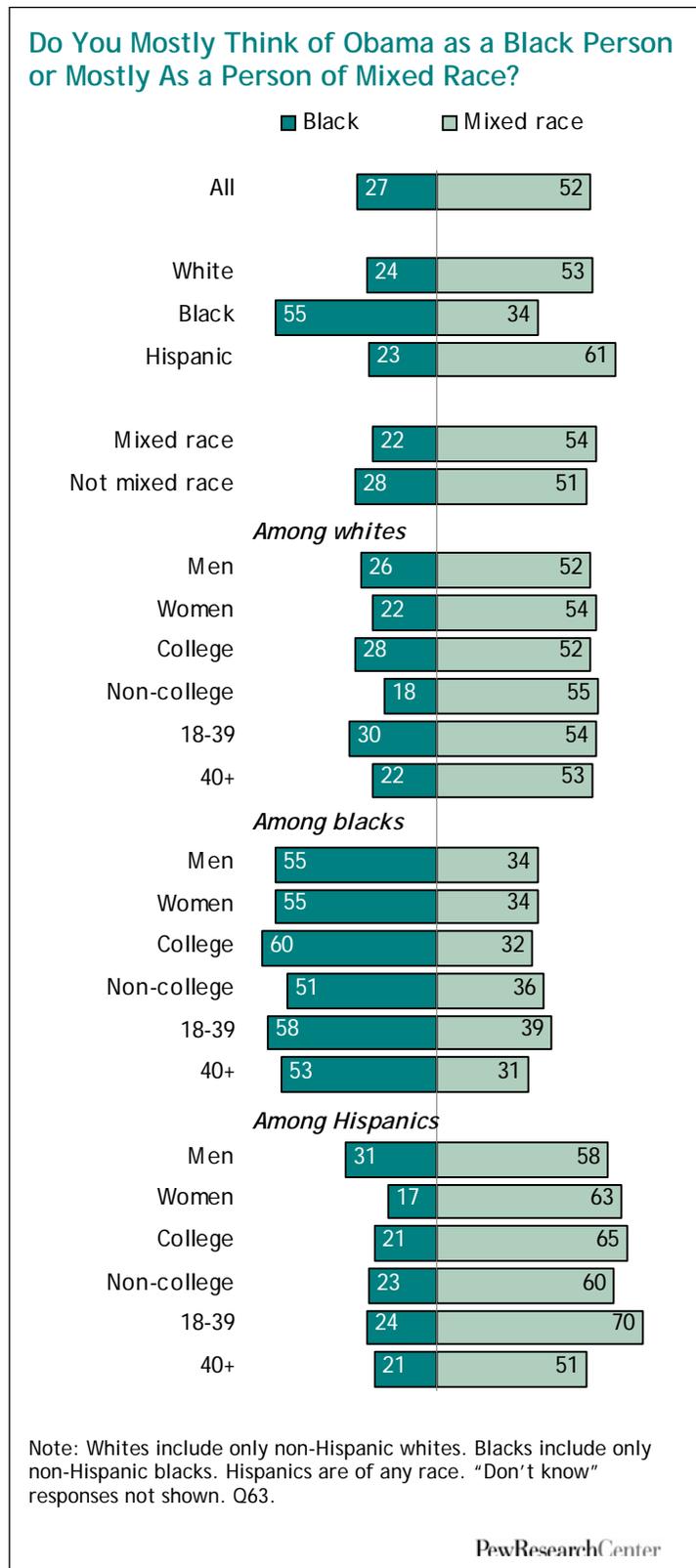
When asked whether they mostly consider Obama a black person or mostly as a person of mixed race, a slight majority of the public as a whole (52%) describes him as a person of mixed race. About one-quarter (27%) say he is a black person. More than one-in-five (21%) reject the choice and volunteer that he is either both or neither, or say they have no opinion.



But answers differ by the race of the respondent. A majority of whites (53%) say Obama is mixed race; a similar majority of blacks (55%) say he is black. Most Hispanic respondents (61%) say Obama is mixed race.

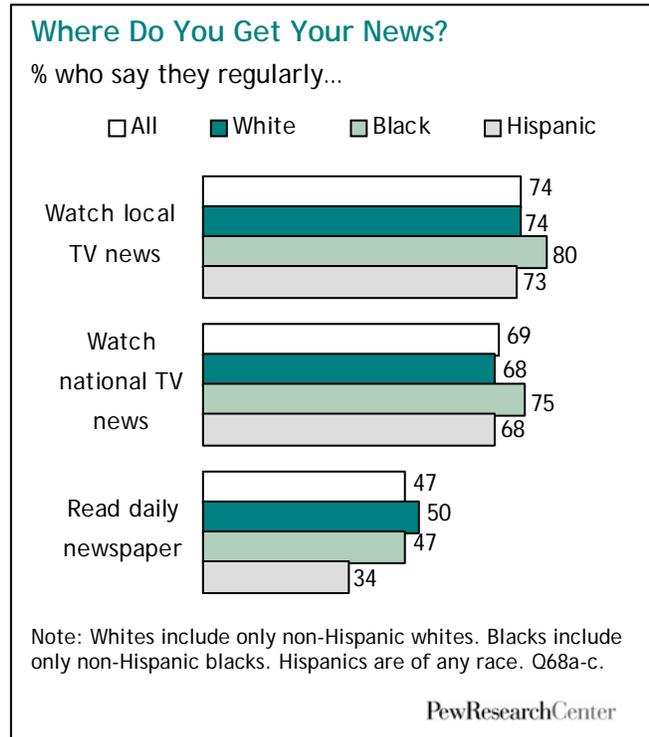
Overall, the views of people who identify themselves as being of mixed race are similar to those who do not describe themselves this way. But among blacks, those who say they consider themselves of mixed race are more likely to say Obama himself is of mixed race. Among blacks who consider themselves of mixed race, 44% say Obama is black and 42% say he's of mixed race. Among blacks who do not think of themselves as mixed race, 57% say Obama is a black person and 32% say he's a person of mixed race. Among whites, there is little difference between those who do and do not consider themselves to be of mixed race in their views of Obama's race.

Other demographic differences on this question tend to be very small. College educated blacks are more likely than non-college blacks to think of Obama as more of a black person. Younger whites are slightly more likely than older whites to see Obama as black. And after taking into account the race of respondents, perceptions on this question are mostly unrelated to other substantive opinions, including holding a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Obama.



## VII. Blacks and the Media

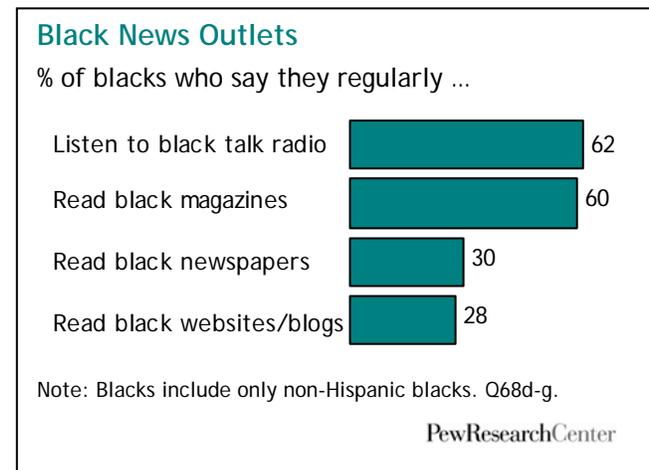
Blacks and whites have similar habits when it comes to mainstream news consumption. Large majorities of both groups say they regularly watch the local television news about their area (80% of blacks, 74% of whites) and that they regularly watch the national news on major network or cable channels (75% of blacks, 68% of whites). While fewer Americans say they regularly read a daily newspaper, blacks and whites are equally likely to say they are frequent newspaper readers; about half of both groups (47% of blacks, 50% of whites) regularly read a newspaper. Hispanics watch both local and national television news at rates comparable to those of blacks and whites, although they are considerably less likely than whites and blacks to say they regularly read a daily newspaper (just 34% do so).



### African-American News Sources

African Americans were also asked about their use of black news sources, in particular whether they regularly listen to or read black radio talk or news shows, black newspapers, black magazines and black-oriented websites and blogs. Consumption of news from these sources varies. A majority of blacks say they regularly listen to black news or talk shows on the radio (62%) and a similar percentage say they regularly read black magazines such as Ebony, Essence, Black Enterprise or Jet (60%). Black newspapers and black-oriented websites and blogs are far less commonly read within the black community; only about three-in-ten blacks say they regularly read a black newspaper (28%) or read black websites and blogs (30%).

Patterns of black media consumption among African Americans show few demographic differences. Black women are more likely than black men to regularly read black magazines such as Ebony, Essence, Black Enterprise or Jet (65% of women, 54% of men). And, not surprisingly, the relatively young (ages 18-29) are the most likely to frequently read black-oriented websites and blogs (48% do so, compared with only 28% of 30-49 year olds and 22% of older African Americans). Black-oriented blogs are also more frequently read by those with at least some college education than those who have



not attended college (36% vs. 26%). Virtually no differences in media consumption are seen across income groups among blacks.

African Americans living in predominantly-black neighborhoods are more likely to be regular consumers of certain black media. In particular, those who live in neighborhoods where all or most of their neighbors are black are more likely than African Americans living in neighborhoods where blacks make up only some or a few of their neighbors to say they regularly listen to a black news or talk show on the radio (67% vs. 55%) or to say they regularly read a black newspaper (34% vs. 22%). In both cases, these higher rates of consumption by blacks living in majority-black areas may be driven, in part, by the greater availability of these black media sources in areas with a greater population of African Americans.

Many of those who regularly get news from black media sources are omnivorous news consumers—regular consumers of both mainstream and black media sources. Those who frequently use at least three black media sources are also the most frequent consumers of mainstream media: 65% are regular newspaper readers, while 86% watch

### Black Media Consumers Likely to be News Omnivores

% of blacks saying they regularly...

	<i># of black media sources used</i>			
	All blacks	None	One or two	Three or four
	%	%	%	%
Watch local TV news	80	68	81	86
Watch national TV news	75	64	75	84
Read daily newspaper	47	31	43	65

Note: Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Q68a-c by index of Q68d-g.

local television news, and about the same percent (84%) watch national TV news. Among those who regularly consult one or two black media sources, 43% regularly read a daily newspaper, 81% watch local television news and 75% regularly watch national news on network or cable television. By comparison, those who do not regularly read or listen to black media sources are also less likely to be consumers of other news media.

### Black Media Consumption and Attitudes

The intensity with which African Americans regularly consult black-oriented media appears to have little if any effect on their views on the political and social issues covered in this survey. With regard to their judgments about President Obama, blacks who consult no black media sources are slightly less overwhelming in their favorable views – 87% say their opinion is very or mostly favorable compared with 97% among those who frequently use one or more black media outlets.

Although there is little difference in views of most of the major problems facing black families today between those who get news from black media sources and those who do not, the lack of decently-paid jobs is viewed as a big problem by a greater proportion of those who regularly read or listen to black media. More than eight-in-ten black media consumers (82%) see this as a big problem, while substantially fewer of those who do not regularly listen to or read black media sources (65%) express this level of concern. Black media users are also more likely to say that the country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites (84% do so, compared with 68% of blacks who don't regularly read or listen to black media).

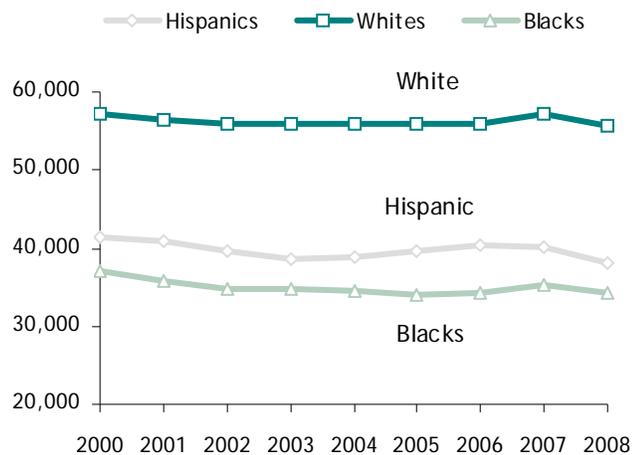
## VIII. Race and the Economy

The decade of the “aughts” were hard on the pocketbooks of virtually all Americans. It began and ended in recession. In between, an economic “expansion” failed to raise median household income levels above their 1999 peaks. In the meantime, a housing and stock market bubble went bust, leaving many Americans with less wealth than they thought they had.

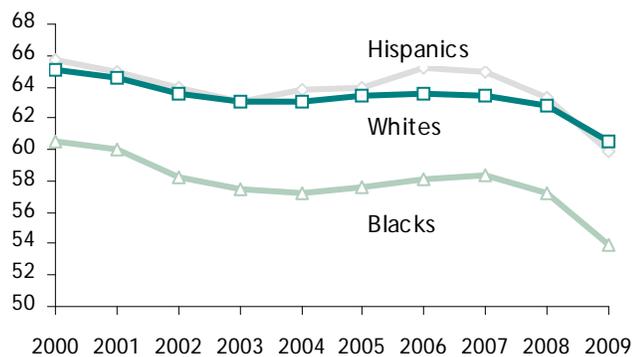
Different racial groups experienced these setbacks in different ways. Relative to whites, blacks lost ground over the course of the decade on three key indicators of economic well-being – median household income, employment rates and homeownership rates (see chart), according to a Pew Research analysis of Census data. And in the deep recession that began at the end of 2007, blacks have been especially hard hit by job losses.

Pew Research surveys taken over the past three years find that blacks and whites have sharply different perceptions about how the current recession has affected their own finances and those of the nation as a whole – but these differences are the opposite of what might be predicted by the trends outlined above. White assessments have grown increasingly dour. Black assessments, starting from a lower base, have either held constant or become a bit more optimistic.

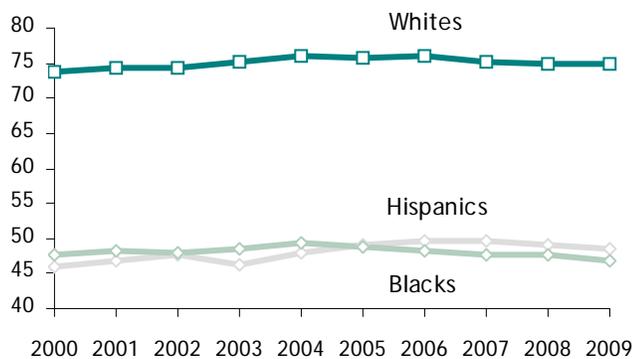
**The Economics of the 2000s, by Race and Ethnicity**  
**Median Household Income**  
 (in 2008 \$)



**Employment-to-Population Ratio**  
 (people ages 16 and older, %)



**Homeownership Rate**  
 (%)



Notes: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Data for 2009 cover January to September.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the Current Population Survey and the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In December 2006, for example, 42% of whites said national economic conditions were excellent or good. Just 16% of blacks agreed. By February 2008, the views of blacks and whites were almost identical, as whites' assessments had plummeted. And in December 2009, 14% of blacks and 7% of whites rated the economy as excellent or good.<sup>7</sup>

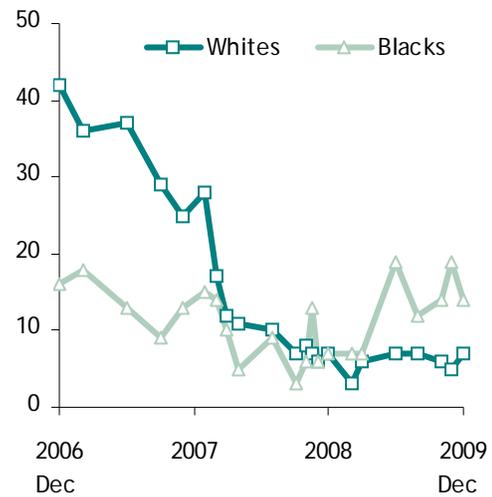
### Perceptions about Nation's Economic Future

In late 2006 and early 2007, most Americans said they expected economic conditions to stay the same a year into the future; about one-in-five expected things to get better and another one-in-five expected them to get worse. As the U.S. economy deteriorated in 2009, the proportion predicting improvement increased and stood at 42% in December.

In 2007 and much of 2008, blacks were slightly more likely than whites to have predicted economic improvement. Views were more similar among blacks and whites in mid-2008 but began to diverge in December of that year. Through most of 2009, blacks were notably more positive than whites about the nation's economic future.

The racial difference in attitudes was most stark in October 2009, when 70% of blacks and just 39% of whites said they expected the economy to get better. However, blacks became much less optimistic the following month, shrinking the racial gap. In November 2009, 44% of blacks and 36% of whites said they expected economic improvement over the next year. In December 2009, attitudes among whites were little changed: 38% said the economy would improve. Blacks, however, have again become more optimistic: 63% said the economy would be better a year from now.

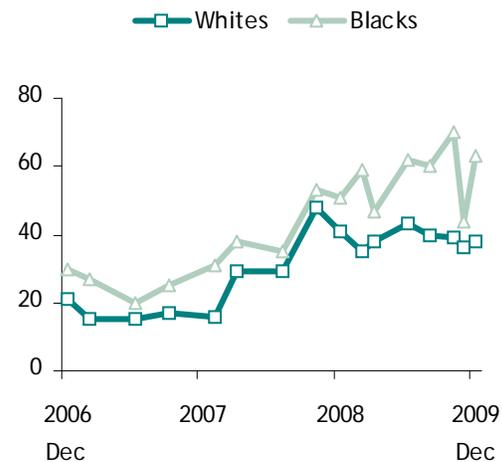
**Whites Have Become More Negative**  
% saying national economy is excellent/good



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Data from 2006-2009 Pew Research Center for the People & the Press surveys.

PewResearchCenter

**Blacks More Optimistic About Future**  
% saying economy will be better a year from now



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Data from 2006-2009 Pew Research Center for the People & the Press surveys.

PewResearchCenter

<sup>7</sup> Findings about perceptions of the economy reported in this section are drawn from other Pew Research Center for the People & the Press surveys.

## Whites Have Become Negative about Their Personal Finances

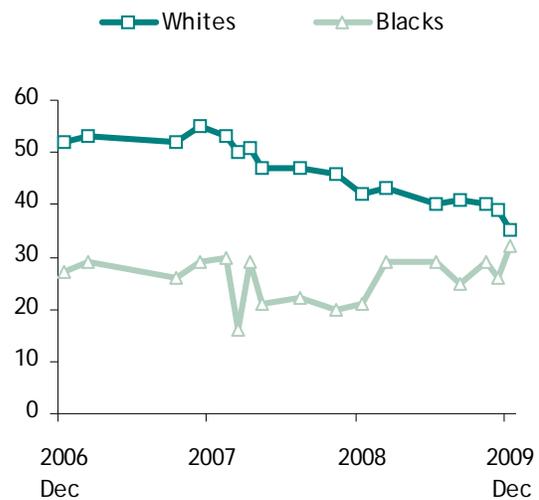
Earlier in the decade, whites had been more likely to assess their personal finances positively than were blacks, but that gap has all but disappeared over the last three years, driven by a decline in the share of whites who say they are in excellent or good financial shape. In December 2009, there was no significant difference between how whites and blacks rated their own finances: roughly one-third of each group rated their finances as excellent or good while two-thirds rated them as only fair or poor.

Over the past three years, self-assessments among blacks have varied by a few points, but have not changed substantially since December 2006. Then, 27% of blacks said they were in excellent or good shape financially; almost twice as many whites (52%) said the same. In December 2009, 32% of blacks rated their own finances as excellent or good, as did 35% of whites – a 17-point drop for whites over three years. Over that same period, the proportion of blacks who said their finances were excellent or good ranged from a low of 16% in February 2008 to a high of 32% in December 2009.

Blacks are more optimistic than are whites about their financial futures, as they have been consistently over the last three years. The difference by race, however, has been greater in 2009 than it was earlier.

In December 2009, 78% of blacks – but just 46% of whites – said they expected their financial fortunes to improve in 2010. The 32-point gap nears the largest difference seen in the past three years, a 35-point difference found in February 2009, just after Obama's inauguration.

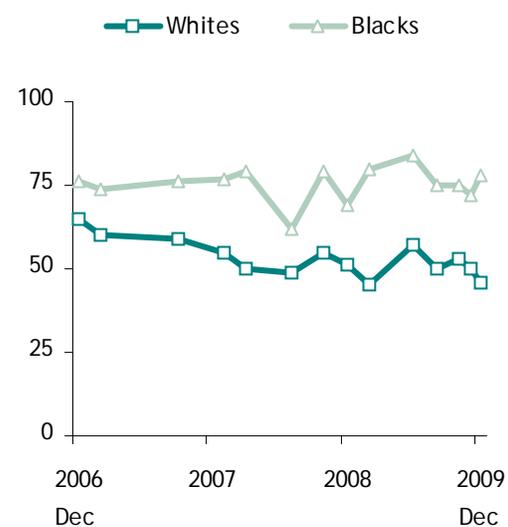
**Race Gap on Personal Finances Narrows**  
% saying they are in excellent/good financial shape



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Data from 2006-2009 Pew Research Center for the People & the Press surveys.

PewResearchCenter

**Blacks Expect Own Finances to Improve**  
% saying personal financial situation will improve over next year



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Data from 2006-2009 Pew Research Center for the People & the Press surveys.

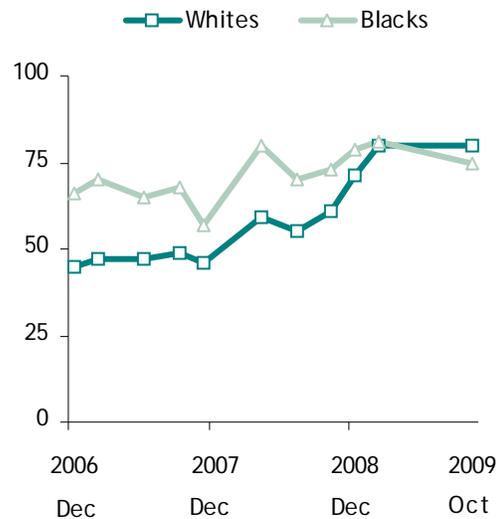
PewResearchCenter

### Blacks and Whites Now Equally Likely to Say Jobs Are Scarce

With unemployment hovering around 10%, almost eight-in-ten Americans (79%) said in October that job opportunities were difficult to find in their communities. That includes 80% of whites and 75% of blacks. The proportion of Americans saying jobs are hard to come by has been growing substantially since July 2008, when it was 58%. Three years ago, in December 2006, just 49% expressed this view. Back then, blacks were much more likely to say jobs were scarce (66%) than were whites (45%).

The proportion of whites expressing the view that jobs are difficult to find has grown more sharply than has the proportion of blacks saying this since mid-2008. This change closed the racial gap in assessments of job scarcity. Indeed, in February 2009, views were virtually identical: about eight-in-ten whites and blacks said jobs were scarce. Slightly more whites than blacks said jobs were scarce in October 2009, but the five-point difference between racial groups was not statistically significant.

**Vast Majority Say Jobs Tough to Find**  
% saying jobs difficult to find where they live



Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Data from 2006-2009 Pew Research Center for the People & the Press surveys.

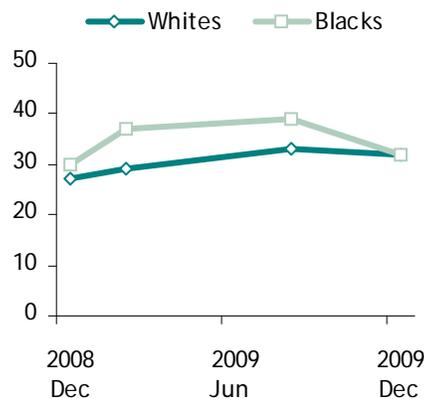
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### Worry Prompts Whites, Blacks to Cut Back on Spending

Americans who have cut back on spending are more likely to say they have done so because they worry about their financial situations than to say they have cut back because their own situations have actually gotten worse. In December, about half (49%) cited worry while 30% pointed to things getting worse for them. The proportions have shifted slightly since December 2008, when 59% said they had cut back out of worry and 28% said they trimmed spending in response to their own financial situations getting worse.

Both blacks and whites are more likely to say they've cut spending in response to worry instead of deterioration in their finances. In December 2009, 51% of whites and 45% of blacks pointed to concerns

**Trimming Spending Out of Necessity**  
% saying they cut spending because personal situation has worsened



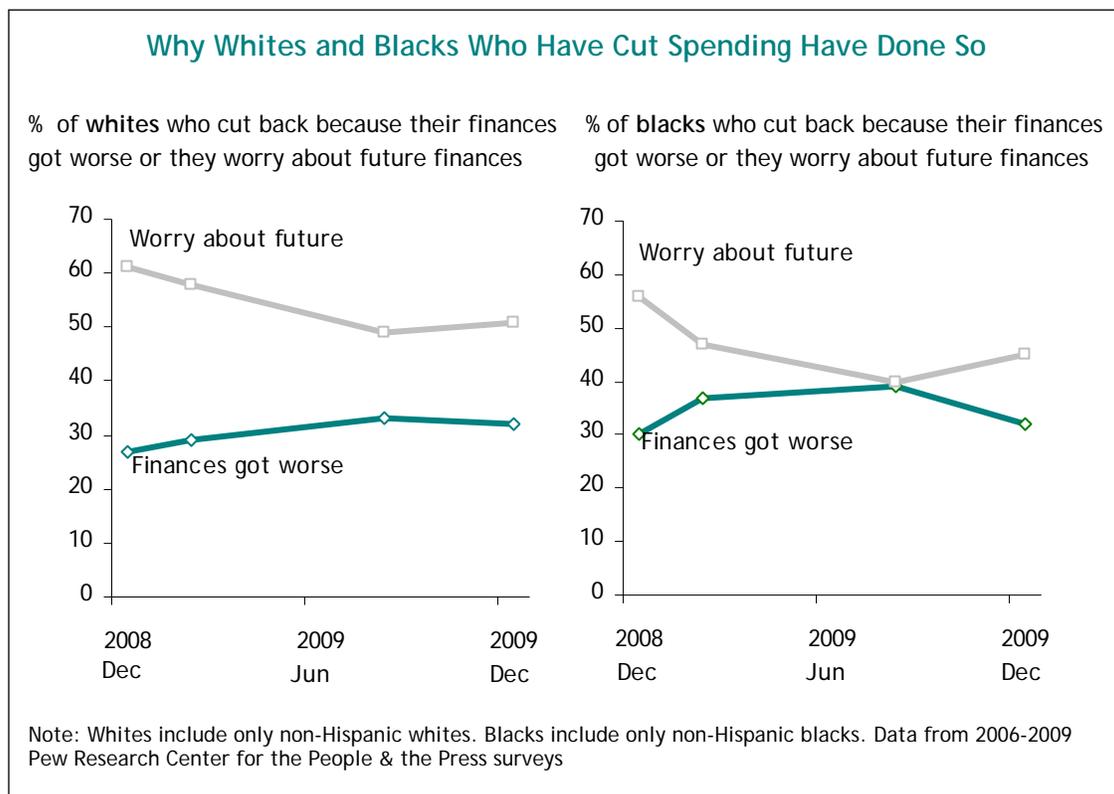
Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Data from 2006-2009 Pew Research Center for the People & the Press surveys.

PewResearchCenter

about their financial situation getting worse in the future as their reason for trimming spending. Among both racial groups, 32% said they had cut back because their financial situations actually had worsened.

Since the question was first asked in December 2008, whites have been much more likely to cite worry about the future than actual financial problems. At that time, 61% said they had trimmed spending because they worried about what might happen to their financial situation in the future while 27% said they had trimmed spending in response to their financial situation having gotten worse. A year later, the gap between those answers had narrowed, but far more whites continued to point to worry over financial problems (51% versus 32%) as the reason for cutbacks in spending.

The pattern for blacks is quite different. In December 2008, blacks who cut back on spending were substantially more likely to point to worry (56%) rather than current financial problems (30%) as the reason, though the proportions giving each answer were less lopsided than for whites. By August 2009, that had changed dramatically: Then, virtually the same proportion of blacks cited a need to make cutbacks because of their current financial situation (39%) as cited worry about their future finances (40%) as the reason for curtailing spending. In December, worry about the future again outpaced actual financial problems as the reason for trimming spending, though the margin was more modest than for whites (45% to 32%).



## SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International (PSRAI) among a national sample of 2,884 adults living in the continental United States, 18 years of age or older, from October 28-November 30, 2009 (1,746 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 1,138 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 403 who had no landline telephone). Both the landline and cell phone samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish by Princeton Data Source.

Four separate samples were used for data collection to obtain a representative sample that included an oversample of minority respondents. The first sample was a disproportionately-stratified random digit dialing (RDD) landline sample. A total of 1,524 interviews were completed using this RDD landline sample. This sample was designed to generalize to the U.S. adult population in landline telephone households while at the same time oversampling African American and Hispanic respondents. This design used list-assisted RDD methods, in which telephone numbers were drawn disproportionately from area code-exchange combinations with higher than average densities of African American and Hispanic households. While this method increased the proportion of respondents in these target groups, special weighting adjustments are used to restore the overall representativeness of the sample. The RDD cellular sample was disproportionately-stratified to oversample numbers in counties with the highest population densities, which has been shown to increase the number of interviews with minority respondents. A total of 957 interviews were completed using this RDD cellular sample.

These interviews were supplemented with two callback samples (landline and cellular) to obtain additional interviews with African Americans. Callback sample came from recent national PSRAI surveys in which respondents identified themselves as African American. An additional 222 interviews were completed by calling back landline sample and 181 interviews were completed by calling back cellular sample.

<b>Number of Interviews by Sample Source</b>			
	<u>New RDD</u>	<u>Callback</u>	<u>Total</u>
Landline	1524	222	1746
Cellular	<u>957</u>	<u>181</u>	<u>1138</u>
<b>Total</b>	<b>2481</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>2884</b>

As many as seven 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 phone number received at least one daytime call in an attempt to find someone at home.

The introduction and screening procedures differed depending on the sample. For each contacted household in the main RDD landline sample, interviewers asked to speak with either the youngest male or youngest female currently at home based on a random rotation. If no male/female was available at the time of the call, interviewers asked to speak with the youngest adult of the other sex. This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender when combined with a cellular sample. For the RDD cellular sample, interviews were conducted with the person who answered the phone once it was confirmed that he or she was an adult, 18 years of age or older and was in a safe place to talk.

For the landline callback sample, interviewers asked to speak with the person based on age and gender who participated in a survey earlier in the year. For the cellular callback sample, interviews were conducted with the person who answered the phone once it was confirmed that he or she was an adult and was in a safe place to talk.

Steps were taken to match African-American interviewers to African-American respondents. First, all interviews in the callback sample were conducted by African-American interviewers. Likewise, African-American interviewers dialed the strata from the RDD landline sample with the highest density of African Americans. Strata from the RDD landline sample that were targeted to mainly low density African-American areas were assigned to non-African-American interviewers. In the end, 80 percent of African American respondents were interviewed by African American interviewers and 61 percent of non-Hispanic White respondents were interviewed by non-Hispanic White interviewers. Although no explicit effort was made to match Hispanic respondents to Hispanic interviewers, 57% of Hispanics were interviewed by Hispanic interviewers; this is in part because all of the 141 Spanish-language interviews involved Hispanic respondents and Hispanic 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 multiple stages to account for the different sample frames as well as the oversampling of certain groups. Weighting also balances sample demographic distributions to match known population parameters.

The first stage of weighting accounted for the disproportionately-stratified RDD sample design of the main landline sample and also included a probability-of-selection adjustment for the RDD landline sample to correct for the fact that respondents in the landline sample have different probabilities of being sampled depending on how many adults live in the household (i.e., people who live with no other adults have a greater chance of being selected than those who live in multiple-adult households). Lastly, the first stage of weighting also accounted for the overlap in the landline and cellular RDD frames.

In the second weighting stage, the demographic composition of each racial/ethnic group (Hispanics<sup>8</sup>, non-Hispanic African Americans and non-Hispanic other race) was raked to match national parameters for gender, age, education and region using parameters from the March 2008 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (CPS). After each of the three racial/ethnic groups was weighted to its population parameters, the total sample was weighted to match national parameters for race/ethnicity (from the 2008 CPS), population density (from the 2000 Census) and telephone usage (based on extrapolations from the 2008 National Health Interview Survey). The second stage of weighting incorporated each respondent's first stage weight and simultaneously balanced the distributions of all weighting parameters. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting.

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  $\pm 3.0\%$ . 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 3.0 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

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<sup>8</sup> Hispanic origin superseded race for weighting purposes. In other words, respondents who said they were of Latino or Hispanic descent were classified as Hispanic regardless of race (e.g., white, black, mixed). Additionally, during this stage of weighting, non-Hispanic other race included anyone who was not Hispanic or African American, including those who did not provide a response on the racial identification question.

contribute additional error of greater or lesser magnitude. The margins of error for key subgroups are shown below.

<b>Total Sample and Subgroup Margins of Sampling Error</b>		
	N=	Approximate Margin of Error
Total Sample	2,884	± 3.0 percentage points
White, non-Hispanic	1,447	± 3.5 percentage points
Black, non-Hispanic	812	± 4.5 percentage points
Hispanic	376	± 7.5 percentage points

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

October 28-November 30, 2009

N=2884<sup>9</sup> (Whites N=1447; Blacks N=812; Hispanics N=376)

**NOTE: ALL NUMBERS ARE PERCENTAGES. THE PERCENTAGES GREATER THAN ZERO BUT LESS THAN .5 % ARE REPLACED BY AN ASTERISK (\*). COLUMNS/ROWS MAY NOT TOTAL 100% BECAUSE OF ROUNDING. ALL TRENDS REFERENCE SURVEYS FROM THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS AND SOCIAL & DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED.**

**EXCEPT WHERE NOTED, WHITES INCLUDE ONLY NON-HISPANIC WHITES, BLACKS INCLUDE ONLY NON-HISPANIC BLACKS, AND HISPANICS ARE OF ANY RACE.**

**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)?

	Satisfied (NET)	Very <i>satisfied</i>	Somewhat <i>satisfied</i>	(VOL.) <i>DK/Ref</i>	Dissatisfied (NET)	Very <i>dissatisfied</i>	Somewhat <i>dissatisfied</i>	(VOL.) <i>DK/Ref</i>	(VOL.) <i>DK/Ref</i>
All adults	89	60	27	2	10	3	6	*	1
Whites	90	64	24	2	8	2	5	*	1
Blacks	81	44	34	3	18	8	9	*	1
Hispanics	88	52	34	2	10	3	6	1	2

**Trends:**

All Adults

Nov 2009	89	60	27	2	10	3	6	*	1
Sep 2007	87	58	27	2	11	5	6	*	2

Whites

Nov 2009	90	64	24	2	8	2	5	*	1
Sep 2007	89	63	25	1	9	3	6	*	2

Blacks

Nov 2009	81	44	34	3	18	8	9	*	1
Sep 2007	77	36	38	3	20	9	10	1	3

Hispanics

Nov 2009	88	52	34	2	10	3	6	1	2
Sep 2007	84	56	24	4	13	7	6	0	3

<sup>9</sup> The sample design included 1447 non-Hispanic whites, 812 non-Hispanic blacks, 376 Hispanics. The data are weighted to produce results from a representative sample of the population.

**ASK ALL:**

Q.2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your life?

**IF ANSWERED 1,2 IN Q3, ASK:**

Q.2a Would you say you are very **(satisfied/dissatisfied)** or just somewhat **(satisfied/dissatisfied)**?

	Satisfied (NET)	Very <i>satisfied</i>	Somewhat <i>satisfied</i>	(VOL.) DK/Ref	Dissatisfied (NET)	Very <i>dissatisfied</i>	Somewhat <i>dissatisfied</i>	(VOL.) DK/Ref	(VOL.) DK/Ref
All adults	91	67	22	2	6	2	4	*	2
<i>Whites</i>	91	68	21	2	6	3	3	*	3
<i>Blacks</i>	90	61	26	3	9	2	7	*	1
<i>Hispanics</i>	95	64	28	2	5	1	4	0	1

**Trends:**

All Adults

Nov 2009	91	67	22	2	6	2	4	*	2
Sep 2007	91	70	19	2	7	3	4	*	2

*Whites*

Nov 2009	91	68	21	2	6	3	3	*	3
Sep 2007	92	71	19	2	6	2	4	*	2

*Blacks*

Nov 2009	90	61	26	3	9	2	7	*	1
Sep 2007	90	64	24	2	8	3	5	0	2

*Hispanics*

Nov 2009	95	64	28	2	5	1	4	0	1
Sep 2007	90	72	15	3	8	2	5	1	2

**ASK ALL:**

Q.3 How proud are you to be an American? [READ]

	Extremely <u>proud</u>	Very <u>proud</u>	Moderately <u>proud</u>	Only a little <u>proud</u>	Not at all <u>proud</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
All adults	48	33	11	4	1	4
<i>Whites</i>	54	31	9	3	1	2
<i>Blacks</i>	46	38	11	3	1	2
<i>Hispanics</i>	25	39	16	8	1	12

**Trends:**

All Adults

Nov 2009	48	33	11	4	1	4
Jan 2009 <sup>10</sup>	58	24	12	3	2	1
Jun 2006	57	25	10	3	3	1
Jan 2006	59	26	9	3	2	1
Jan 2005	61	22	12	3	1	1
Jan 2004	69	22	5	3	1	*
Jun 2003	70	20	6	2	1	1

<sup>10</sup> Figures from January 2009 and June 2006 are from *Gallup/USA Today* surveys. Those from January 2001 and January 2006 from *Gallup* surveys. Those from June and September 2002, June 2003, and January 2004 and 2005 are from *CNN/USA Today/Gallup* surveys.

**Q.3 CONTINUED...**

	Extremely <u>proud</u>	Very <u>proud</u>	Moderately <u>proud</u>	Only a little <u>proud</u>	Not at all <u>proud</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Sep 2002	69	23	5	1	1	1
Jun 2002	65	25	6	1	2	1
Jan 2001	55	32	9	1	1	2
Jan 2001	55	32	9	1	1	2
<i>Whites</i>						
Nov 2009	54	31	9	3	1	2
Jan 2009	60	23	12	3	1	*
Jun 2006	61	25	9	2	3	1
Jan 2005	64	21	10	2	1	1
Jan 2004	72	18	5	1	*	1
Jun 2003	73	19	5	2	1	*
2002 <sup>11</sup>	72	22	4	1	1	*
<i>Blacks</i>						
Nov 2009	46	38	11	3	1	2
2002	48	36	12	2	2	*

<sup>11</sup> 2002 trends for whites and blacks based on an aggregate of the *CNN/USAToday/Gallup* June 2002 and September 2002 surveys. Blacks include Hispanic blacks.

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1406]:**

Q.4F1 What do you think is the most important problem facing your local community today? **[RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY – DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION]**

<i>All</i>		<i>Whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Hispanics</i>
<b>45</b>	<b>ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL (NET)</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>25</b>
25	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	27	24	15
12	Economy (general)	15	8	7
6	Taxes	7	2	3
3	Budget/Finances/Money	3	3	0
2	Affordable housing	2	4	1
2	Poverty/Homelessness	2	3	1
1	Inflation/Differences between wages and costs	1	1	*
1	Costs of gas/electricity/oil	1	*	1
1	Debt/Deficit/Spending	1	*	*
<b>14</b>	<b>CRIME/DRUGS (NET)</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>30</b>
11	Crime/Gangs/Justice system/Violence	7	19	25
5	Drugs/Alcohol	4	9	7
<b>6</b>	<b>INFRASTRUCTURE/TRANSPORTATION (NET)</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>
4	Development/Growth/Overcrowding/Traffic	4	1	5
2	Roads/Sewers/Infrastructure/Transportation	2	1	1
4	Education	4	2	4
4	Health care (cost/accessibility)	4	3	6
4	Dissatisfaction with government/politicians	5	1	2
3	Not enough opportunities for children/Delinquency	2	7	2
3	Morality/Ethics/Family values	3	3	3
2	Lack of communication/sense of community	1	2	4
1	Immigration issues/Illegal immigration	2	*	*
1	Differences between rich and poor	1	0	0
1	Environment/Pollution	1	*	2
*	Racism/Discrimination	*	1	2
3	Other	3	2	2
6	None/Community has no pressing problems	4	9	13
11	Don't know	12	10	10

Q.5 Now I'd like your views on some people. As I read some names, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each person. First, [INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] would you say your overall opinion of... [INSERT NAME] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about [NEXT NAME]?  
 [IF NECESSARY: would you say your overall opinion of [NAME] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly	Never Heard of	Can't Rate/Ref
a. Barack Obama								
All adults	65	33	32	30	16	14	*	5
Whites	56	23	34	38	21	17	*	5
Blacks	95	77	18	3	1	2	0	2
Hispanics	83	50	33	14	7	7	0	3

**Trends for Barack Obama:**

All Adults

Nov 2009	65	33	32	30	16	14	*	5
Jun 2009	72	37	35	25	11	14	*	3
Mid-Apr 2009	73	38	35	24	10	14	*	3
Jan 2009	79	40	39	15	4	11	0	6
Mid-Oct 2008	66	33	33	28	13	15	*	6
Late Sep 2008	65	33	32	30	11	19	*	5
Mid-Sep 2008	62	28	34	34	15	19	*	4
Late May 2008	51	23	28	40	21	19	*	9
Apr 2008	52	21	31	42	21	21	*	6
Mar 2008	56	21	35	34	18	16	1	9
Late Feb 2008	57	24	33	34	16	18	1	8
Early Feb 2008	58	19	39	30	13	17	2	10
Jan 2008	56	20	36	33	13	20	3	8
Late Dec 2007	54	16	38	30	12	18	5	11
Aug 2007	48	14	34	26	10	16	13	13

Whites

Nov 2009	56	23	34	38	21	17	*	5
Jun 2009	66	28	37	32	14	18	*	3
Mid-Apr 2009	66	30	36	30	12	18	0	4
Jan 2009	76	34	42	17	4	13	0	8
Mid-Oct 2008	61	26	35	34	15	19	*	5
Late Sep 2008	60	27	33	35	13	22	*	5
Mid-Sep 2008	55	22	34	40	18	22	*	4
Late May 2008	44	16	28	48	26	23	*	8
Apr 2008	46	15	31	48	23	25	*	6
Mar 2008	49	15	34	41	22	20	1	9
Late Feb 2008	51	19	32	40	18	22	*	9
Early Feb 2008	54	15	39	35	14	21	1	10
Jan 2008	53	16	36	37	14	23	2	9
Late Dec 2007	51	12	39	35	14	21	5	10
Aug 2007	46	11	35	31	20	11	10	13

**Q.5a CONTINUED...**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never Heard of	Can't Rate/Ref
<i>Blacks</i>								
Nov 2009	95	77	18	3	1	2	0	2
Jun 2009	98	69	28	2	1	2	0	0
Mid-Apr 2009	96	70	26	3	0	3	0	1
Mid-Oct 2008	93	67	27	5	5	0	0	2
Late Sep 2008	92	69	23	3	2	1	0	5
Mid-Sep 2008	90	53	37	6	1	5	0	4
Late May 2008	86	63	23	5	1	4	0	8
Apr 2008	89	56	33	7	2	5	0	4
Mar 2008	81	44	37	9	5	4	2	8
Late Feb 2008	86	51	35	8	7	1	0	6
Early Feb 2008	77	42	35	9	6	3	*	14
Jan 2008	79	42	37	13	6	7	3	6
Late Dec 2007	77	38	39	9	3	6	4	10
Aug 2007	71	40	32	13	7	6	8	7
<i>Hispanics</i>								
Nov 2009	83	50	33	14	7	7	0	3
Jun 2009	85	52	33	10	4	5	0	6
Mid-Apr 2009	87	59	28	10	6	4	1	2
<b>b. Michelle Obama</b>								
All adults	71	33	38	16	8	8	1	11
<i>Whites</i>	66	24	42	20	10	11	1	13
<i>Blacks</i>	96	76	20	2	*	2	*	2
<i>Hispanics</i>	81	44	37	8	6	2	2	10
<b>Trends for Michelle Obama:</b>								
<i>All Adults</i>								
Nov 2009	71	33	38	16	8	8	1	11
Jun 2009	76	36	39	14	5	9	1	9
Mid-Apr 2009	76	36	40	13	4	9	1	10
Jan 2009	68	28	40	15	4	11	2	15
Mid-Sep 2008	56	23	33	25	11	14	2	17
Late May 2008	43	14	29	21	8	13	4	32
<i>Whites</i>								
Nov 2009	66	24	42	20	10	11	1	13
Jun 2009	71	30	41	17	6	11	1	11
Mid-Apr 2009	72	29	42	16	4	12	1	11
Jan 2009	63	22	42	17	4	13	2	18
Mid-Sep 2008	50	18	32	28	13	15	2	18
Late May 2008	39	11	28	24	11	14	3	34

**Q.5b CONTINUED...**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never Heard of	Can't Rate/Ref
<i>Blacks</i>								
Nov 2009	96	76	20	2	*	2	*	2
Jun 2009	97	62	35	1	0	1	0	2
Mid-Apr 2009	95	65	30	2	0	2	1	2
Mid-Sep 2008	85	51	34	7	5	2	*	8
Late May 2008	70	36	35	8	*	7	2	20
<i>Hispanics</i>								
Nov 2009	81	44	37	8	6	2	2	10
Jun 2009	83	47	35	7	2	6	4	6
Mid-Apr 2009	83	46	37	7	5	2	2	8
c.F1 Joe Biden [N=1406]								
All adults	50	13	36	29	13	16	8	13
<i>Whites</i>	45	9	36	35	16	20	5	15
<i>Blacks</i>	77	31	47	11	3	8	6	5
<i>Hispanics</i>	48	18	30	16	4	11	23	13
<b>Trends for Joe Biden:</b>								
All Adults								
Nov 2009	50	13	36	29	13	16	8	13
Mid-Apr 2009	51	14	37	28	10	18	8	13
Jan 2009	63	22	41	20	7	13	6	11
Mid-Oct 2008	55	20	34	35	10	19	6	10
Early Oct 2008 (callback)	61	20	41	30	10	20	1	8
Late Sep 2008	49	15	34	30	10	20	8	13
Mid-Sep 2008	48	14	34	30	11	19	8	14
Apr 2006	28	7	21	20	5	15	38	14
Late Oct 2005	21	4	17	20	6	14	43	16
Sep 1987	22	4	18	15	4	11	25	38
<i>Whites</i>								
Nov 2009	45	9	36	35	16	20	5	15
Mid-Apr 2009	48	12	36	34	13	21	6	12
Jan 2009	59	18	41	24	8	16	5	12
Mid-Oct 2008	53	20	33	32	10	21	5	10
Early Oct 2008 (callback)	60	18	42	33	11	21	1	7
Late Sep 2008	48	14	34	33	12	21	5	15
Mid-Sep 2008	46	13	34	33	11	21	7	14
Apr 2006	31	6	24	20	6	14	36	13
Late Oct 2005	22	3	18	21	6	15	40	17
<i>Blacks</i>								
Nov 2009	77	31	47	11	3	8	6	5
Mid-Apr 2009	72	28	44	12	2	10	7	10
Mid-Oct 2008	71	35	36	9	3	5	9	12
Late Sep 2008	63	21	42	13	2	11	17	7
Mid-Sep 2008	57	22	35	23	13	10	4	16

**Q.5cF1 CONTINUED...**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never Heard of	Can't Rate/Ref
<i>Hispanics</i>								
Nov 2009	48	18	30	16	4	11	23	13
Mid-Apr 2009	49	16	33	12	5	7	23	17
<b>d.F1 Sarah Palin [N=1406]</b>								
All adults	42	16	26	43	20	23	6	10
<i>Whites</i>	47	17	30	41	20	21	3	10
<i>Blacks</i>	26	9	17	61	33	28	5	9
<i>Hispanics</i>	39	20	18	33	10	23	20	8
<b>Trends for Sarah Palin:</b>								
<b>All Adults</b>								
Nov 2009	42	16	26	43	20	23	6	10
Jun 2009	45	15	30	44	22	22	6	6
Mid-Oct 2008	42	18	24	48	27	21	2	8
Early Oct 2008 (callback)	49	19	30	43	20	23	1	7
Late Sep 2008	47	18	29	40	21	19	4	9
Mid-Sep 2008	50	25	25	34	15	19	6	10
<i>Whites</i>								
Nov 2009	47	17	30	41	20	21	3	10
Jun 2009	49	17	32	44	24	21	3	5
Mid-Oct 2008	48	21	27	43	23	20	2	7
Early Oct 2008 (callback)	56	22	34	37	17	21	*	6
Late Sep 2008	52	21	30	37	20	17	2	9
Mid-Sep 2008	56	30	26	29	14	16	5	10
<i>Blacks</i>								
Nov 2009	26	9	17	61	33	28	5	9
Jun 2009	35	8	26	50	21	29	7	9
Mid-Oct 2008	15	2	13	72	46	25	5	9
Late Sep 2008	24	5	19	60	28	32	8	8
Mid-Sep 2008	27	9	19	56	27	29	5	11
<i>Hispanics</i>								
Nov 2009	39	20	18	33	10	23	20	8
Jun 2009	38	12	26	32	15	16	23	5
<b>NO ITEM e</b>								
<b>f.F2 Hillary Clinton [N=1478]</b>								
All adults	66	26	40	28	11	17	1	6
<i>Whites</i>	60	20	39	35	12	22	*	6
<i>Blacks</i>	93	47	45	5	2	3	0	2
<i>Hispanics</i>	77	37	40	14	8	5	4	6

**Q.5f2 CONTINUED...**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly	Never Heard of	Can't Rate/Ref
<b>Trends for Hillary Clinton:</b>								
<b>All Adults</b>								
Nov 2009	66	26	40	28	11	17	1	6
Late May 2008	48	17	31	44	22	22	*	8
Apr 2008	49	16	33	47	23	24	0	4
Mar 2008	50	16	34	44	23	21	*	6
Late Feb 2008	51	19	32	44	23	21	0	5
Early Feb 2008	52	20	32	42	24	18	*	6
Jan 2008	52	20	32	44	25	19	*	4
Late Dec 2007	50	21	29	44	26	18	*	6
Aug 2007	55	21	34	39	21	18	2	4
Dec 2006	56	22	34	39	21	18	*	5
Apr 2006	54	20	34	42	21	21	1	3
Late Oct 2005	56	20	36	38	19	19	1	5
Late Mar 2005	57	22	35	36	17	19	*	7
Dec 2002	47	15	32	44	23	21	1	8
Jul 2001	53	20	33	42	23	19	1	4
Jan 2001	60	25	35	35	16	19	*	5
May 2000	49	15	34	42	22	20	1	8
Early Dec 1998	66	32	34	31	15	16	*	3
Early Oct 1998 (RVs)	58	24	34	36	18	18	*	6
Sep 1998	64	24	40	31	13	18	0	5
Late Aug 1998	63	25	38	34	13	21	*	3
Mar 1998	65	26	39	31	14	17	*	4
Jan 1997	57	17	40	40	17	23	*	3
Jun 1996	53	13	40	43	17	26	*	4
Apr 1996	49	12	37	46	19	27	0	5
Feb 1996	42	14	28	54	27	27	0	4
Jan 1996	42	10	32	54	26	28	0	4
Oct 1995	58	14	44	38	14	24	--	4
Aug 1995	49	16	33	47	22	25	*	4
Dec 1994	50	17	33	45	20	25	1	4
July 1994	57	19	38	40	18	22	1	2
May 1993	60	19	41	29	11	18	1	10
<b>Whites<sup>12</sup></b>								
Nov 2009	60	20	39	35	12	22	*	6
Late May 2008	46	16	30	47	25	23	*	6
Apr 2008	46	15	31	50	25	25	0	4
Mar 2008	44	15	29	51	28	23	*	5
Late Feb 2008	45	16	30	49	27	23	0	5
Early Feb 2008	46	15	31	49	28	21	0	6
Jan 2008	47	18	30	49	29	20	*	4
Late Dec 2007	43	15	27	52	31	21	*	5
Aug 2007	49	15	34	47	26	21	*	3

<sup>12</sup> Trends for whites and blacks are for selected years.

**Q.5F2 CONTINUED...**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never Heard of	Can't Rate/Ref
Dec 2006	49	17	32	46	25	21	*	5
Apr 2006	46	13	33	51	26	25	0	3
Late Oct 2005	51	15	36	44	21	23	*	6
Dec 2002	41	10	31	51	27	25	*	8
Jan 2001	56	20	36	39	19	20	*	5
Jan 1997 <sup>13</sup>	54	14	40	43	18	25	*	3
Jun 1996	50	12	38	46	18	28	0	4
Oct 1995	56	12	43	41	16	25	0	3
July 1994	55	18	37	44	20	24	*	1
<i>Blacks</i>								
Nov 2009	93	47	45	5	2	3	0	2
Late May 2008	59	18	41	31	12	20	0	10
Apr 2008	58	20	38	38	13	24	0	4
Mar 2008	68	15	53	20	8	12	1	11
Late Feb 2008	76	29	47	19	10	10	0	6
Early Feb 2008	74	36	39	13	8	5	0	12
Jan 2008	80	34	45	17	8	9	1	3
Late Dec 2007	82	48	34	14	8	6	0	4
Aug 2007	88	44	44	10	4	7	*	1
Dec 2006	86	52	34	10	5	5	1	3
Jan 2001	88	47	41	7	2	6	0	5
Jan 1997	81	39	42	14	5	9	1	5
Jun 1996	72	21	50	23	8	15	0	5
Oct 1995	74	25	49	22	6	16	0	5
July 1994	79	33	46	14	4	10	4	4
g.F2 Mitt Romney [N=1478]								
All adults	35	11	25	21	9	13	25	18
<i>Whites</i>	40	10	29	21	9	12	18	21
<i>Blacks</i>	27	7	19	26	9	17	37	11
<i>Hispanics</i>	24	11	13	17	8	9	46	12
<b>Trends for Mitt Romney:</b>								
<i>All Adults</i>								
Nov 2009	35	11	25	21	9	13	25	18
Jun 2009	40	9	31	28	8	20	19	13
Early Feb 2008	30	6	24	44	15	29	8	18
Jan 2008	31	7	24	43	13	30	8	18
Late Dec 2007	29	4	25	35	11	24	17	19
Aug 2007	28	5	23	24	7	17	29	19
<i>Whites</i>								
Nov 2009	40	10	29	21	9	12	18	21
Jun 2009	42	10	33	29	8	21	15	13
Early Feb 2008	34	7	27	42	14	29	7	17

<sup>13</sup> In 1997 and earlier surveys, whites include Hispanic whites and blacks include Hispanic blacks.

**Q.5gF2 CONTINUED...**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never Heard of	Can't Rate/Ref
Jan 2008	34	7	27	43	12	31	7	17
Late Dec 2007	32	5	27	34	10	24	14	20
Aug 2007	32	6	26	25	7	18	23	21
<i>Blacks</i>								
Nov 2009	27	7	19	26	9	17	37	11
Jun 2009	29	6	24	28	8	20	26	16
Early Feb 2008	10	2	8	51	20	31	18	21
Jan 2008	19	4	15	43	16	27	11	27
Late Dec 2007	22	1	21	41	19	22	22	16
Aug 2007	19	2	16	26	5	21	38	18
<i>Hispanics</i>								
Nov 2009	24	11	13	17	8	9	46	12
Jun 2009	35	11	24	16	6	10	39	10
Aug 2007	13	3	10	17	6	11	55	14

**ASK ALL:**

Q.6 Do you like the way Barack Obama and his family lead their life at the White House, or not?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
66	Yes, like	61	91	77
12	No, dislike	15	*	5
22	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	24	8	18

**ASK ALL:**

Q.7 Do you think Barack Obama is paying too much attention, not enough attention, or about the right amount of attention to the concerns of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]? What about the concerns of [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: is Barack Obama paying too much attention, not enough attention to the concerns of ITEM]?

a. Blacks

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
12	Too much attention	13	1	13
10	Not enough attention	10	13	10
60	Right amount of attention	57	80	60
18	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	20	6	17

b. Hispanics

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
11	Too much attention	13	4	4
19	Not enough attention	15	14	42
45	Right amount of attention	42	68	42
25	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	30	14	13

**Q.7 CONTINUED...**

c. Whites

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
3	Too much attention	1	7	8
18	Not enough attention	22	5	13
61	Right amount of attention	58	80	62
18	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	19	8	17

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1406]:**

d.F1 Business corporations

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
25	Too much attention	26	22	22
29	Not enough attention	32	11	32
35	Right amount of attention	30	60	36
11	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	12	7	10

e.F1 Gays and lesbians

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
21	Too much attention	25	10	13
13	Not enough attention	11	10	25
41	Right amount of attention	37	62	42
26	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	27	18	21

f.F1 Senior citizens

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
2	Too much attention	1	1	6
47	Not enough attention	54	22	35
37	Right amount of attention	30	69	50
13	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	15	8	9

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1478]:**

g.F2 Banks and financial institutions

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
33	Too much attention	38	16	22
21	Not enough attention	22	17	22
35	Right amount of attention	28	60	50
11	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	12	7	7

h.F2 Women

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
3	Too much attention	3	2	4
21	Not enough attention	22	16	18
57	Right amount of attention	56	72	65
19	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	20	10	12

**Q.7 CONTINUED...**

i.F2 Labor unions

<i>All</i>		<i>Whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Hispanics</i>
17	Too much attention	21	3	5
23	Not enough attention	22	23	26
36	Right amount of attention	31	58	44
24	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	26	15	24

**ASK ALL:**

**RANDOMIZE Q8, Q9, AND Q10**

Q.8 Which of these two statements comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right. **[READ IN ORDER]:**

	Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their <u>hard work and talents</u>	Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our <u>jobs, housing and health care</u>	(VOL.) Neither/Both equally/DK/Ref
All adults	46	40	14
<i>Whites</i>	39	46	15
<i>Blacks</i>	44	43	13
<i>Hispanics</i>	78	17	6

**Trends:**

All Adults

Nov 2009	46	40	14
Sep 2006	41	41	18
Mar 2006	41	52	7
Dec 2005	45	44	11
Dec 2004	45	44	11
Jun 2003	46	44	10
Sep 2000	50	38	12
Aug 1999	46	44	10
Oct 1997	41	48	11
Jun 1997	41	48	11
Apr 1997	38	52	10
Jun 1996	37	54	9
Jul 1994	31	63	6

*Whites*

Nov 2009	39	46	15
Sep 2006	37	44	19
Mar 2006	38	56	7
Dec 2005	43	46	11
Dec 2004	42	46	12
Jun 2003	44	46	10
Sep 2000	48	40	13
Aug 1999	44	46	10
Oct 1997	40	49	11
Jun 1997	40	50	10
Jul 1994	31	64	6

**Q.8 CONTINUED...**

	Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their <u>hard work and talents</u>	Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our <u>jobs, housing and health care</u>	(VOL.) Neither/Both equally/DK/Ref
<i>Blacks</i>			
Nov 2009	44	43	13
Sep 2006	45	40	15
Mar 2006	38	54	8
Dec 2005	40	47	14
Dec 2004	40	50	10
Sep 2000	50	42	9
Aug 1999	41	48	11
Oct 1997	35	56	9
Jun 1997	31	57	12
Jul 1994	26	68	6
<i>Hispanics</i>			
Nov 2009	78	17	6
Mar 2006	65	29	7

**ASK ALL:**

**RANDOMIZE Q8, Q9, AND Q10**

Q.9 [And] Which of these two statements comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right.  
[READ IN ORDER]:

	Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside of our control	Everyone has it in their own power to succeed	(VOL.) Neither/Both equally/DK/Ref
All adults	12	82	6
<i>Whites</i>	11	82	7
<i>Blacks</i>	16	77	7
<i>Hispanics</i>	13	84	2
<b>Trends:</b>			
All Adults			
Nov 2009	12	82	6
Dec 2004	16	78	6
Aug 1999	15	80	5
Jul 1994	18	79	3
<i>Whites</i>			
Nov 2009	11	82	7
Dec 2004	15	79	6
Aug 1999	14	81	5
Jul 1994	17	81	3
<i>Blacks</i>			
Nov 2009	16	77	7
Dec 2004	20	72	8
Aug 1999	21	71	9
Jul 1994	30	66	4

**ASK ALL:**

**RANDOMIZE Q8, Q9, AND Q10**

Q.10 [And] Which of these two statements comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right.  
**[READ IN ORDER]:**

<i>All</i>		<i>Whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Hispanics</i>
47	Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites [OR]	54	13	42
43	Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites	36	81	47
10	Neither/Both equally/Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10	6	10

**NO QUESTIONS 11 THROUGH 16**

**ASK ALL:**

Now I have some questions about how some groups in our society get along...

Q.17 How well do you think [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] get along with each other these days – would you say very well, pretty well, not too well, or not at all well? What about how well [NEXT ITEM] get along? [IF NECESSARY: Do [ITEM] get along very well, pretty well, not too well, or not at all well these days?]

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Pretty well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
<b>a. Whites and Hispanics</b>					
All adults	11	56	22	3	8
<i>Whites</i>	10	61	20	2	7
<i>Blacks</i>	14	43	26	6	11
<i>Hispanics</i>	20	36	36	5	3
<b>Trends:</b>					
<b>All Adults</b>					
Nov 2009	11	56	22	3	8
Sep 2007	15	53	19	3	10
<i>Whites</i>					
Nov 2009	10	61	20	2	7
Sep 2007	13	57	18	3	9
<i>Blacks</i>					
Nov 2009	14	43	26	6	11
Sep 2007	16	37	22	5	20
<i>Hispanics</i>					
Nov 2009	20	36	36	5	3
Sep 2007	27	44	22	2	5

**Q.17 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Pretty well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
<b>b. Blacks and Hispanics</b>					
All adults	9	39	24	6	22
<i>Whites</i>	5	37	25	6	28
<i>Blacks</i>	22	54	18	2	4
<i>Hispanics</i>	19	31	32	12	6
<b>Trends:</b>					
<b>All Adults</b>					
Nov 2009	9	39	24	6	22
Sep 2007	11	33	23	8	25
<b><i>Whites</i></b>					
Nov 2009	5	37	25	6	28
Sep 2007	8	31	24	8	29
<b><i>Blacks</i></b>					
Nov 2009	22	54	18	2	4
Sep 2007	24	46	14	4	12
<b><i>Hispanics</i></b>					
Nov 2009	19	31	32	12	6
Sep 2007	22	35	19	11	13
<b>c. Blacks and whites</b>					
All adults	13	63	16	3	5
<i>Whites</i>	11	68	13	2	5
<i>Blacks</i>	16	60	20	2	2
<i>Hispanics</i>	20	35	30	10	5
<b>Trends:</b>					
<b>All Adults</b>					
Nov 2009	13	63	16	3	5
Sep 2007	18	57	18	2	5
<b><i>Whites</i></b>					
Nov 2009	11	68	13	2	5
Sep 2007	16	61	16	2	5
<b><i>Blacks</i></b>					
Nov 2009	16	60	20	2	2
Sep 2007	20	49	20	4	7
<b><i>Hispanics</i></b>					
Nov 2009	20	35	30	10	5
Sep 2007	25	36	25	7	7

**NO QUESTIONS 18 AND 19**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.20 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>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	48	6	41	5
<i>Whites</i>	49	6	40	5
<i>Blacks</i>	39	12	48	1
<i>Hispanics</i>	47	5	43	5
<b>Trends:</b>				
All Adults				
Nov 2009	48	6	41	5
Sep 2007	34	12	49	5
1999 <sup>14</sup>	47	8	40	5
1987	45	13	38	4
1986	52	9	33	6
1984	64	6	26	4
<i>Whites</i>				
Nov 2009	49	6	40	5
Sep 2007	37	8	50	5
1999	49	7	38	6
1997	43	12	44	1
1990	44	11	44	1
1988	49	8	33	10
1987	48	10	38	4
1986	53	7	33	7
1984	68	4	23	5
<i>Blacks</i>				
Nov 2009	39	12	48	1
Sep 2007	20	29	49	2
1999	32	13	52	3
1997	24	17	56	3
1990	25	32	43	*
1988	33	22	38	7
1987	29	31	37	3
1986	34	30	35	1
1984	37	30	31	2
1983	20	39	38	3
1981	30	29	39	2
1969	70	5	19	6
<i>Hispanics</i>				
Nov 2009	47	5	43	5
Sep 2007	33	14	49	4

<sup>14</sup> The figures from 1999 are from a Newsweek survey. 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. White and black trends from these surveys include Hispanics.

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1406]:**

Q.21F1 Compared with five 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>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
26	Wider	21	36	49
50	Narrower	53	49	37
14	No change (VOL.)	15	7	5
10	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10	8	9

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1478]:**

Q.22F2 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>	<u>(VOL.) No change</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref.</u>
All Adults	20	61	8	11
Whites	16	65	8	11
Blacks	33	56	5	6
Hispanics	24	53	9	14

**Trends:**

All Adults

Nov 2009	20	61	8	11
Sep 2007	24	55	10	11
1986 <sup>15</sup>	19	61	8	12

Whites

Nov 2009	16	65	8	11
Sep 2007	19	61	10	10
1986	16	65	8	11

Blacks

Nov 2009	33	56	5	6
Sep 2007	43	41	9	7
1986	38	47	9	6

Hispanics

Nov 2009	24	53	9	14
Sep 2007	35	37	16	12

**NO QUESTIONS 23 THROUGH 27**

<sup>15</sup> The 1986 figures are from a Gallup/JCPS survey. In that survey, the item was worded: "Compared with 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?"

**ASK ALL:**

Q.28 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>	<u>(VOL.) No change</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
All Adults	68	20	2	9
<i>Whites</i>	70	18	2	9
<i>Blacks</i>	60	34	2	3
<i>Hispanics</i>	67	22	1	10

**Trend:**

*All Adults*

Nov 2009	68	20	2	9
Sep 2007	68	19	4	9
1986 <sup>16</sup>	59	19	9	13

*Whites*

Nov 2009	70	18	2	9
Sep 2007	72	14	4	10
1986	62	17	10	11

*Blacks*

Nov 2009	60	34	2	3
Sep 2007	54	37	3	6
1986	51	31	7	11

*Hispanics*

Nov 2009	67	22	1	10
Sep 2007	60	28	3	9

**ASK IF RACE1=2 AND HISP3=2,9:**

Q.29 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?

*Based on blacks [N=812]*

	<u>More similar</u>	<u>More different</u>	<u>No change</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
<i>Blacks</i>				
Nov 2009	40	53	3	5
Sep 2007	31	61	2	6
1986	40	44	9	7

<sup>16</sup> All 1986 figures in questions 28 and 29 are from a Gallup/JCPS survey.

**ASK IF RACE1=2 AND HISP3 =2,9:**

Q.30 How much do you think middle class blacks and poor blacks share values in common? Do middle class blacks and poor blacks have...**[READ]**

*Based on blacks [N=812]*

	<u>A lot in common</u>	<u>Some in common</u>	<u>Only a little in common</u>	<u>Almost nothing in common</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
<i>Blacks</i>					
Nov 2009	22	44	24	7	2
Sep 2007	23	42	22	9	4

**ASK IF RACE1≠2 AND HISP3=2,9:**

Q.31 How much do you think middle class whites and poor whites share values in common? Do middle class whites and poor whites have...**[READ]**

*Based on whites [N=1447]*

	<u>A lot in common</u>	<u>Some in common</u>	<u>Only a little in common</u>	<u>Almost nothing in common</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
<i>Whites</i>					
	18	45	25	7	5

**ASK IF HISP3=1 [N=376]:**

Q.32 How much do you think Hispanic immigrants and Hispanics born in the U.S. share values in common? Do Hispanic immigrants and Hispanics born in the U.S. have ...**[READ]**

	<u>A lot in common</u>	<u>Some in common</u>	<u>Only a little in common</u>	<u>Almost nothing in common</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
<i>Hispanics</i>					
	25	39	30	3	3

**NO QUESTIONS 33 THROUGH 36**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.37 Please tell me how much discrimination there is against each of these groups in our society today. How about... **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**? Would you say there is a lot of discrimination, some, only a little, or none at all? And how much discrimination is there against **[INSERT NEXT ITEM]**, **[IF NECESSARY: a lot, some, only a little, or none at all]**?

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Only a little</u>	<u>None at all</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
a. African Americans					
All adults	18	51	21	6	3
<i>Whites</i>	13	57	21	5	3
<i>Blacks</i>	43	39	14	2	2
<i>Hispanics</i>	19	35	30	13	3

**Q.37a CONTINUED...**

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Only a little</u>	<u>None at all</u>	<b>(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u></b>
<b>Trends:</b>					
All Adults					
Nov 2009	18	51	21	6	3
Apr 2001 <sup>17</sup>	25	49	16	7	3
<i>Whites</i>					
Nov 2009	13	57	21	5	3
Apr 2001	20	51	17	8	3
<i>Blacks</i>					
Nov 2009	43	39	14	2	2
Apr 2001	48	39	9	2	3
<i>Hispanics</i>					
Nov 2009	19	35	30	13	3
Apr 2001	31	48	12	6	3
<b>b. Hispanic Americans</b>					
All adults	23	47	19	6	5
<i>Whites</i>	21	51	18	4	5
<i>Blacks</i>	33	41	16	5	5
<i>Hispanics</i>	24	35	29	11	*
<b>Trends:</b>					
All Adults					
Nov 2009	23	47	19	6	5
Apr 2001	19	47	23	8	3
<i>Whites</i>					
Nov 2009	21	51	18	4	5
Apr 2001	15	49	24	9	3
<i>Blacks</i>					
Nov 2009	33	41	16	5	5
Apr 2001	35	38	18	4	5
<i>Hispanics</i>					
Nov 2009	24	35	29	11	*
Apr 2001	28	50	16	5	1
<b>c. Gays and lesbians</b>					
All adults	45	33	12	5	6
<i>Whites</i>	43	37	11	4	4
<i>Blacks</i>	55	25	11	3	6
<i>Hispanics</i>	47	24	17	5	7

<sup>17</sup> The Apr 2001 figures for Q37 a ,b, d, e and f are from a *Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University* survey.

**Q.37 CONTINUED...**

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Only a little</u>	<u>None at all</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
<b>d. Women</b>					
All adults	13	43	29	12	2
<i>Whites</i>	10	46	30	12	2
<i>Blacks</i>	27	45	19	7	2
<i>Hispanics</i>	12	31	36	19	2
<b>Trends:</b>					
<b>All Adults</b>					
Nov 2009	13	43	29	12	2
Apr 2001	14	46	27	13	1
<i>Whites</i>					
Nov 2009	10	46	30	12	2
Apr 2001	11	46	29	14	1
<i>Blacks</i>					
Nov 2009	27	45	19	7	2
Apr 2001	25	46	22	5	3
<i>Hispanics</i>					
Nov 2009	12	31	36	19	2
Apr 2001	19	52	17	11	2
<b>e. Asian Americans</b>					
All adults	8	40	32	13	7
<i>Whites</i>	7	42	31	13	7
<i>Blacks</i>	16	40	28	8	7
<i>Hispanics</i>	7	29	42	16	6
<b>Trends:</b>					
<b>All Adults</b>					
Nov 2009	8	40	32	13	7
Apr 2001	8	46	29	12	5
<i>Whites</i>					
Nov 2009	7	42	31	13	7
Apr 2001	6	47	29	12	5
<i>Blacks</i>					
Nov 2009	16	40	28	8	7
Apr 2001	14	46	29	6	5
<i>Hispanics</i>					
Nov 2009	7	29	42	16	6
Apr 2001	17	43	26	11	3

**Q.37 CONTINUED...**

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Only a little</u>	<u>None at all</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
<b>f. White Americans</b>					
All adults	10	35	31	20	3
<i>Whites</i>	10	40	31	15	4
<i>Blacks</i>	10	31	31	25	3
<i>Hispanics</i>	6	22	31	40	1
<b>Trends:</b>					
<b>All Adults</b>					
Nov 2009	10	35	31	20	3
Apr 2001	8	35	29	26	2
<b><i>Whites</i></b>					
Nov 2009	10	40	31	15	4
Apr 2001	9	38	30	22	1
<b><i>Blacks</i></b>					
Nov 2009	10	31	31	25	3
Apr 2001	8	25	34	31	2
<b><i>Hispanics</i></b>					
Nov 2009	6	22	31	40	1
Apr 2001	8	30	21	39	2

**ASK ALL:**

Q.38 Which of these statements comes closer to your own views—even if neither is exactly right. **[READ]**

	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>	<b>(VOL.)</b> Neither/Both <u>equally/DK/Ref</u>
All adults	18	67	15
<i>Whites</i>	15	70	15
<i>Blacks</i>	34	52	15
<i>Hispanics</i>	21	69	10
<b>Trends:</b>			
<b>All Adults</b>			
Nov 2009	18	67	15
Oct 2007	19	66	15
<b>TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:</b>			
Jan 2008 <sup>18</sup>	22	61	17
Sep 2005	26	59	15
Dec 2004	27	60	13
Jun 2003	24	64	12
Sep 2000	31	54	15
Aug 1999	28	59	13

<sup>18</sup> Trends from January 2008 and September 2005 and earlier are from Pew Research Center for the People and the Press surveys. The context of the question was different than in 2007 and 2009. Trends from September 2005 and earlier for whites include Hispanic whites and trends for blacks include Hispanic blacks.

**Q.38 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/DK/Ref</u>
Oct 1997	25	61	14
Jun 1997	33	54	13
Oct 1996	28	58	14
Oct 1995	37	53	10
Apr 1995	34	56	10
Oct 1994	34	54	12
July 1994	32	59	9
<i>Whites</i>			
Nov 2009	15	70	15
Oct 2007	15	71	14
<b>TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:</b>			
Jan 2008	21	62	17
Sep 2005	24	62	14
Dec 2004	24	63	13
Jun 2003	22	66	12
Sep 2000	29	57	14
Aug 1999	26	62	12
Oct 1997	23	64	13
Jun 1997	31	56	13
Oct 1996	26	61	13
Oct 1995	34	55	11
Apr 1995	31	58	11
Oct 1994	30	58	12
July 1994	29	62	9
<i>Blacks</i>			
Nov 2009	34	52	15
Oct 2007	30	53	17
<b>TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:</b>			
Jan 2008	30	54	16
Sep 2005	42	41	17
Dec 2004	44	43	13
Jun 2003	38	47	15
Sep 2000	49	36	15
Aug 1999	47	38	15
Oct 1997	37	46	17
Jun 1997	45	41	14
Oct 1996	45	38	17
Oct 1995	58	35	7
Apr 1995	55	38	7
Oct 1994	60	33	7
July 1994	56	34	10

**Q.38 CONTINUED...**

	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/DK/Ref
<i>Hispanics</i>			
Nov 2009	21	69	10
Oct 2007	24	59	17

**NO QUESTIONS 39 THROUGH 40**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.41 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 deal	A fair amount	Just some	Very little confidence	(VOL.) None/DK/Ref
a. To do a good job of enforcing the law					
All Adults	41	30	16	10	2
<i>Whites</i>	46	32	14	7	2
<i>Blacks</i>	24	30	21	22	3
<i>Hispanics</i>	37	24	24	14	1
<b>Trend:</b>					
All Adults					
Nov 2009	41	30	16	10	2
Sep 2007	42	31	13	11	3
1995 <sup>19</sup>	36	37	12	12	3
<i>Whites</i>					
Nov 2009	46	32	14	7	2
Sep 2007	47	31	11	9	2
1995	40	38	11	9	2
<i>Blacks</i>					
Nov 2009	24	30	21	22	3
Sep 2007	21	34	17	20	8
1995	15	34	16	26	9
<i>Hispanics</i>					
Nov 2009	37	24	24	14	1
Sep 2007	34	28	18	15	5

<sup>19</sup> The 1995 figures for items a through c are from a *NBC/Wall Street Journal* survey and were part of a longer list of items in which item c was asked prior to item b.

**Q.41 CONTINUED...**

	<u>A great deal</u>	<u>A fair amount</u>	<u>Just some</u>	<u>Very little confidence</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>None/DK/Ref</u>
<b>b. To not use excessive force on suspects</b>					
All Adults	33	30	18	13	6
<i>Whites</i>	39	32	16	8	5
<i>Blacks</i>	14	27	22	30	7
<i>Hispanics</i>	24	26	26	19	5
<b>Trend:</b>					
All Adults					
Nov 2009	33	30	18	13	6
Sep 2007	37	29	12	14	8
1995	28	31	15	16	10
<i>Whites</i>					
Nov 2009	39	32	16	8	5
Sep 2007	42	31	10	11	6
1995	31	32	14	13	10
<i>Blacks</i>					
Nov 2009	14	27	22	30	7
Sep 2007	11	27	20	28	14
1995	11	23	18	37	11
<i>Hispanics</i>					
Nov 2009	24	26	26	19	5
Sep 2007	30	21	19	17	13
<b>c. To treat blacks and whites equally</b>					
All Adults	33	28	18	14	7
<i>Whites</i>	38	31	16	9	6
<i>Blacks</i>	14	24	22	34	7
<i>Hispanics</i>	29	17	27	19	8
<b>Trend:</b>					
All Adults					
Nov 2009	33	28	18	14	7
Sep 2007	37	29	11	14	9
1995	25	33	12	17	13
<i>Whites</i>					
Nov 2009	38	31	16	9	6
Sep 2007	42	32	8	10	8
1995	29	33	12	13	13
<i>Blacks</i>					
Nov 2009	14	24	22	34	7
Sep 2007	14	23	17	31	15
1995	10	22	15	43	10

**Q.41c CONTINUED...**

	<u>A great deal</u>	<u>A fair amount</u>	<u>Just some</u>	<u>Very little confidence</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>None/DK/Ref</u>
<i>Hispanics</i>					
Nov 2009	29	17	27	19	8
Sep 2007	26	19	21	21	13
d. To treat Hispanics and whites equally					
All Adults	29	28	20	15	7
<i>Whites</i>	34	31	18	10	7
<i>Blacks</i>	11	26	26	29	8
<i>Hispanics</i>	25	17	29	26	3

**ASK IF RACE1=2 AND HISP3 =2,9 :**

Q.42 Has the increase in the numbers of Hispanics in the US in the past few decades been [READ; RANDOMIZE ITEMS 1 & 2]

**BASED ON BLACKS [N=812]**

<u>Blacks</u>	
10	Good for blacks
30	Bad for blacks [OR]
54	Made no difference for blacks
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK IF RACE1=2 AND HISP3 =2,9 :**

Thinking now about black families...

Q.43 In general, how much of a problem do you think each of the following is for black families today? First, how about [INSERT ITEM – READ AND RANDOMIZE]? Is this a BIG problem for black families today, SOMEWHAT of a problem, or NOT a problem?...What about [NEXT ITEM]? [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: READ ANSWER CHOICES FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN AS NECESSARY?]

**ITEMS a THROUGH f BASED ON BLACKS [N=812]**

	<u>Big problem</u>	<u>Somewhat of a problem</u>	<u>Not a problem</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Too many parents never getting married				
<i>Blacks</i>				
Nov 2009	50	35	12	3
Apr 1999 <sup>20</sup>	51	29	14	6
Aug 1993	43	34	18	5
b. Not enough jobs paying decent wages				
<i>Blacks</i>				
Nov 2009	79	17	3	1
Apr 1999	68	22	9	1
Aug 1993	79	15	5	1

<sup>20</sup> Trend figures for 1999 and 1993 are from *Newsweek* polls. In these surveys, whites include Hispanic whites and blacks include Hispanic blacks.

**Q.43 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Big problem</u>	<u>Somewhat of a problem</u>	<u>Not a problem</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
c. Public schools not providing a good education				
<i>Blacks</i>				
Nov 2009	56	30	12	2
Apr 1999	54	27	15	4
Aug 1993	49	31	18	2
d. Not enough successful blacks for young people to look up to				
<i>Blacks</i>				
Nov 2009	42	38	19	1
Apr 1999	41	31	26	2
Aug 1993	41	35	22	2
e. Crime in their neighborhoods				
<i>Blacks</i>				
Nov 2009	67	26	5	2
Apr 1999	60	24	11	5
f. Drugs and alcoholism				
<i>Blacks</i>				
Nov 2009	74	22	2	2
Apr 1999	66	24	4	6
Aug 1993	86	12	1	1

**ASK IF RACE1=2 AND HISP3 =2,9:**

Q.44 Thinking about the major problems facing black families these days, would you say [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] have (has) helped a lot to solve these problems, or haven't they helped much? Next, what about [NEXT ITEM] [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: READ ANSWER CHOICES FIRST TIME, THEN AS NECESSARY]

**ITEMS a THROUGH d BASED ON BLACKS [N=812]**

a. Churches

Blacks

61	Helped a lot
35	Not helped much
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

b. Community organizations

Blacks

47	Helped a lot
48	Not helped much
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**Q.44 CONTINUED...**

c. The government

Blacks

27	Helped a lot
67	Not helped much
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

d. Black people themselves

Blacks

39	Helped a lot
56	Not helped much
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**NO QUESTIONS 45 THROUGH 47**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.48 Do you yourself know any (IF RACE1=2: white/ IF RACE1≠2: black) person whom you consider a friend?

**ASK IF YES (Q48=1):**

Q.49 How many of your friends are (IF RACE1=2: white/ IF RACE1≠2: black)? Would you say [READ]

	Yes (NET)	All of them	Most of them	Some of them	Just a few	(VOL.) DK/Ref.	None/No friends of different race	(VOL.) DK/Ref
All adults	88	1	6	36	43	1	12	*
Whites	90	1	4	37	47	1	10	*
Blacks	88	2	11	38	35	1	12	*
Non-black Hispanics <sup>21</sup> [N=319]	75	2	9	30	32	1	25	1
<b>Trends:</b>								
All Adults								
Nov 2009	88	1	6	36	43	1	12	*
Sep 2007	86	2	6	34	42	2	14	*
Whites								
Nov 2009	90	1	4	37	47	1	10	*
Sep 2007	87	1	4	36	45	1	12	1
Blacks								
Nov 2009	88	2	11	38	35	1	12	*
Sep 2007	82	2	10	33	35	2	17	1
Non-black Hispanics								
Nov 2009	75	2	9	30	32	1	25	1
Sep 2007	76	4	9	24	37	1	24	0

<sup>21</sup> Based on non-black Hispanics regarding black friends.

**ASK ALL:**

Q.50 How do you think you would react if a member of your family told you they were going to marry...  
**[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?** Would it be fine with you, would it bother you but you would come to accept it, or would you not be able to accept it? **[IF NECESSARY:** By family we mean a member of your immediate family, such as a child, brother, or sister] What about if a member of your family told you they were going to marry **[NEXT ITEM]?** **[IF NECESSARY**” Would it be fine with you, would it bother you but you would come to accept it, or would you not be able to accept it?) **[INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY HAVE FAMILY MEMBER(S) MARRIED TO SOMEONE OF THAT GROUP]:** “Was that fine with you, did it bother you but you have come to accept it, or are you not able to accept it?”]

	<u>Would be fine</u>	<u>Would bother but would come to accept it</u>	<u>Would not be able to accept it</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref.</u>
<b>ASK IF RACE1≠2 OR HISP3=1 [N=2048]:</b>				
a. An African American				
All non-black	66	25	6	4
<i>Whites</i>	64	27	6	3
<i>Hispanics</i>	73	22	5	1
<b>Trends:</b>				
<i>Whites</i>				
Nov 2009	64	27	6	3
Apr 2001 <sup>22</sup>	55	35	9	1
<i>Hispanics</i>				
Nov 2009	73	22	5	1
Jun 2001	74	14	8	4
<b>ASK IF HISP3=2,9 [N=2508]:</b>				
b. A Hispanic American				
All non-Hispanic	73	20	4	3
<i>Whites</i>	71	22	4	3
<i>Blacks</i>	81	16	3	1
<b>Trends:</b>				
<i>Whites</i>				
Nov 2009	71	22	4	3
Apr 2001	66	30	3	1
<i>Blacks</i>				
Nov 2009	81	16	3	1
Apr 2001	85	12	2	*
<b>ASK IF RACE1≠3 [N=2791]:</b>				
c. An Asian American				
All non-Asian	75	19	3	3
<i>Whites</i>	73	20	3	3
<i>Blacks</i>	80	16	3	1
<i>Hispanics</i>	76	19	4	1

<sup>22</sup> The Apr and Jun 2001 figures for Q50 a-e are from Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University surveys.

**Q.50 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Would be fine</u>	<u>Would bother but would come to accept it</u>	<u>Would not be able to accept it</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> DK/Ref.
<b>Trends:</b>				
<i>Whites</i>				
Nov 2009	73	20	3	3
Apr 2001	65	29	4	1
<i>Blacks</i>				
Nov 2009	80	16	3	1
Apr 2001	86	13	1	*
<i>Hispanics</i>				
Nov 2009	76	19	4	1
Jun 2001	79	11	7	3

**ASK IF RACE1=2,3,4,9 OR HISP3=1 [N=1437]:**

d. A white American				
All non white	81	13	2	4
<i>Blacks</i>	80	16	3	1
<i>Hispanics</i>	81	13	2	4

<b>Trends:</b>				
<i>Blacks</i>				
Nov 2009	80	16	3	1
Apr 2001	86	12	2	*
<i>Hispanics</i>				
Nov 2009	81	13	2	4
Jun 2001	86	9	4	2

**ASK ALL:**

e. Someone who does not believe in God?				
All Adults	34	38	24	4
<i>Whites</i>	33	40	23	4
<i>Blacks</i>	25	36	36	3
<i>Hispanics</i>	42	36	20	2

<b>Trends:</b>				
<i>Whites</i>				
Nov 2009	33	40	23	4
Apr 2001	30	40	29	1
<i>Blacks</i>				
Nov 2009	25	36	36	3
Apr 2001	25	39	34	1
<i>Hispanics</i>				
Nov 2009	42	36	20	2
Jun 2001	32	39	29	1

**QUESTION 51 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.52 Thinking about the neighborhood where you live, are all, most, some, or only a few people (IF SINGLE PUNCH RACE1=1 AND HISP3=2,9: white/ IF RACE1=2 AND HISP3=2,9: black /IF HISP3=1: Hispanic/IF SINGLE PUNCH RACE1=3 AND HISP3=2,9: Asian/ IF RACE1=4,9 OR MULTIPLE PUNCH ON RACE1 NOT INCLUDING THOSE WITH A PUNCH 2 ON RACE1 AND HISP3=2,9: white)?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
17	All	19	18	9
49	Most	57	34	30
20	Some	16	24	30
12	Only a few	6	22	30
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	2	1

**NO QUESTION 53**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.54 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>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>About the same</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref.</u>
All Adults	55	6	33	6
Whites	56	5	33	6
Blacks	53	10	33	5
Hispanics	55	5	36	4

**Trends:**

All Adults

Nov 2009	55	6	33	6
Sep 2007	54	8	32	6

Whites

Nov 2009	56	5	33	6
Sep 2007	56	6	32	6

Blacks

Nov 2009	53	10	33	5
Sep 2007	44	21	31	4
ABC/Washington Post 1986 <sup>23</sup>	57	23	14	6

Hispanics

Nov 2009	55	5	36	4
Sep 2007	54	11	30	5

**NO QUESTIONS 55 THROUGH 58**

<sup>23</sup> Includes Hispanic blacks.

**ASK ALL:**

Now thinking about Barack Obama...

Q.59 Has Barack Obama's election as president led to better race relations in the United States, worse race relations, or hasn't it made a difference?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
36	Better	32	54	42
13	Worse	15	7	6
43	Not made a difference	45	33	45
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8	6	7

**TREND FOR COMPARISON**

Will Barack Obama's election as president lead to better race relations in the United States, worse race relations, or don't you think it will make a difference?

<u>Nov 2008</u>		<u>Nov 2008</u>	<u>Nov 2008</u>
<u>Voters</u>		<u>White voters</u>	<u>Black voters</u>
52	Better	48	74
9	Worse	11	*
35	Not make a difference	37	25
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	1

**NO QUESTION 60**

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1406]:**

Q.61F1 How much would you say Barack Obama shares the values and interests of people like you? [READ]

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
33	A lot	31	60	26
32	Some	29	29	45
17	Not too much	19	5	19
13	Not at all	16	2	7
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6	4	2

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1478]:**

Q.62F2 How much would you say Barack Obama shares the values and interests of black people in this country? [READ]

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not too much</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref.</u>
All Adults	40	41	9	3	8
Whites	37	43	10	3	8
Blacks	61	31	3	2	2
Hispanics	38	39	11	3	9

**TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:**

All Adults					
Jun 2008 (RVs)	41	37	7	3	12
Sep 2007	29	32	8	4	27

**Q.62F2 CONTINUED...**

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not too much</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref.</u>
<i>Whites</i>					
Jun 2008 (RVs)	37	40	7	3	12
Sep 2007	27	33	7	4	29
<i>Blacks</i>					
Jun 2008 (RVs)	64	22	2	2	10
Sep 2007	42	33	6	3	16
<i>Hispanics</i>					
Sep 2007	29	31	7	6	27

**ASK ALL:**

Q.63 Do you mostly think of Obama as [READ; RANDOMIZE]?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
27	A black person [OR mostly as]	24	55	23
52	A person of mixed race	53	34	61
16	Both/Neither (VOL.)	18	8	8
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	3	8

**ASK ALL:**

Q.64 Thinking about opposition to Barack Obama's policies, do you think that his race is a major reason, a minor reason or not a reason people oppose Barack Obama's policies?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
23	Major reason	17	52	29
31	Minor reason	33	21	34
37	Not a reason	42	19	27
9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8	7	11

**NO QUESTIONS 65 THROUGH 67**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.68 And thinking about the news...do you regularly [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a THRU c FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZE ITEMS d THROUGH g], or not? Next, do you regularly [NEXT ITEM], or not?

a. Read a daily newspaper

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
47	Yes, regularly	50	47	34
52	No, not regularly	49	53	64
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	0	1

b. Watch the local television news about your area

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
74	Yes, regularly	74	80	73
26	No, not regularly	26	20	26
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	0	1

**Q.68 CONTINUED...**

c. Watch the national news on major network or cable channels

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
69	Yes, regularly	68	75	68
31	No, not regularly	31	25	31
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	*	1

**ASK ITEMS d THROUGH g ONLY IF RACE1=2 AND HISP3=2,9:  
ITEMS d THROUGH g BASED ON BLACKS [N=812]**

d. Listen to a black news or talk show on radio

<u>Blacks</u>	
62	Yes, regularly
37	No, not regularly
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

e. Read a black magazine, like Ebony, Essence, Black Enterprise, or Jet

<u>Blacks</u>	
60	Yes, regularly
40	No, not regularly
0	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

f. Read a black newspaper

<u>Blacks</u>	
28	Yes, regularly
71	No, not regularly
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

g. Read black-oriented websites and blogs

<u>Blacks</u>	
30	Yes, regularly
69	No, not regularly
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**QUESTIONS 69 AND 70 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.71 Please tell me which of the following, if any, apply to you. Do you... **[READ ITEMS IN ORDER]**?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref.</u>
<b>a. Consider yourself to be of mixed race</b>			
All adults	16	83	1
<i>Whites</i>	8	92	1
<i>Blacks</i>	20	80	1
<i>Hispanics</i>	37	59	5
<b>Trends:</b>			
All adults			
Nov 2009	16	83	1
Jan 2009 <sup>24</sup>	16	83	1
<i>Whites</i>			
Nov 2009	8	92	1
Jan 2009	7	92	1
<i>Blacks</i>			
Nov 2009	20	80	1
Jan 2009	21	76	3
<b>b. Have a child of mixed race</b>			
All adults	12	87	1
<i>Whites</i>	7	92	*
<i>Blacks</i>	15	85	*
<i>Hispanics</i>	22	75	3
<b>Trends:</b>			
All adults			
Nov 2009	12	87	1
Jan 2009	11	89	*
<i>Whites</i>			
Nov 2009	7	92	*
Jan 2009	5	95	*
<i>Blacks</i>			
Nov 2009	15	85	*
Jan 2009	9	91	0

<sup>24</sup> The Jan 2009 Figures are from a *Newsweek* survey, whites include Hispanic whites and blacks include Hispanic blacks.

**Q.71 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref.</u>
c. Personally know an adult or child of mixed race			
All adults	82	17	1
<i>Whites</i>	84	16	1
<i>Blacks</i>	85	14	*
<i>Hispanics</i>	70	27	3
<b>Trends:</b>			
All adults			
Nov 2009	82	17	1
Jan 2009	82	18	1
<i>Whites</i>			
Nov 2009	84	16	1
Jan 2009	80	20	*
<i>Blacks</i>			
Nov 2009	85	14	*
Jan 2009	84	14	2

**ASK ALL:**

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?

<u>All</u>		<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
25	Republican	31	4	15
32	Democrat	26	72	32
33	Independent	35	18	36
5	No preference (VOL.)	4	3	6
*	Other party (VOL.)	*	1	*
5	Don't Know/Refused (VOL.)	3	2	11
13	<i>Lean Republican</i>	15	4	12
13	<i>Lean Democrat</i>	12	12	17