

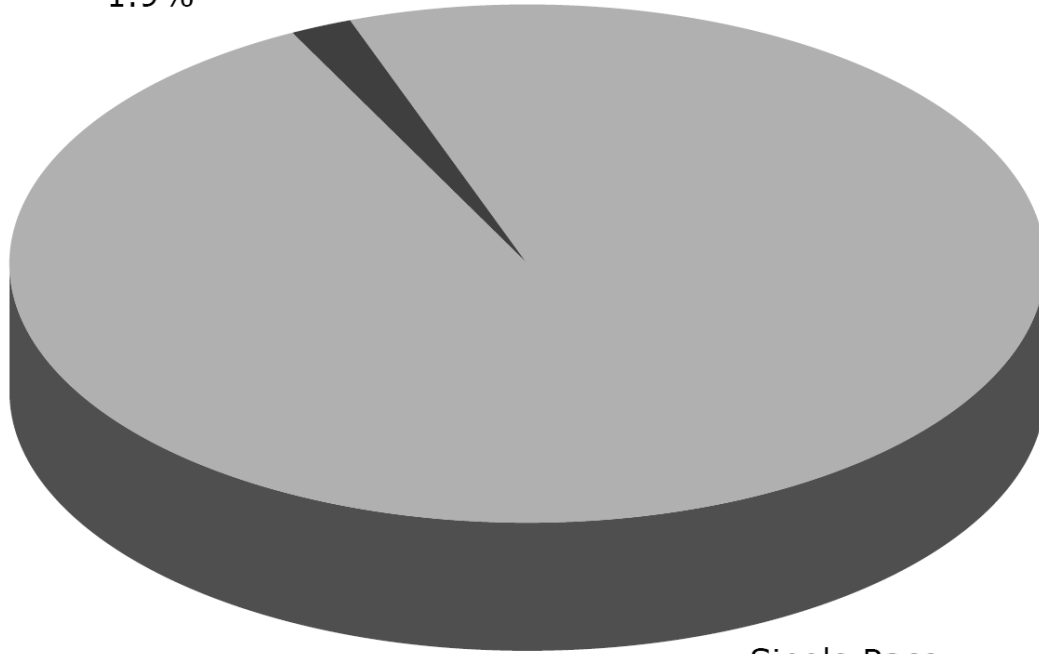
Assessing the Racial Divide: Inequalities, Identities, and Attitudes Reconfigured

Lawrence D. Bobo,
W. E. B. Du Bois Professor of the Social Sciences,
Harvard University

April 16, 2009

Non-Hispanic Single and Two or More Race Population U.S. Census 2000

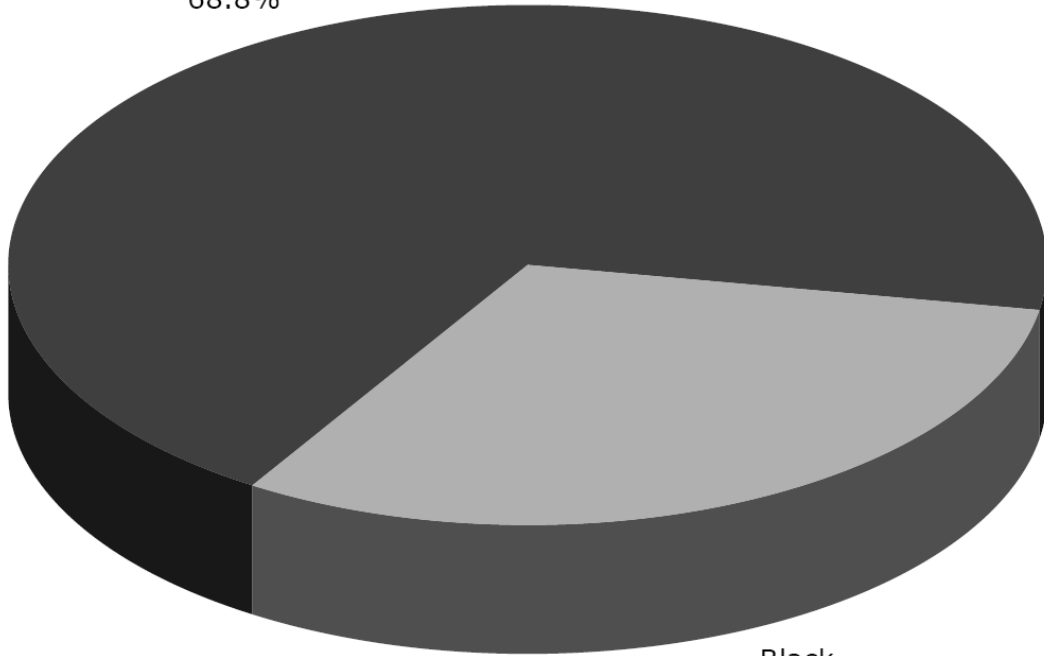
Two or More Races
1.9%



Single Race
98.1%

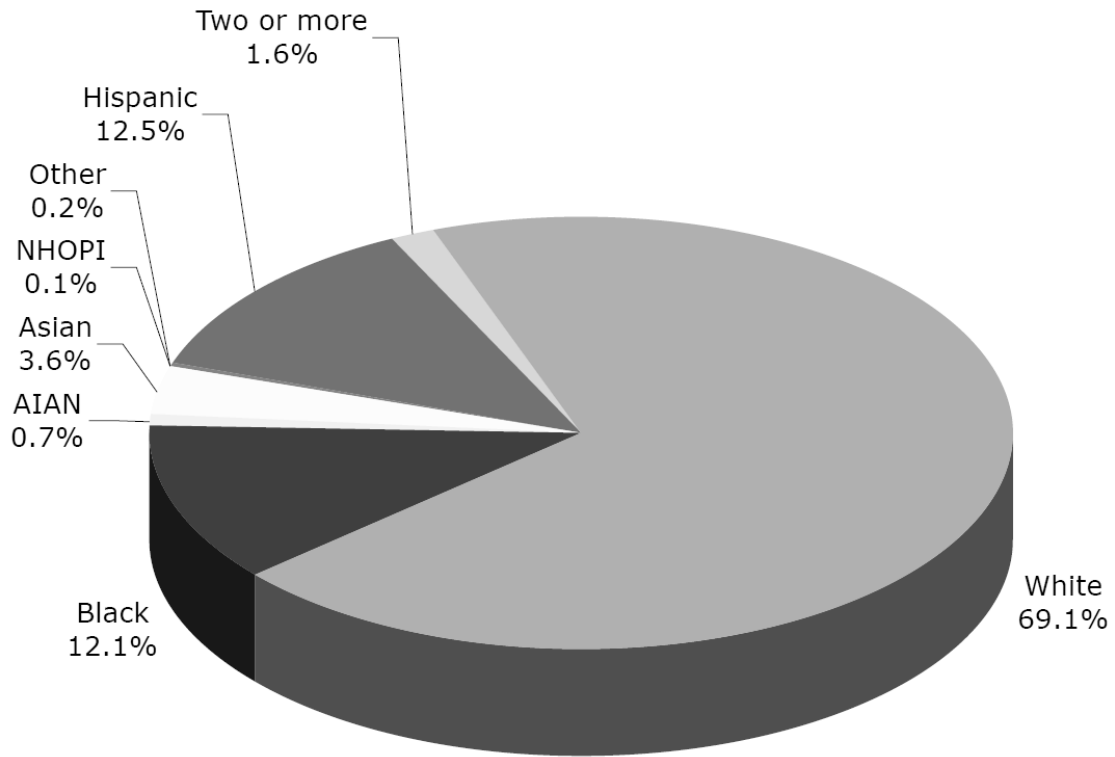
Percent of Two or More Race Population Choosing Black

Non-Black
68.8%

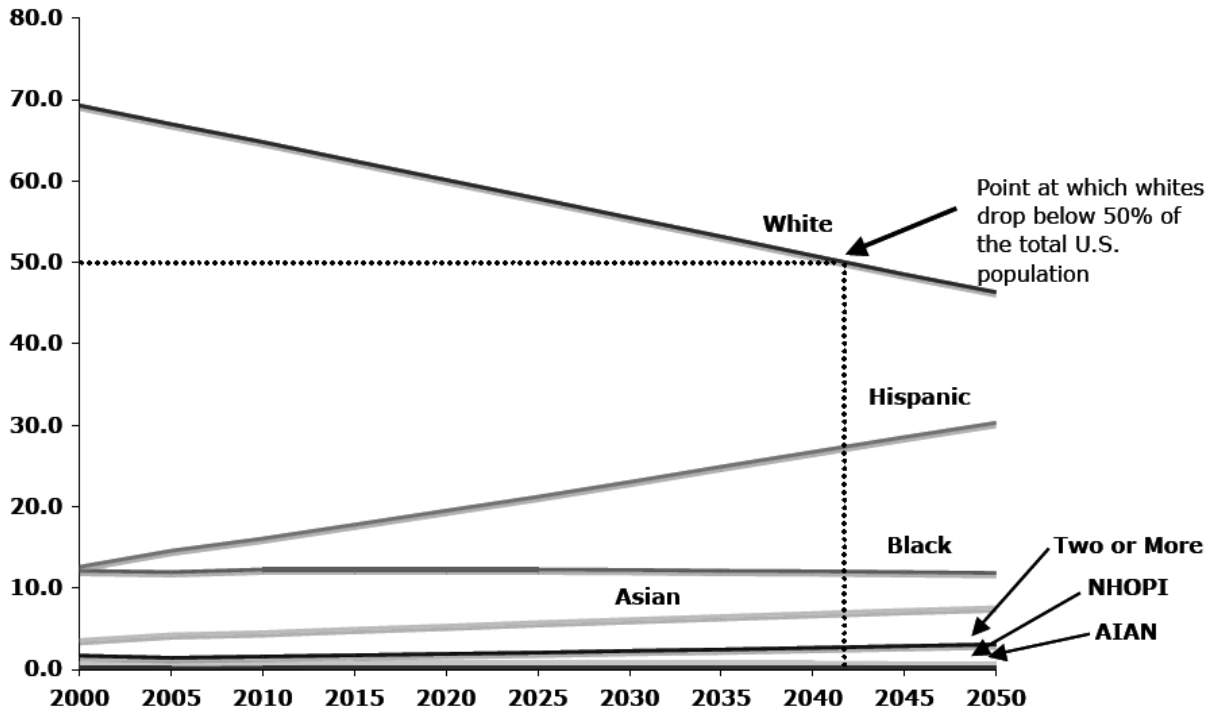


Black
31.2%

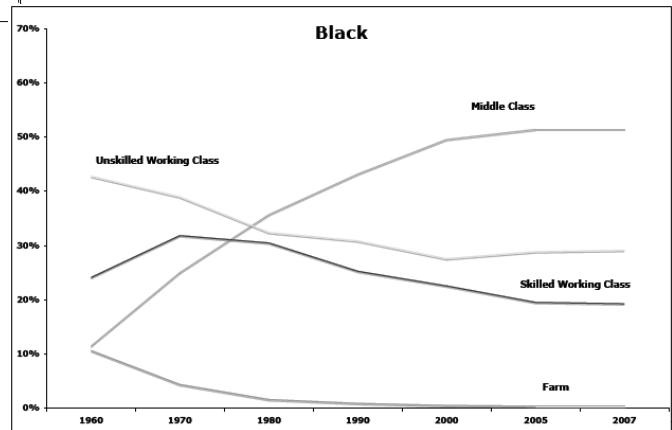
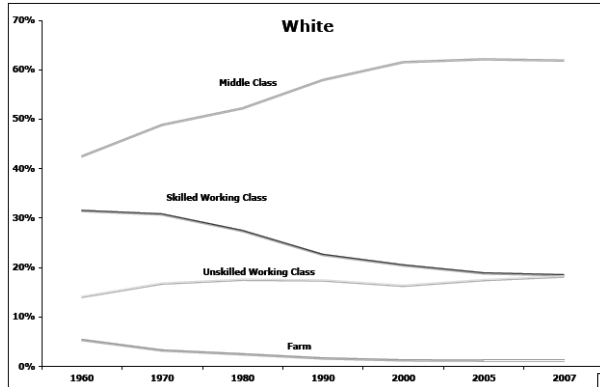
Distribution of U.S. Population by Race US Census 2000



Population Projections by Race and Ethnicity 2010-2050

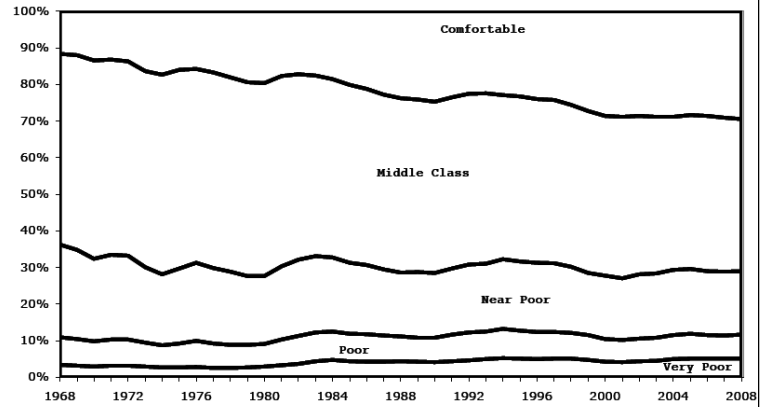


Changes in the Class Distribution by Race 1960-2007

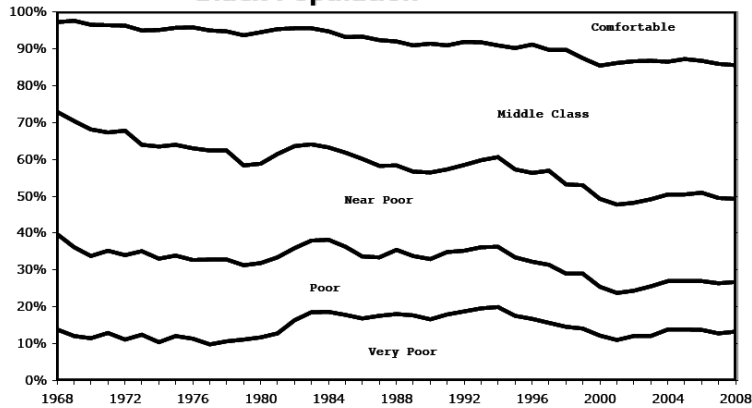


Economic Status of the Black and White Population 1968 to 2008

White Population



Black Population



Key National Indicators of Well-Being by Race

	Non-Hispanic White	Black	Black/White Ratio
Overall Unemployment Rate¹			
Male, 20 and older	6.8 %	14.1 %	2.1
Female, 20 and older	5.8 %	9.2 %	1.6
Teenage Unemployment, 16 to 19²	18.4 %	36.5 %	2.0
Persons Living Below Poverty³	9.2 %	25.3 %	2.8
Children Under 18 in Poverty³	10.8 %	35.3 %	3.3
Children in Single Parent Households³	23.0 %	65.0 %	2.8
Population in Jail or Prison⁴			
Male	0.5 %	3.2 %	6.5
Female	0.1 %	0.2 %	3.0
Population in Jail or Prison ages 18-24⁴			
Male	0.7 %	4.4 %	6.2
Female	0.1 %	0.2 %	2.4
Education, Age 25 and Over⁵			
Less than high School	10.6 %	19.9 %	1.9
High School Graduate or More	89.4 %	80.1 %	0.9
Some College or More	58.8 %	45.8 %	0.8
Bachelors Degree or higher	30.5 %	17.3 %	0.6
Advanced Degree	11.3 %	5.8 %	0.5
High School Dropout Rate, Ages 16 to 24⁶	5.8 %	10.7 %	1.8
High School Seniors Taking AP Exams⁶	24.3 %	13.5 %	0.6
NAEP Average Reading Score⁷	231	203	0.9
NAEP Average Math Score⁷	248	222	0.9
Home Ownership⁸	75.2 %	47.2 %	0.6
Median Net Financial Assets⁹	\$15,000	\$100	0.01
Life Expectancy at Birth¹⁰			
Male	76	70	0.92
Female	81	77	0.95

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NAEP Average Reading Score ⁶	237	209	0.9
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Original Racial Attitudes Questions: General Social Survey 1972-1973

Table 1 Whites' responses to the original racial attitude questions, General Social Survey 1972-1973^a

	National	Region		Education			Age		
		North	South	> 12	12	13+	18-33	34-50	51+
Racial Principles									
Whites first chance at jobs (RACJOB)	3%	3	5	7	2	0.3	1	4	5
Blacks should go to separate schools (RACSCHOL)	13	8	31	26	9	3	7	16	17
Not vote for black president (RACPRES)	25	18	48	36	22	15	16	24	35
Favor laws against intermarriage (RACMAR)	37	31	53	59	33	18	23	37	51
Right to segregate neighborhoods (RACSEG)	39	35	53	53	38	24	26	39	52
Home sellers can discriminate in sales (RACOPEN)	64	60	73	70	68	54	52	67	73
Social Distance Feelings									
Object to same SES black neighbor (RACOBJCT)	13	9	25	19	12	7	7	13	18
Object to school with few blacks (RACFEW)	7	4	16	12	5	3	4	6	11
Object to school with half blacks (RACHALF)	17	14	26	22	16	12	12	18	21
Object to school with mostly blacks (RACMOST)	41	41	45	38	43	44	40	45	40
Object to black dinner guest (RACDIN)	30	23	46	38	32	18	26	31	32
Government Policy on Race									
Opposes school busing (BUSING)	86	84	94	87	88	83	80	88	90
Too much spending on blacks (NATRACE)	26	22	34	33	26	19	20	28	30
Miscellaneous									
Blacks shouldn't push (RACPUSH)	74	71	83	81	75	58	61	76	84

^a N ranges between 960-2,583. Note that RACJOB and RACOBJCT were dropped after the 1972 survey.

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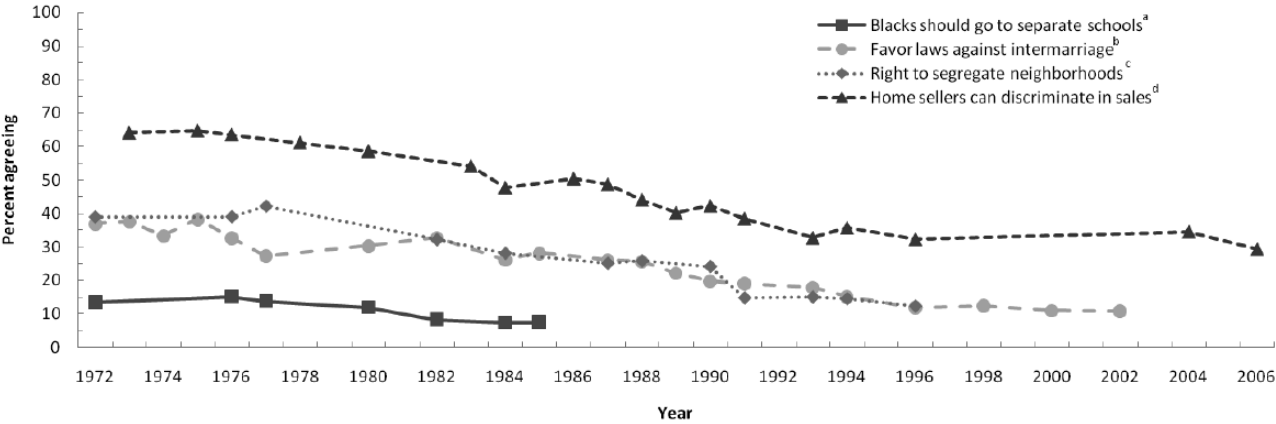
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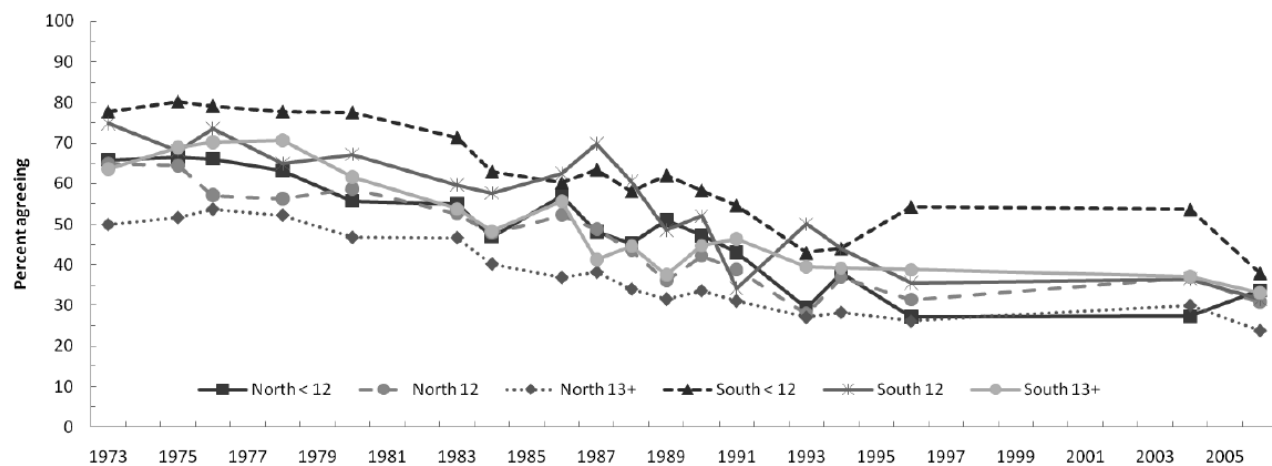
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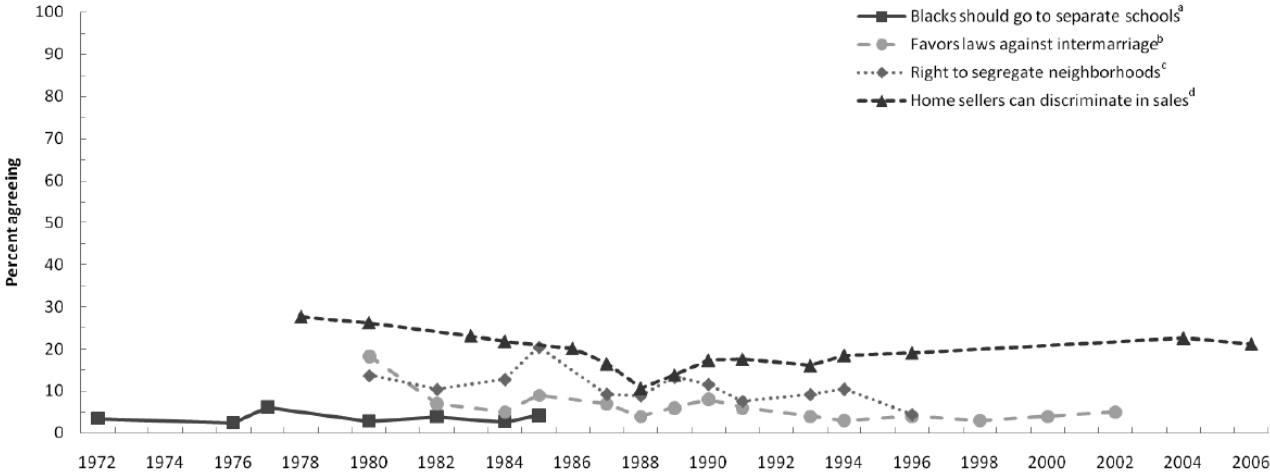
Whites' Attitudes toward Racial Principles



Whites' Belief that Home Sellers Can Discriminate in Sales by Education & Region



Blacks' Attitudes toward Racial Principles

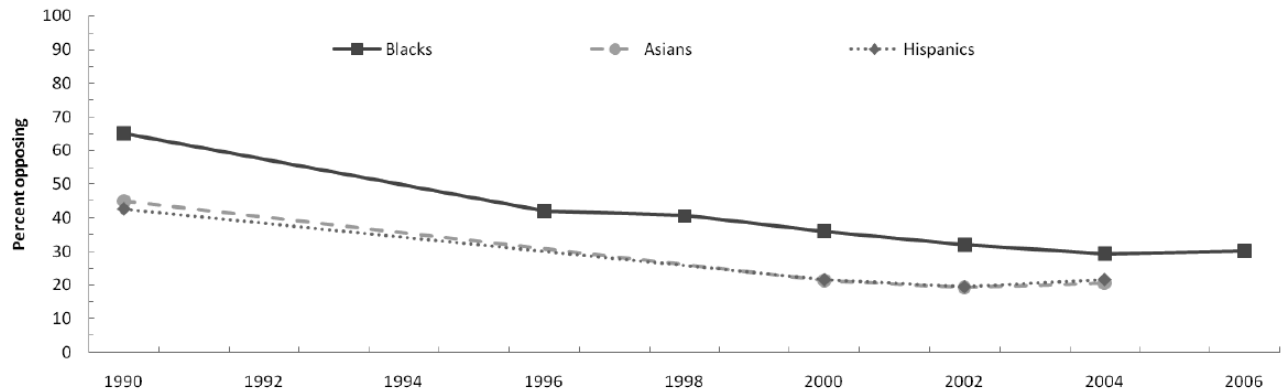


Multiethnic Neighborhood Showcard Experiment 2000 General Social Survey

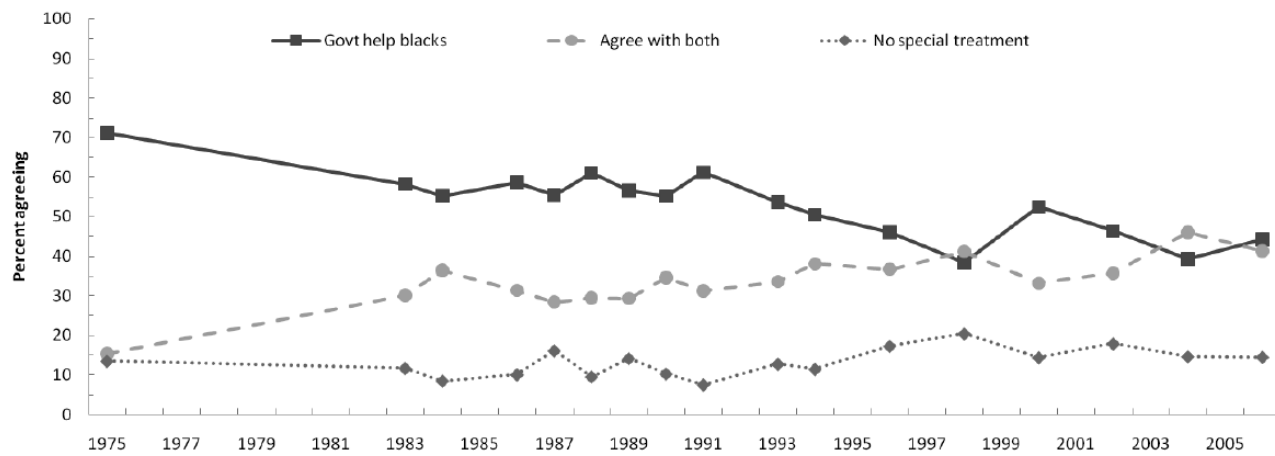
Target group race	Respondent race		
	White	Black	Hispanic
White			
Mean %	57%	30	32
No whites	0	9	1
All whites	20	0	0
Black			
Mean %	27	42	19
No blacks	25	1	18
All blacks	0	7	0
Hispanic			
Mean %	13	15	34
No Hispanics	32	38	3
All Hispanics	0	0	1
Asian			
Mean %	13	13	16
No Asians	33	32	19
All Asians	0	0	0
	(858)	(152)	(78)



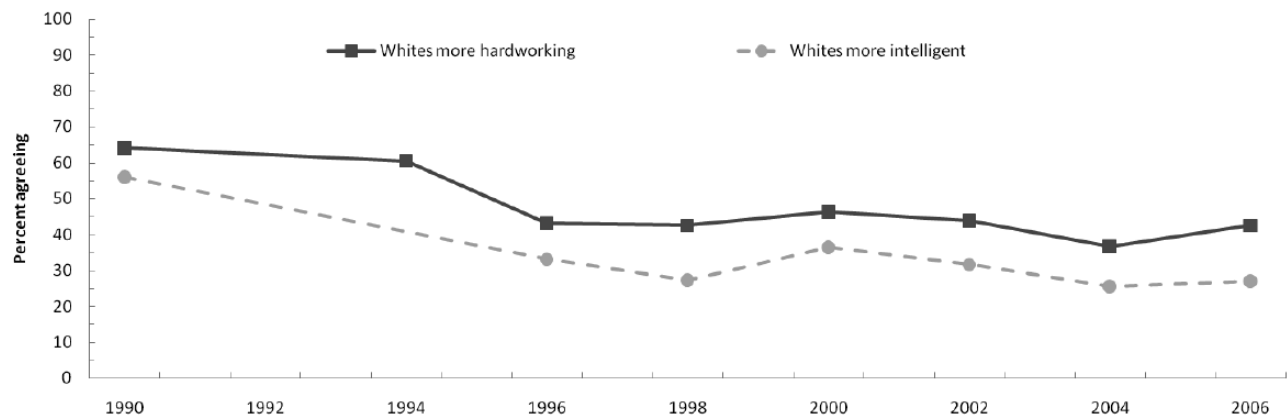
White Opposition to a Close Family Member Marrying a Member of Another Racial Group



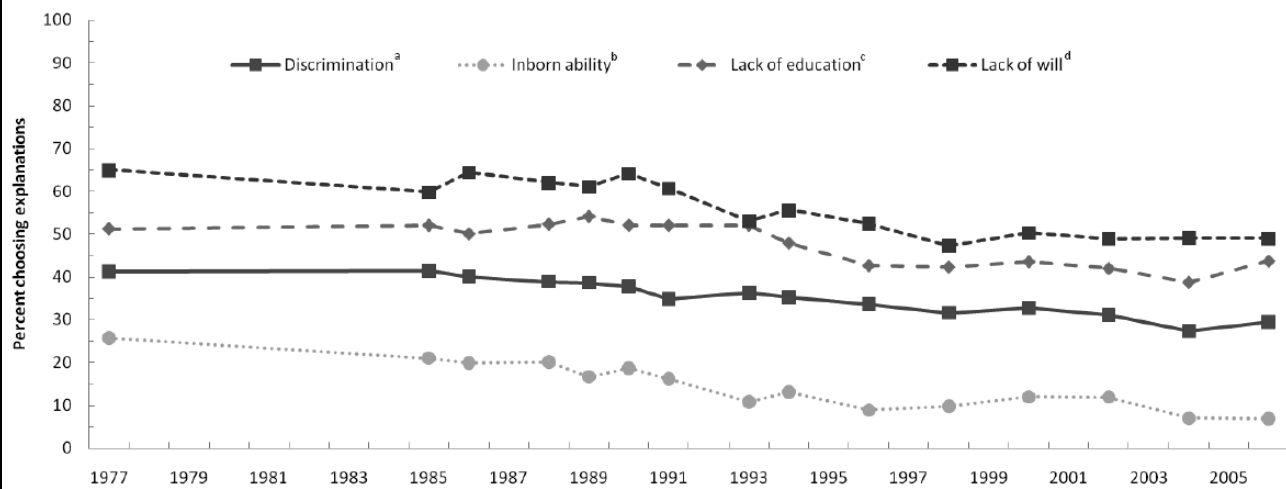
Blacks' Attitudes toward Government Aid for Blacks



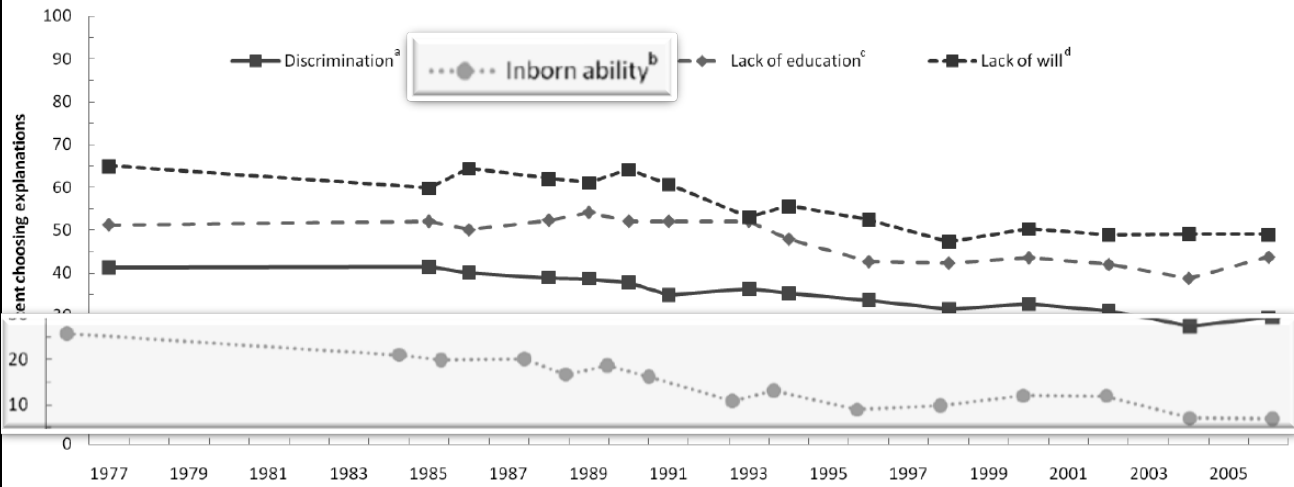
Whites' Trait Ratings of Whites' Industriousness and Intelligence in Comparison to Blacks



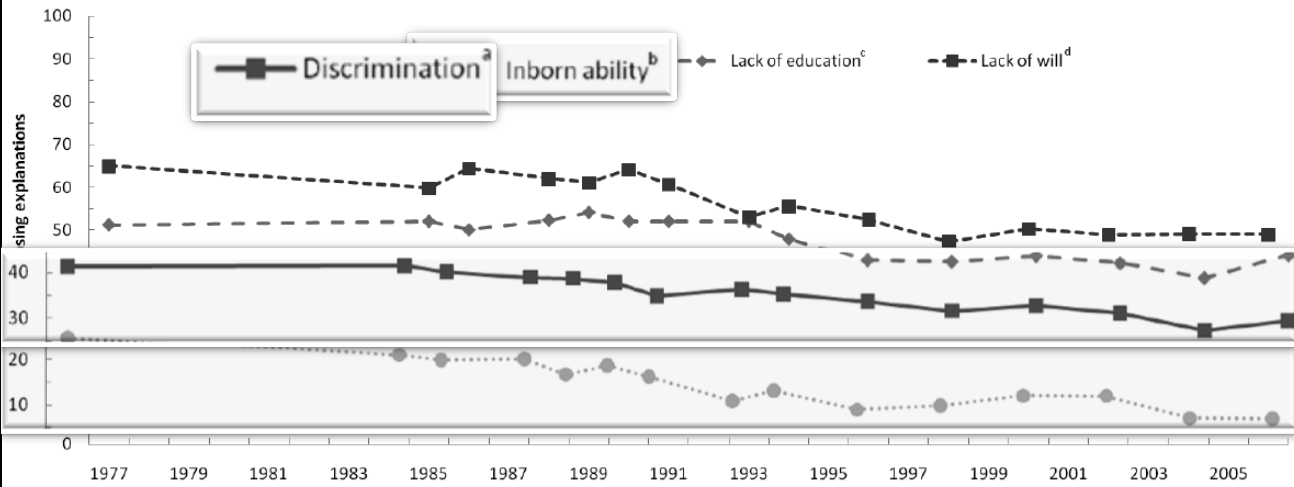
White Explanations for Racial Socioeconomic Inequality



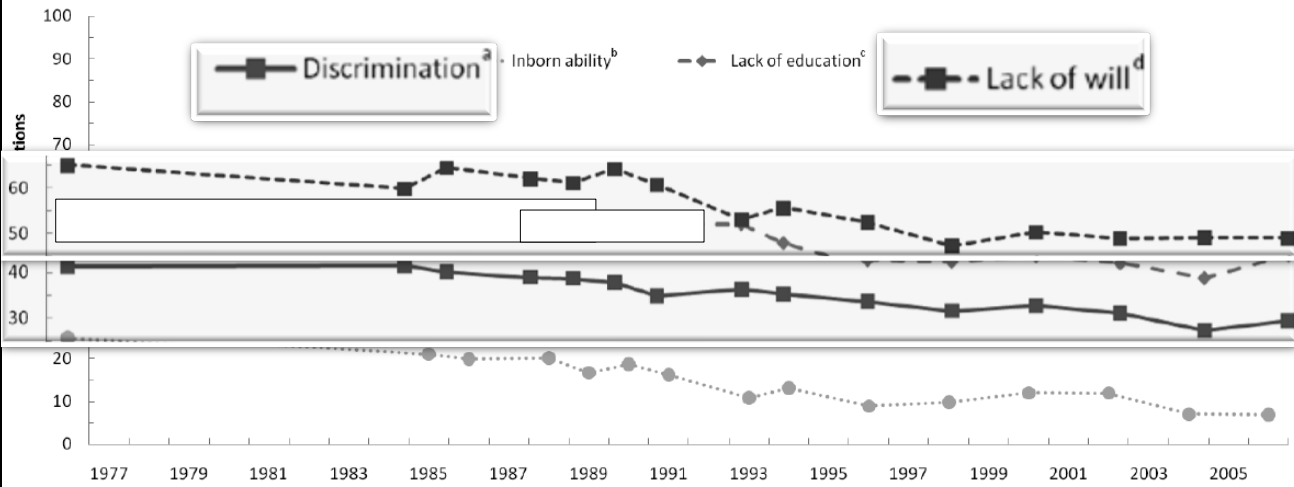
White Explanations for Racial Socioeconomic Inequality



White Explanations for Racial Socioeconomic Inequality



White Explanations for Racial Socioeconomic Inequality



Explanations for Racial Socioeconomic Inequality by Education and Age across Selected Years

		Whites							Blacks						
		Pooled	Years of Education			Years of Age			Pooled	Years of Education			Years of Age		
			< 12	12	13+	18-33	34-50	51+		< 12	12	13+	18-33	34-50	51+
Due to discrimination ^b	1977-1989	40%	40	38	43	46	39	36	77	82	72	76	75	79	79
	1990-1996	35	38	32	37	36	35	35	75	76	71	78	72	78	74
	1997-2006	31	29	28	32	31	29	33	60	63	56	61	52	61	68
Less in-born ability ^c	1977-1989	21	36	22	11	12	16	35	15	31	9	4	9	13	26
	1990-1996	13	27	17	6	8	9	23	11	17	14	6	9	8	17
	1997-2006	9	21	12	6	6	7	15	12	23	11	8	11	11	14
Lack of chance for education ^d	1977-1989	52	42	48	63	55	52	49	68	69	65	70	63	68	75
	1990-1996	49	38	42	56	47	50	48	61	62	62	59	57	57	71
	1997-2006	43	31	35	49	40	44	43	53	59	50	53	48	49	64
Lack of motivation or willpower ^e	1977-1989	63	74	67	51	54	62	72	35	44	34	26	30	33	44
	1990-1996	57	72	65	47	52	52	67	38	43	44	31	45	32	40
	1997-2006	49	64	57	42	44	45	57	42	51	42	37	47	40	39

Explanations for Racial Socioeconomic Inequality by Education and Age across Selected Years

		Whites							Pooled	Blacks					
		Pooled	Years of Education			Years of Age				Years of Education			Years of Age		
			< 12	12	13+	18-33	34-50	51+		12	12	13+	18-33	34-50	51+
Due to discrimination ^b	1977-1989	40%	40	38	43	46	39	36	77	2	72	76	75	79	79
	1990-1996	35	38	32	37	36	35	35	75	6	71	78	72	78	74
	1997-2006	31	29	28	32	31	29	33	60	3	56	61	52	61	68
Less in-born ability ^c	1977-1989	21	36	22	11	12	16	35	15	1	9	4	9	13	26
	1990-1996	13	27	17	6	8	9	23	11	7	14	6	9	8	17
	1997-2006	9	21	12	6	6	7	15	12	3	11	8	11	11	14
Lack of chance for education ^d	1977-1989	52	42	48	63	55	52	49	68	9	65	70	63	68	75
	1990-1996	49	38	42	56	47	50	48	61	2	62	59	57	57	71
	1997-2006	43	31	35	49	40	44	43	53	9	50	53	48	49	64
Lack of motivation or willpower ^e	1977-1989	63	74	67	51	54	62	72	35	4	34	26	30	33	44
	1990-1996	57	72	65	47	52	52	67	38	3	44	31	45	32	40
	1997-2006	49	64	57	42	44	45	57	42	1	42	37	47	40	39

Pooled

77
75
60
15
11
12
68
61
53
35
38
42

Explanations for Racial Socioeconomic Inequality by Education and Age across Selected Years

		Whites							Pooled	Blacks					
		Pooled	Years of Education			Years of Age				Years of Education			Years of Age		
			< 12	12	13+	18-33	34-50	51+		12	12	13+	18-33	34-50	51+
Due to discrimination ^b	1977-1989	40%	40	38	43	46	39	36	77	2	72	76	75	79	79
	1990-1996	35	38	32	37	36	35	35	75	6	71	78	72	78	74
	1997-2006	31	29	28	32	31	29	33	60	3	56	61	52	61	68
Less in-born ability ^c	1977-1989	21	36	22	11	12	16	35	15	1	9	4	9	13	26
	1990-1996	13	27	17	6	8	9	23	11	7	14	6	9	8	17
	1997-2006	9	21	12	6	6	7	15	12	3	11	8	11	11	14
Lack of chance for education ^d	1977-1989	52	42	48	63	55	52	49	68	9	65	70	63	68	75
	1990-1996	49	38	42	56	47	50	48	61	2	62	59	57	57	71
	1997-2006	43	31	35	49	40	44	43	61	9	50	53	48	49	64
Lack of motivation or willpower ^e	1977-1989	63	74	67	51	54	62	72	44						44
	1990-1996	57	72	65	47	52	52	67	43						40
	1997-2006	49	64	57	42	44	45	57	51						39

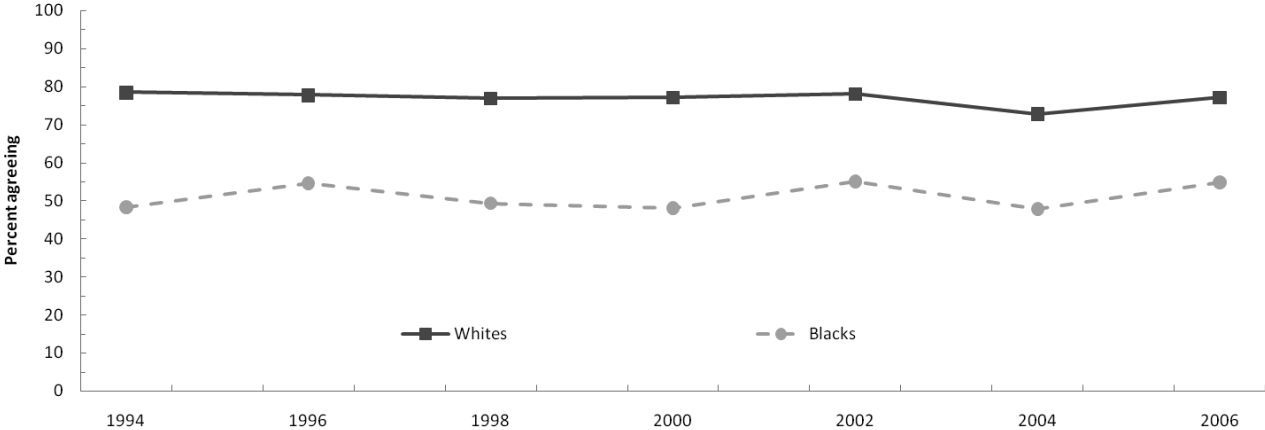
44	34	26
43	44	31
51	42	37

42

Explanations for Racial Socioeconomic Inequality by Education and Age across Selected Years

		Whites							Blacks						
		Pooled	Years of Education			Years of Age			Pooled	Years of Education			Years of Age		
			< 12	12	13+	18-33	34-50	51+		< 12	12	13+	18-33	34-50	51+
Due to discrimination ^b	1977-1989	40%	40	38	43	46	39	36	77	82	72	75	79	79	
	1990-1996	35	38	32	37	36	35	35	75	76	71	72	78	74	
	1997-2006	31	29	28	32	31	29	33	60	63	56	52	61	68	
Less in-born ability ^c	1977-1989	21	36	22	11	12	16	35	15	31	9	4	9	13	26
	1990-1996	13	27	17	6	8	9	23	11	17	14	6	9	8	17
	1997-2006	9	21	12	6	6	7	15	12	23	11	8	11	11	14
Lack of chance for education ^d	1977-1989	52	42	48	63	55	52	49	68	69	65	70	63	68	75
	1990-1996	49	38	42	56	47	50	48	61	62	62	59	57	57	71
	1997-2006	43	31	35	49	40	44	43	53	59	50	53	48	49	64
Lack of motivation or willpower ^e	1977-1989	63	74	67	51	54	62	72	44	34	26				44
	1990-1996	57	72	65	47	52	52	67	43	44	31				40
	1997-2006	49	64	57	42	44	45	57	51	42	37				39

Belief that Blacks Should Overcome Prejudice without Special Favors



Pre-election Vote Intention by Demographic Characteristics

	Gallup Poll ¹ (3,050)		Pew Research Center ² (2,587)		NBC/Wall Street Journal ³ (1,159)		Democracy Corps ⁴ (1,000)	
	Obama %	McCain %	Obama	McCain	Obama	McCain	Obama	McCain
Total electorate	52	41	49	42	51	43	51	44
Men	48	44	46	45	48	45	48	49
Women	55	55	51	40	54	40	55	40
White	43	50	42	49	44	50	45	52
Black	92	3	89	5	88	3	83	9
Hispanic	74	20	62	31	67	27	71	28
White men	40	53	39	52			42	56
White women	46	47	44	47			48	48
East	57	36	53	38	65	27	55	39
Midwest	52	39	50	41	52	43	51	45
South	47	46	45	47	39	52	48	49
West	53	41	50	40	51	45	56	40
Eastern Whites			48	44				
Midwestern Whites			44	46				
Southern Whites			34	59			34	63
Western Whites			47	43				

Pre-election Vote Intention by Demographic Characteristics

	Gallup Poll ¹ (3,050)		Pew Research Center ² (2,587)		NBC/Wall Street Journal ³ (1,159)		Democracy Corps ⁴ (1,000)	
	Obama %	McCain %	Obama	McCain	Obama	McCain	Obama	McCain
Total electorate	52	41	49	42	51	43	51	44
Men	48	44	46	45	48	45	48	49
Women	55	38	51	40	54	40	55	40
White	43	50	42	49	44	50	45	52
Black	52	37	69	27	68	31	63	36
Hispanic	74	20	62	31	67	27	71	28
White men	40	53	39	52			42	56
White women	46	47	44	47			48	48
East	57	36	53	38	65	27	55	39
Midwest	52	39	50	41	52	43	51	45
South	47	46	45	47	39	52	48	49
West	53	41	50	40	51	45	56	40
Eastern Whites			48	44				
Midwestern Whites			44	46				
Southern Whites			34	59			34	63
Western Whites			47	43				

Pre-election Vote Intention by Demographic Characteristics

	Gallup Poll ¹ (3,050)		Pew Research Center ² (2,587)		NBC/Wall Street Journal ³ (1,159)		Democracy Corps ⁴ (1,000)	
	Obama %	McCain %	Obama	McCain	Obama	McCain	Obama	McCain
Total electorate	52	41	49	42	51	43	51	44
Men	48	44	46	45	48	45	48	49
Women	55	37	51	40	54	40	55	40
White	42	58	42	58	44	56	45	55
Black	92	3	89	5	88	3	83	9
Hispanic	74	20	62	31	67	27	71	28
White men	40	59	39	62	42	58	42	58
White women	46	47	44	47	48	52	48	48
East	57	36	53	38	65	27	55	39
Midwest	52	39	50	41	52	43	51	45
South	47	46	45	47	39	52	48	49
West	53	41	50	40	51	45	56	40
Eastern Whites			48	44				
Midwestern Whites			44	46				
Southern Whites			34	59			34	63
Western Whites			47	43				

Conclusions

1. Fundamental racial group boundaries and identities remain alive and well in the United States.
 - These boundaries are under pressure from population trends that include immigration and high rates of intermarriage and mixed background off-spring
 - The great Black versus White divide may transform into a Black versus Non-Black divide with considerable latitude of mobility for groups defined as in between or “Honorary White”

Conclusions, cont.

2. Despite considerable growth in the size and resources of the Black middle class there remain substantial economic disadvantages that separate even relatively high achieving Blacks from what might otherwise seem White peers.
 - Black exposure to poverty remains much more likely, more intense, and of longer duration
 - Blacks remain residentially segregated from Whites
 - Blacks of otherwise middle class educational attainment, occupational status and even high income remain far behind comparable Whites in wealth and capacity to secure a particular standard of living

Conclusions, cont.

3. Jim Crow Racist ideology continues to recede as a political and cultural force. Laissez Faire Racism, a qualitatively different, lesser, and more permeable form of anti-Black ideology has risen in its place.
 - Negative stereotyping of Blacks remains common though there appear to be key changes in the character of these stereotypes (i.e., more cultural than biological, more qualified than categorical)
 - Opposition to an idea of government obligation to ameliorate specific Black disadvantage has arguably never been high and shows no sign of changing
 - Blacks are seen as responsible for their own disadvantaged circumstances with structural sources seen as of declining importance to explaining Black-White inequality, even among Blacks themselves