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# One Community Initiative: Racial Attitudes Study

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# One Community Initiative

RACIAL ATTITUDES STUDY

CONDUCTED BY THE UNO SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER

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December 10, 2008

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# Methodology

- The results presented herein are based on a telephone survey of 525 adults residing in the Metropolitan New Orleans and Terrebonne/Lafourche areas (see Respondent Profile for a distribution of respondents by parish).
  - A random digit dialing (RDD) sample was used in order to reach persons with unlisted phone numbers.
  - In order to ensure the inclusion of a sufficient number of Hispanic and Asian respondents in the sample, a targeted sample list was used to identify a small number of respondents.
  - The survey sample reflects the distribution of African-Americans as opposed to Whites and other races in the included parishes as indicated in the most recent data available from the U.S. Census Bureau. In most instances, this data was collected in 2006, i.e. post-Katrina.
  - For reporting purposes, the sample has been weighted slightly to reflect the gender distribution in the parishes.
- Interviewing took place during the first week of October, 2008.

# Overview: The Good, The Bad and the Ugly

*This study, which was commissioned by One Community Initiative (OCI), is meant to function as a baseline “snapshot” of race relations in the Metropolitan New Orleans area prior to the beginning of OCI’s work in the community. The strategy that has been pursued is based on the fact that racism (used synonymously for these purposes with ethnocentrism) is a syndrome of related beliefs and attitudes that are expressed across a number of dimensions – affective orientations, stereotypes, attitudes which are readily recognized as “racist” in their nature, and more subtle attitudes which express themselves in a more symbolic manner. Though many established mechanisms for obtaining honest responses were employed in the survey, it should be noted that the sensitivity of racial attitude questions often leads to some response bias in the “non-racist” direction. Accordingly, the results presented herein should be considered a conservative estimate of the existing distribution of negative racial attitudes in the community.*

## **THE GOOD**

- Perhaps the best news coming out of the study is that negative beliefs and attitudes concerning groups other than one’s own are not, at present, as widespread and pervasive as they once likely were.
  - For example, we see little evidence of a tendency for African-Americans and Whites actively to “dislike” each other or to see perceived shortcomings as being inherent or inborn.
  - To the extent that “traditionally racist” attitudes are expressed, we find them largely localized among the poorly educated and otherwise low socioeconomic segments.
- While evidence of stereotypical thinking does exist, positive stereotypes appear much more common than negative stereotypes.

# Overview: The Good, The Bad and the Ugly

– Positive stereotyping still suggests deviation from the goal of a “color blind society,” nevertheless, it also suggests an effort to at least view non-member groups in a positive light.

- It should be noted that several instances emerge in which groups tend to maintain stereotypical views of their own group, indicating that such views are not entirely other directed.

- In general, it appears that Asians and Hispanics are less likely than Whites or African-Americans to hold negative beliefs and attitudes toward other groups.

  - White non-Hispanics appear most likely to express these negative attitudes.

  - The above conclusions are based on a broad overview of the data, and many exceptions can be found throughout.

## THE BAD

- Though the problem may not be as pervasive as it may have been, race relations are still considered a problem by a majority of respondents.

  - On the positive side, respondents from all groups indicate that the problem is no worse here than elsewhere, and significant percentages consider the problem better here than elsewhere.

- Ample evidence concerning the persistence of race-based discrimination is also found, particularly as directed toward African-Americans and Hispanics.

# Overview: The Good, The Bad and the Ugly

- Substantial evidence suggests that more subtle, “symbolic” forms of expression of racial animosities have largely replaced more overt forms of expression.

- While these symbolic attitudes could logically stem from non-race related factors, the evidence suggests that this is largely not the case and that negative racial attitudes across a variety of dimensions are primarily responsible for the adoption of the symbolic attitudes.

## THE UGLY

- While we might take some comfort in the limited expression of more insidious racial animosities in their traditional form, such animosities are still found in large enough percentages to be of some concern.

- This is especially true concerning the question of inter-marriage, however 10% or more of respondent non-group members are willing to label Blacks as coming from a “less able race” and Hispanics as “less intelligent than others.”

- Assuming that these views are to some extent underrepresented in an opinion survey, there still must exist concern about the prevalence of racism, and efforts to overcome such problems are certainly needed.

# Executive Summary

## Race Relations

- Though the state of race relations in the local community is considered a problem by a majority of respondents, it takes a clear backseat to what are perceived more pressing problems such as crime, the economy, education and political corruption.
  - Hispanics and Asians are somewhat less likely than African-Americans and Whites to see a problem with community race relations, and St. Tammany residents stand out by their lack of concern with race relations.
- Even though Asians and Hispanics are less likely than others to see a problem with race relations, they are also less likely to characterize community relations between African-Americans and Whites as “excellent” or “good.”
  - African-Americans and Whites, as the involved parties, may, to some extent, see the question as involving how each group “feels” about the other, and may respond more positively as a matter of “political correctness.”
    - As “outsiders,” the Asian/Hispanic perspective on the matter may be more objective.
- There is some tendency for African-Americans and Whites to blame each other for the racial tensions that exist today.



# Executive Summary

## Discrimination

- All groups appear to agree that discrimination against minorities exists at least to some extent in the United States today.
  - Agreement is greatest that African-Americans are discriminated against, and African-Americans are most likely to perceive a “great deal” of discrimination against all of the minority groups studied.
- Evidence is presented to suggest that African-Americans receive worse treatment from police than others, and there seems to be at least some recognition of this among all groups.

## Affective Orientations

- Clear divisions appear in the extent to which respondents “like” groups of other racial or ethnic origins.
  - African-Americans, for example, “like” their own group, rating other groups, especially Asians, significantly lower. Whites also “like” themselves significantly better than others.
  - Hispanics and Asians both rate themselves and Whites about equally but give relatively low ratings to the other non-member groups.
- All of the above findings suggest significant racial/ethnicity-based attitudinal cleavage in the community.

# Executive Summary

## Stereotypes

- Overall, respondents appear more willing to express positive than negative stereotypical beliefs toward other racial/ethnic groups.
  - Beneath this, though, is a clear tendency for respondents to rate African-Americans and Hispanics as more “aggressive or violent” than Asians or Whites.
  - African-Americans and Hispanics are also somewhat more likely to be deemed “irresponsible.”
  - Interestingly, African-Americans and Hispanics are at least as likely as others to hold these negative stereotypes about themselves.

## Traditional Racism

- In general, most respondents are unwilling to brand other racial or ethnic groups as in some way “inferior” based on their race or ethnicity.
  - However, significant percentages are willing to express objection to their children intermarrying with another racial or ethnic group.
  - Objection to intermarriage with a White person appears slightly less objectionable than intermarriage to a non-member minority group.

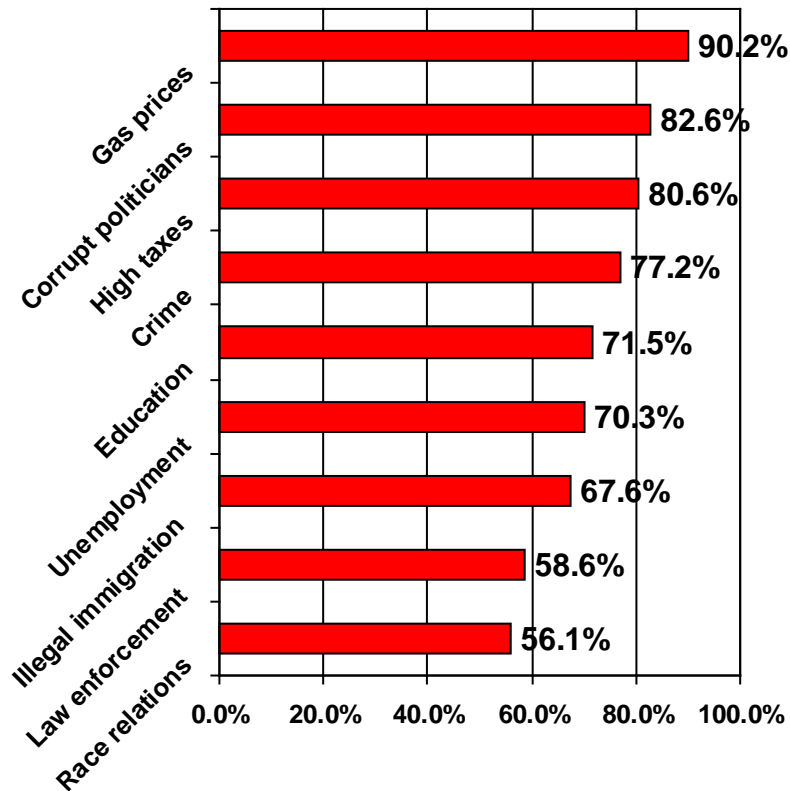
# Executive Summary

## Symbolic Racism

- Negative racial/ethnic belief attitudes of a “symbolic” nature are more readily expressed than traditional racist beliefs and attitudes, and results suggest that such attitudes are fairly widespread.
  - With regard to African-Americans, other groups tend to see any failures to advance as being self-created, rather than the result of past discrimination or prejudice.
  - Symbolic racism with regard to Hispanics and Asians is expressed as a belief that these groups should assimilate with the mainstream American culture.
- Analysis suggests that these beliefs and attitudes are, in fact, largely racially motivated and not the product of non-racially oriented beliefs or values.

# Race Relations

# The Problem of Race Relations



% "Great Deal/Somewhat"

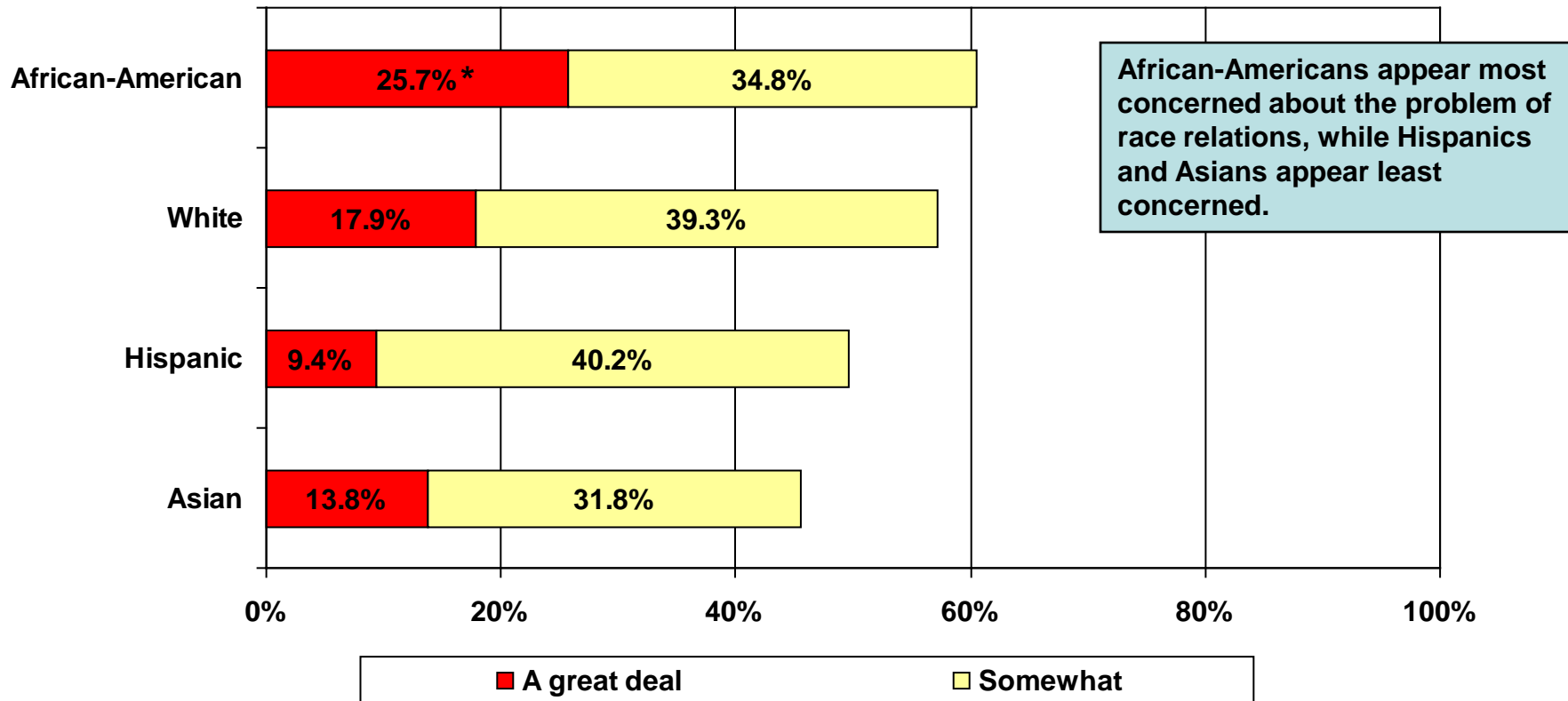
*I'm going to start by reading you a list of items that some people say are important problems in their community. For each item that I read, please tell me whether you consider it to be a problem a great deal, somewhat, a little or not at all. The first is . . .*

- Though a majority of area residents consider race relations to be at least “somewhat” of a problem in their community, it clearly takes a back seat to the other problems tested.
  - The prominent place occupied by gas prices is likely to fluctuate with the prices themselves.
  - Other problems, such as crime, education and political corruption, frequently and consistently emerge as major problems in local “quality of life” studies.

Note: The percentage rating race relations as a “great deal” or “somewhat” of a problem is significantly lower (90% confidence level) than the rating percentages of all other problems except for law enforcement.

# The Problem of Race Relations

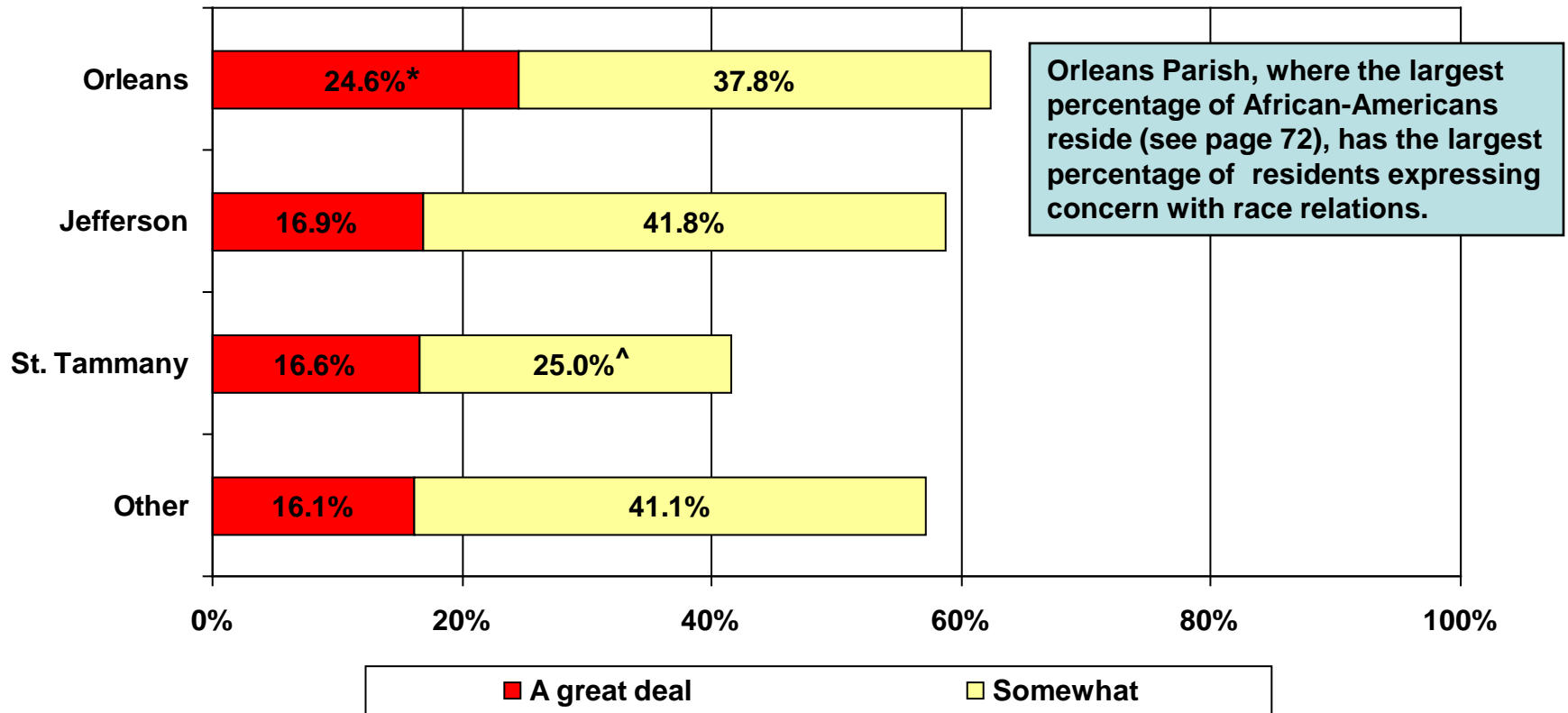
How much of a problem are race relations?



\* The percentage of African-Americans rating race relations a "great deal" of a problem is significantly higher than other groups at the 90% confidence level.

# The Problem of Race Relations

How much of a problem are race relations?

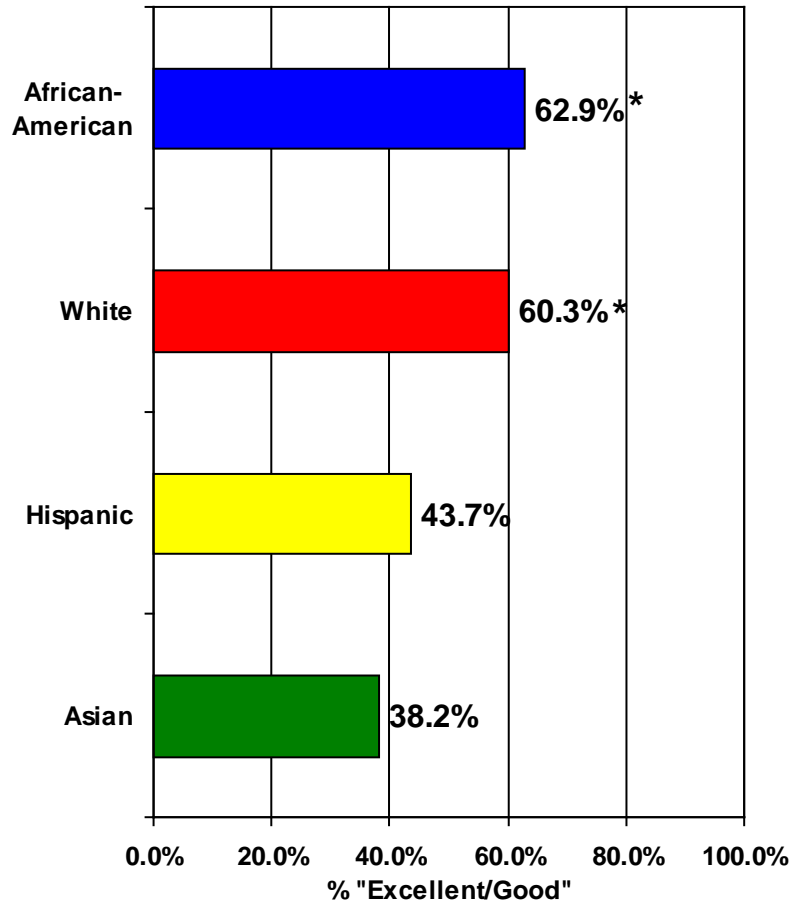


Orleans Parish, where the largest percentage of African-Americans reside (see page 72), has the largest percentage of residents expressing concern with race relations.

\*The percentage is significantly higher than that in "Other" parishes at the 90% confidence level.  
 ^The percentage is significantly lower than that is all other parishes at the 90% confidence level.

# The Quality of Race Relations

*Thinking again about your own community, how well would you say that African-Americans and White people get along?*



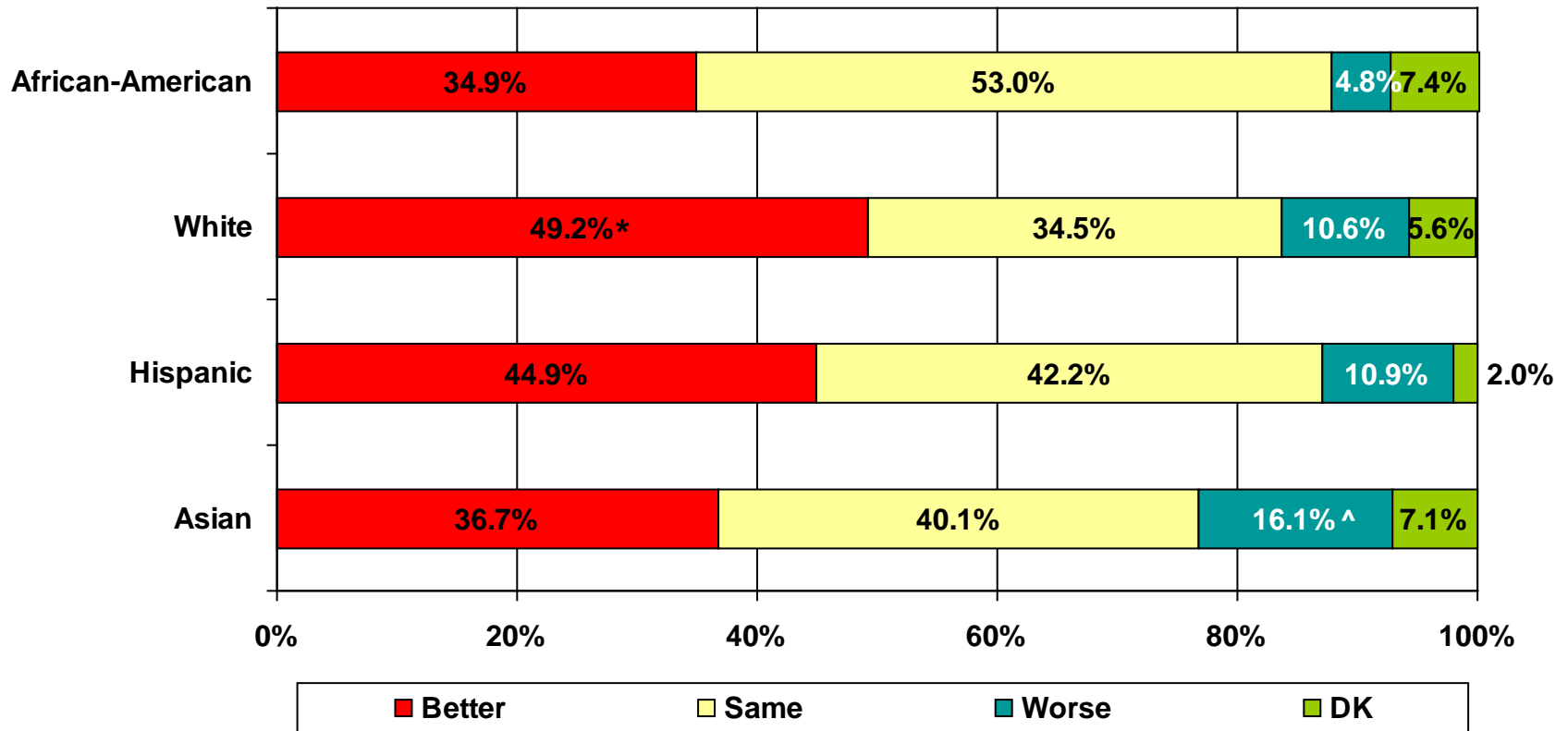
- It is interesting that both African-Americans and Whites appear more positive about their relationship than do Hispanics or Asians, the “outside observers.”
  - Just a little over one-third of Asians rate African-American/White relations as “excellent” or “good.”
- Additional analysis (not presented) discloses that St. Tammany residents tend to be more positive about race relations (65% “excellent/good”) than residents of other parishes.

\*Percentages are significantly higher than Hispanic and Asian percentages at the 90% confidence level.



# The Quality of Race Relations

How do local race relations compare to other areas?

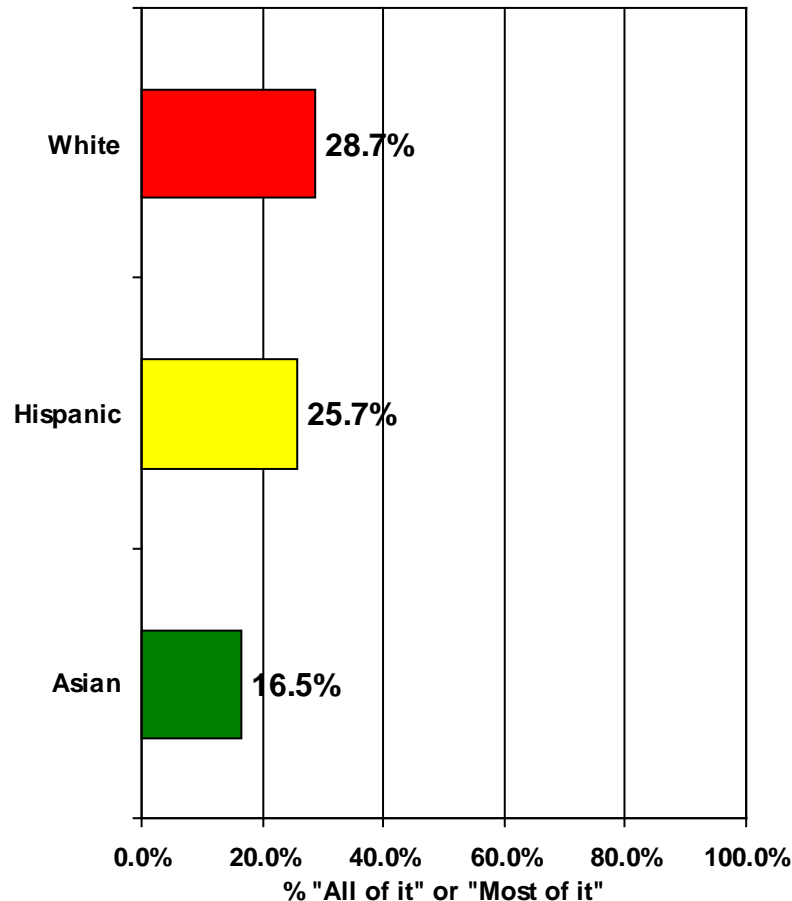


White respondents are most likely to believe that Black-White relations are better in their community than elsewhere, and Asian respondents are most likely to believe they are worse.

\*Percentage is significantly higher than African-American and Asian percentages at the 90% confidence level.  
 ^Percentage is significantly higher than other groups at the 90% confidence level.

# The Blame for Racial Tensions

White, Hispanic and Asian Respondents Only

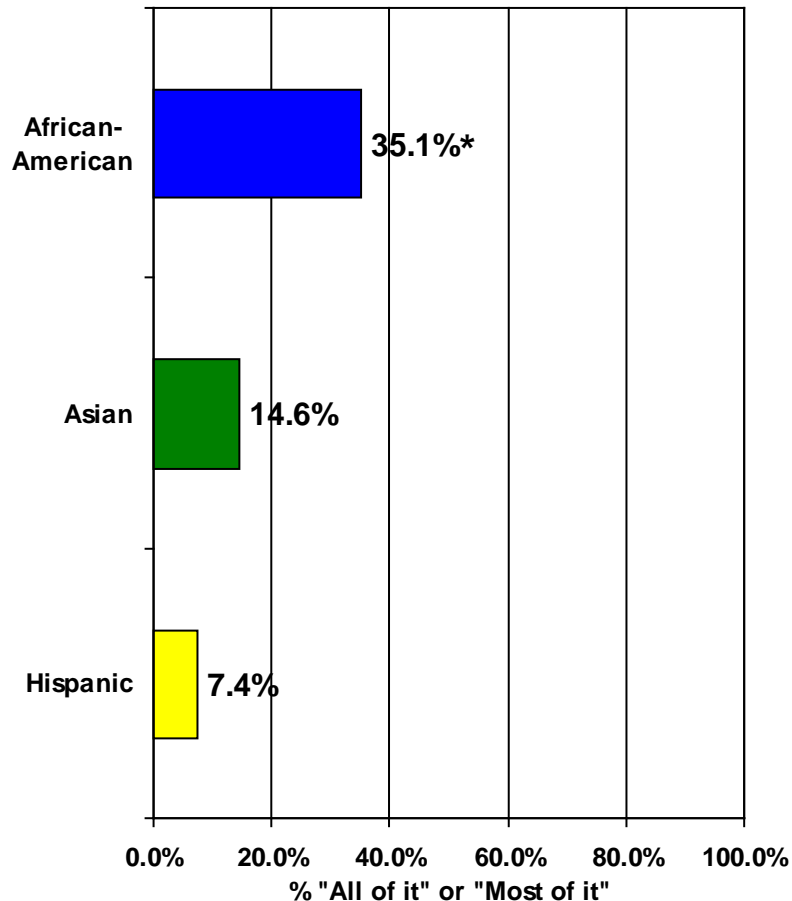


*How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think Blacks are responsible for creating?*

- Over one-fourth of White respondents feel that most or all of the responsibility for creating racial tensions in the United States lies with African-Americans.
  - Asian respondents, who appeared least positive about the quality of Black-White relations in their neighborhood (see p. 16), were also least likely to assign blame for racial tensions to African-Americans.
- Overall, about 8% of respondents indicated that African-Americans were “not much” to blame for racial tensions (see cross tabs).

# The Blame for Racial Tensions

African-Americans, Hispanic and Asian Respondents Only



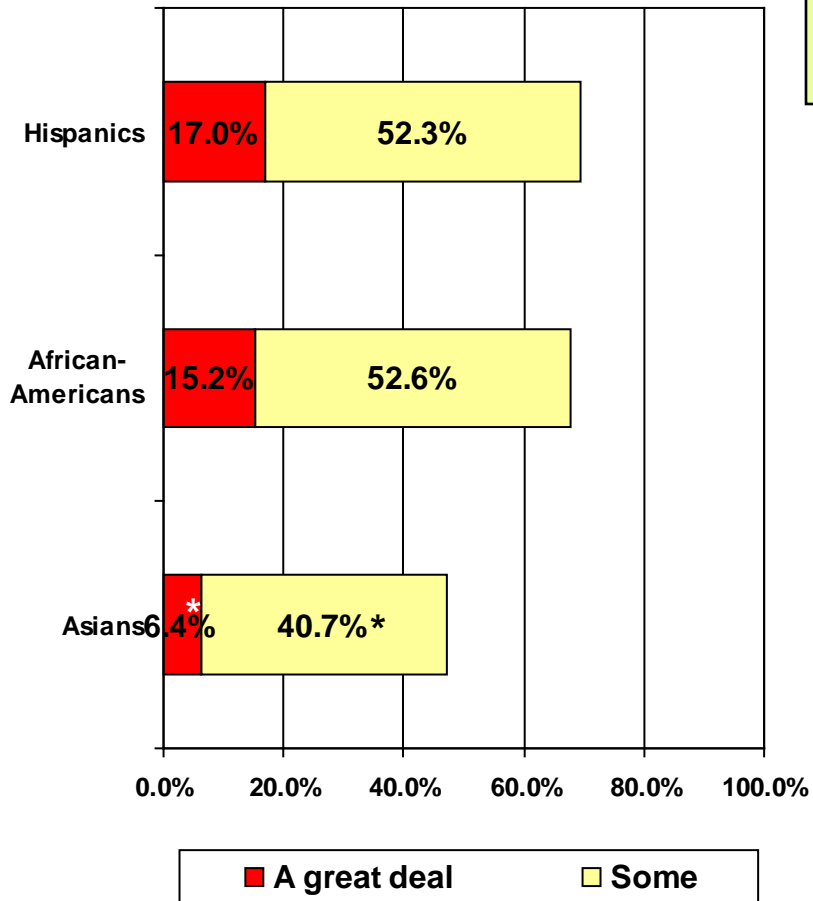
*How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think Whites are responsible for creating?*

- African-Americans are even more likely to blame Whites for racial tensions than Whites are to blame African-Americans.
  - Taken together, the amount of “finger pointing” that exists between Blacks and Whites suggests that race relations are still in need of substantial improvement.
- Hispanic respondents, who are, of course, racially “White,” are less likely to assign blame to Whites than African-Americans for racial tensions, while Asians are about equally likely to blame both groups.

\*Percentage is significantly higher than the other groups at the 90% confidence level.

# Discrimination

# Discrimination Against Minorities

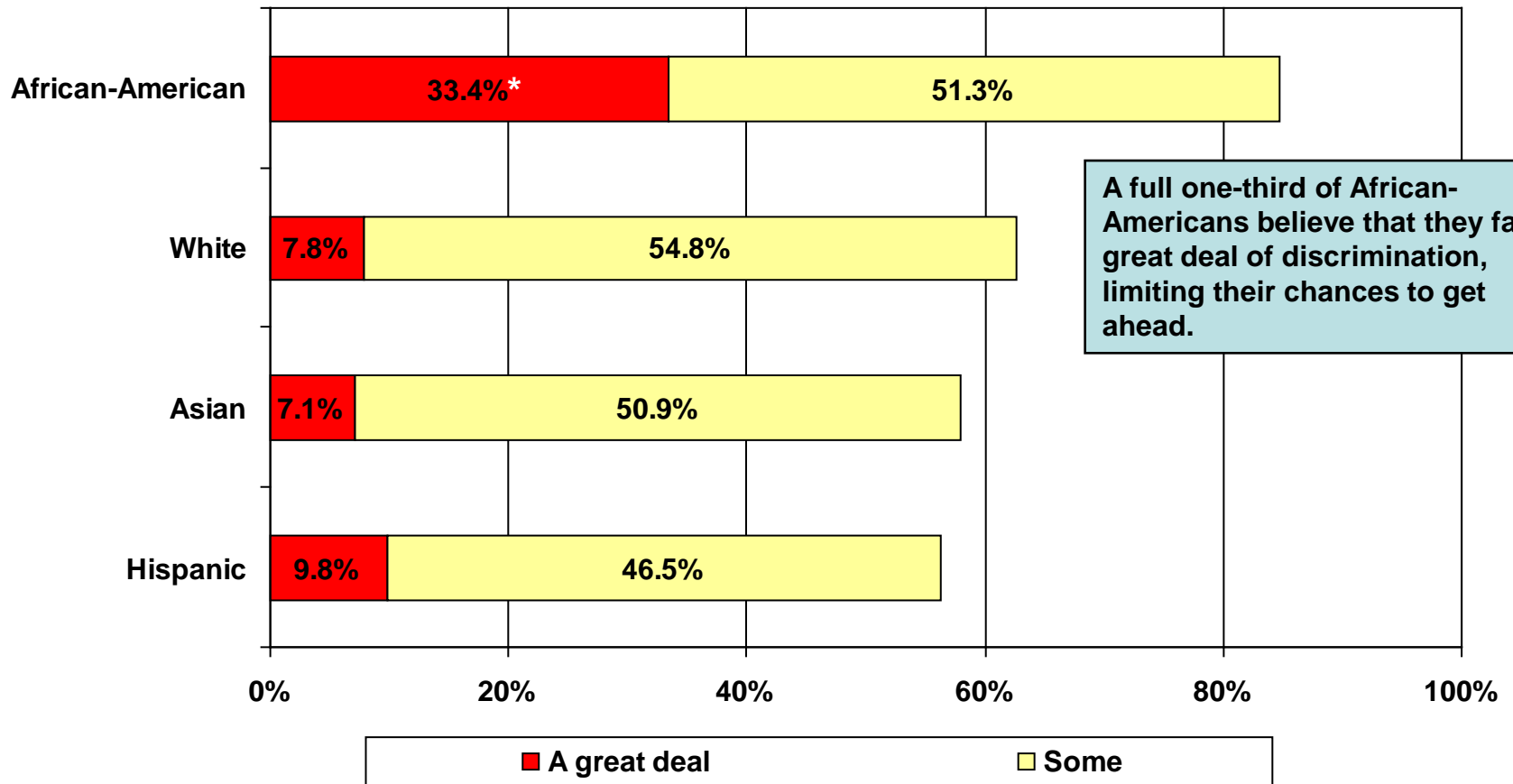


*How much discrimination against (minority group) do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead?*

- It is interesting and, perhaps, an indication of the nature of the times, that discrimination against Hispanics is considered equal to discrimination against African-Americans in the United States today.
  - Respondents are less likely to consider Asians subject to discrimination, however, 41% feel there is some discrimination even toward this group.

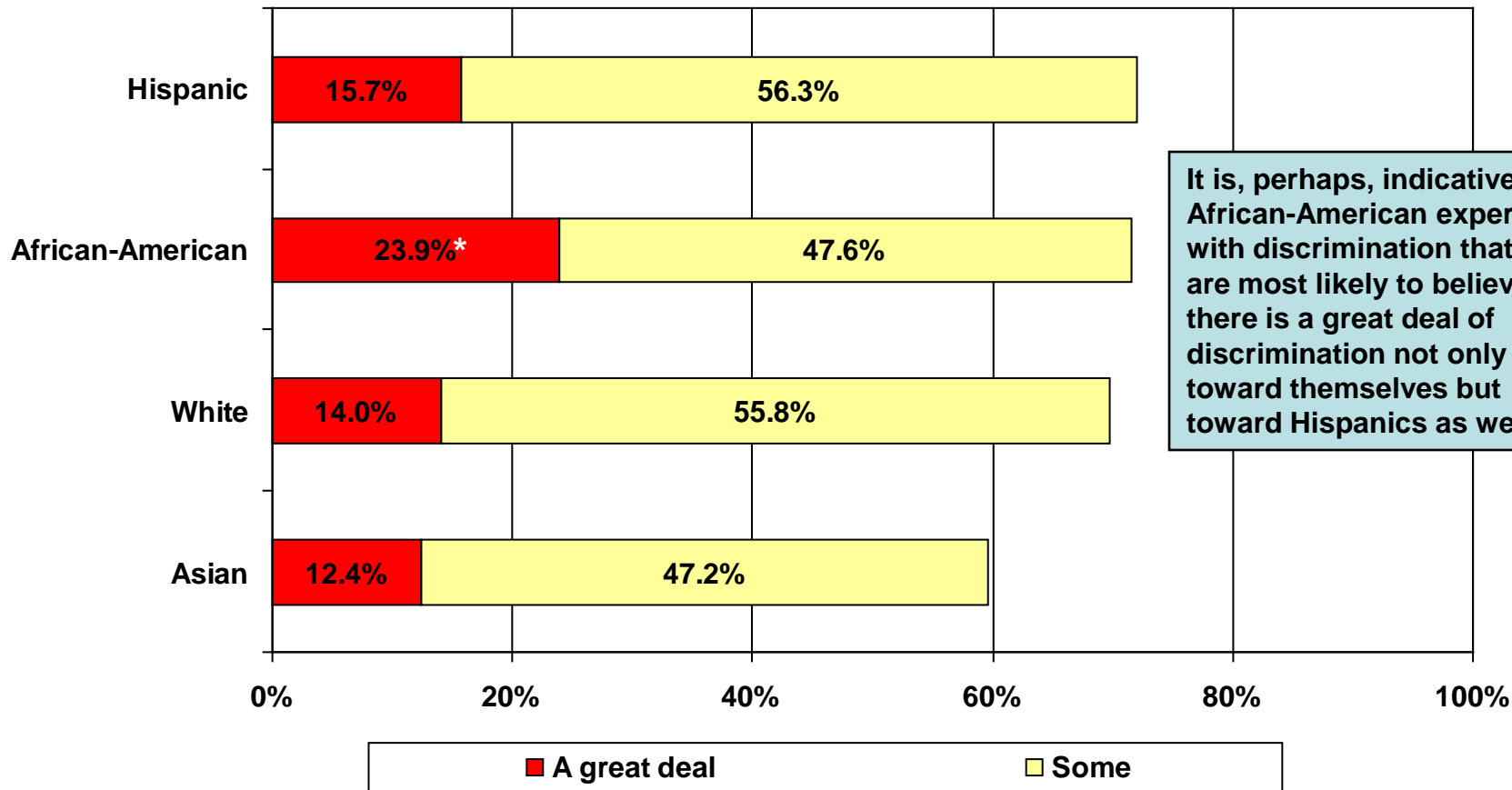
\*Percentage is significantly lower than African-American and Hispanic percentages at the 90% confidence level.

# Discrimination Against African-Americans



\*Percentage is significantly higher than all other groups at the 90% confidence level.

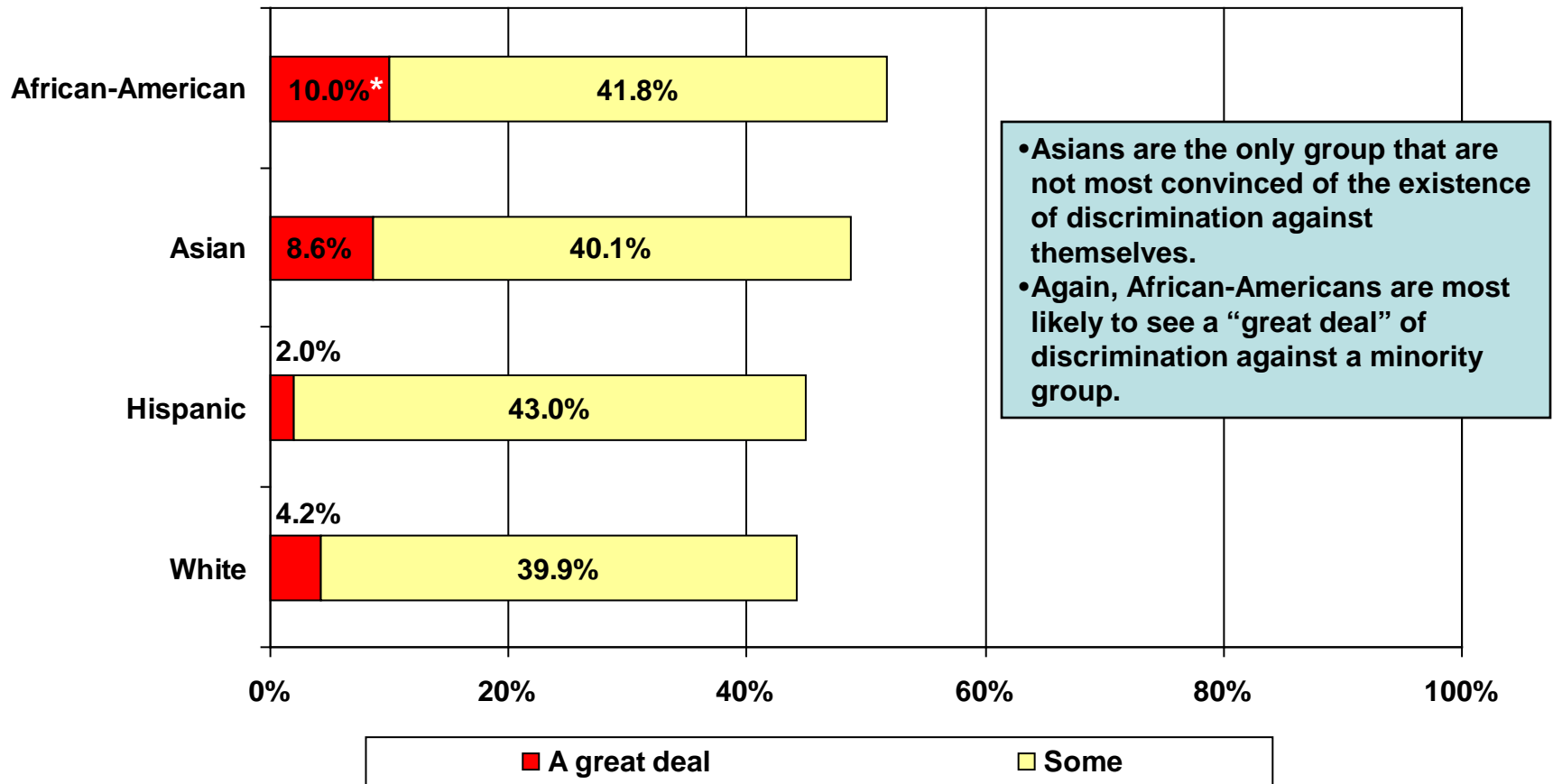
# Discrimination Against Hispanics



It is, perhaps, indicative of African-American experience with discrimination that they are most likely to believe that there is a great deal of discrimination not only toward themselves but toward Hispanics as well.

\*Percentage is significantly higher than White and Asian percentages at the 90% confidence level.

# Discrimination Against Asians

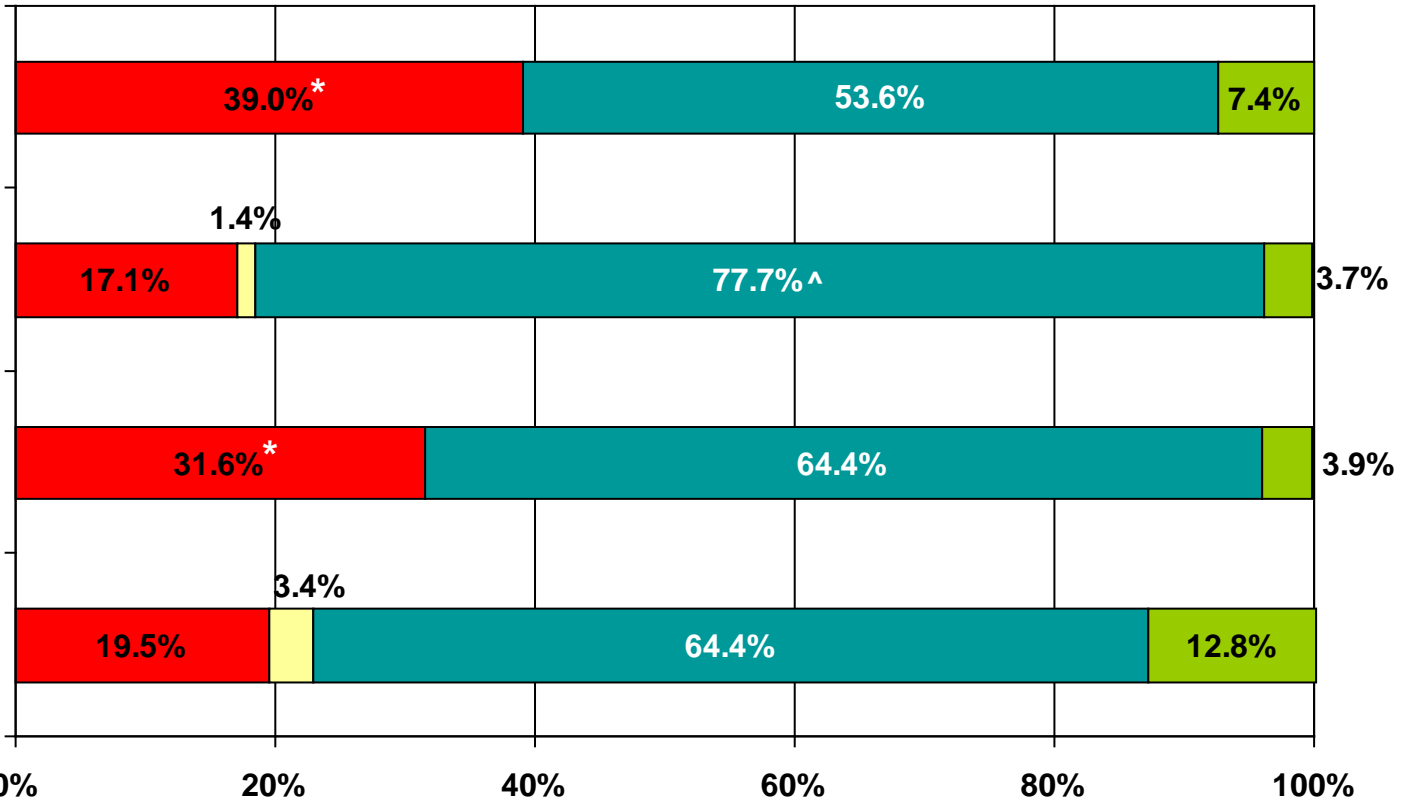


\*Percentage is significantly higher than White and Hispanic percentages at the 90% confidence level.



# Treatment by Police

African-American



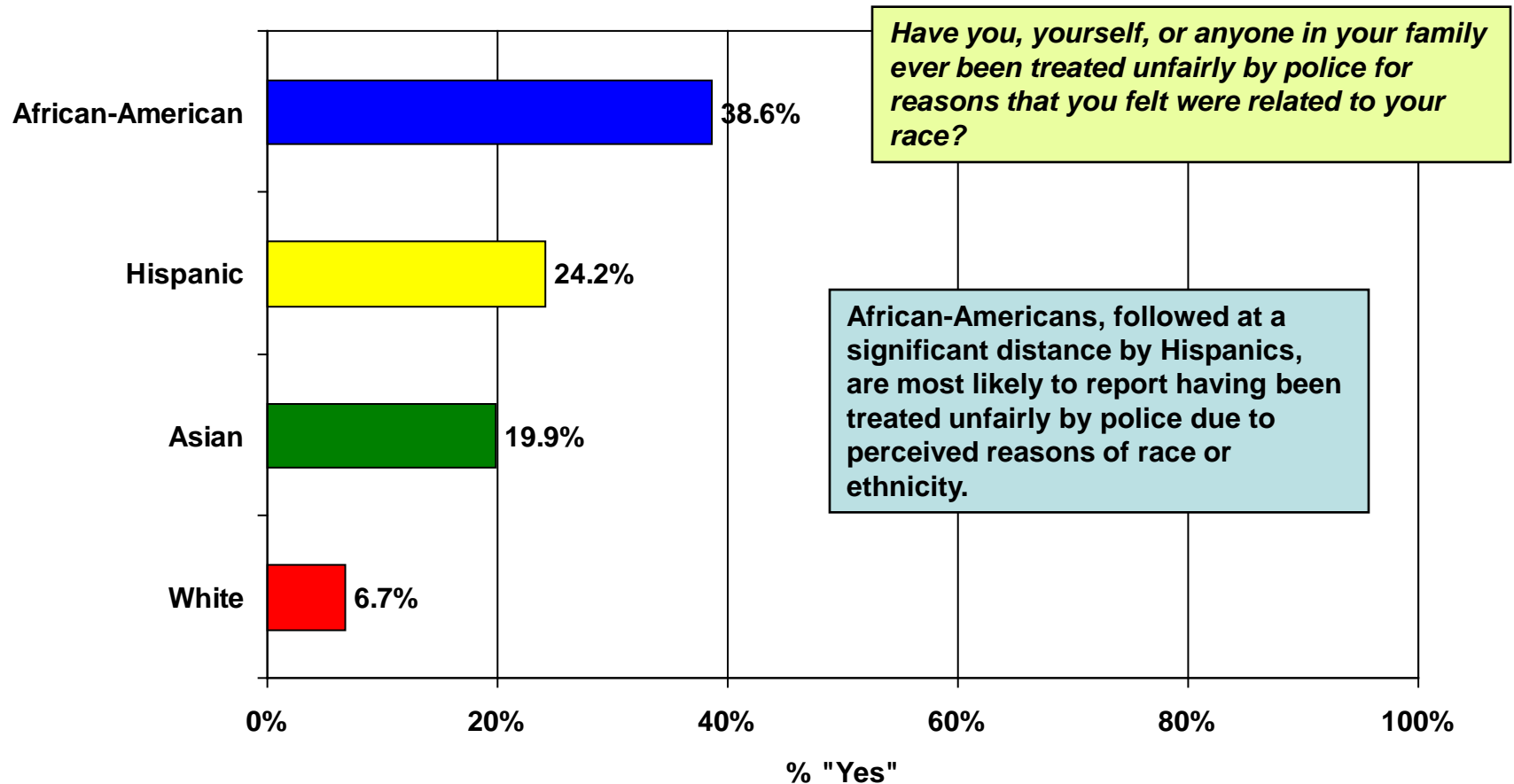
\*Percentages are significantly higher than White and Asian percentages at the 90% confidence level.

^Percentages are significantly higher than all other group percentages at the 90% confidence level.

■ Whites treated better   ■ African-Americans treated better   ■ Both treated same   ■ DK

Though groups disagree as to whether or not Whites are treated better than African-Americans by police, it is perhaps most interesting that only 6 of 525 respondents said that African-Americans are treated better.

# Treatment by Police



Note: All percentages are significantly different at the 90% confidence level except those of Asians and Hispanics.

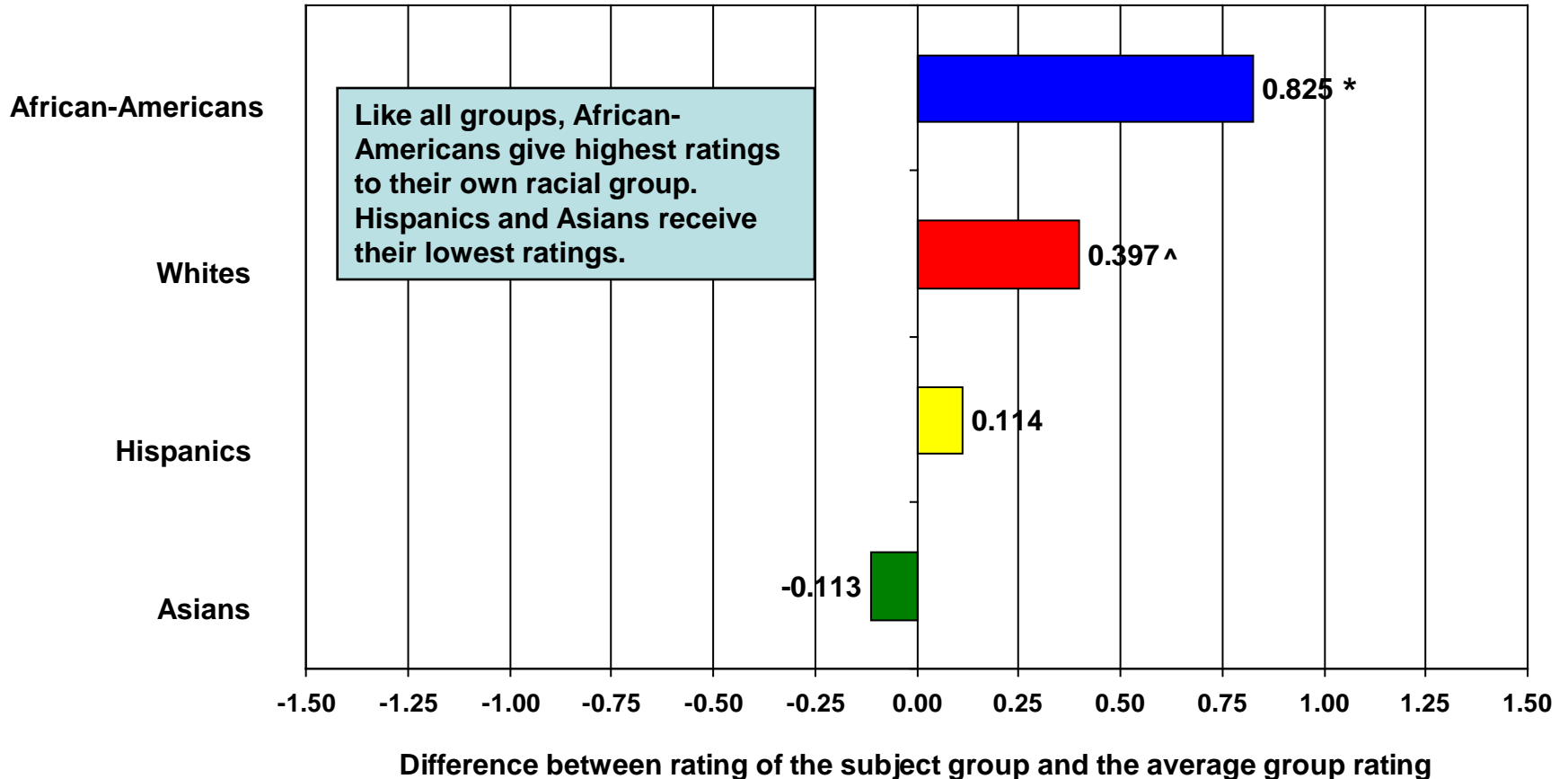
# Group Ratings

# Group Ratings

- Respondents were asked the following question in order to tap their affective orientations (feelings of “like” or “dislike”) toward the racial/ethnic groups of interest:
  - *Different people have different attitudes toward various groups in society. I’m going to read you a list of several different groups, and I would like for you to tell me how favorably or unfavorably that you feel about each group. Use a 7-point scale where “7” means that you feel very favorably toward the group, and “1” means that you feel very unfavorably toward the group. A “4” would mean that you don’t feel either favorably or unfavorably toward the group. The first is . .*
- In total, respondents were asked to rate 10 groups defined in terms of race/ethnicity, religious affiliation, or political leanings. It is well known that survey respondents have a tendency to give relatively high or relatively low ratings regardless of the object being rated. Accordingly, an average rating of each respondent’s 10 group scores was computed in order to establish a baseline against which each racial/ethnic group score could be compared.
  - Specifically, in the following pages, the numbers presented represent the average differenced score between the racial/ethnic group of interest and the overall average group rating score.
  - For these purposes, only the racial/ethnic group scores are of interest, however, results for all group ratings are available in the cross tabulation tables.

# Group Ratings

## African-American Respondents

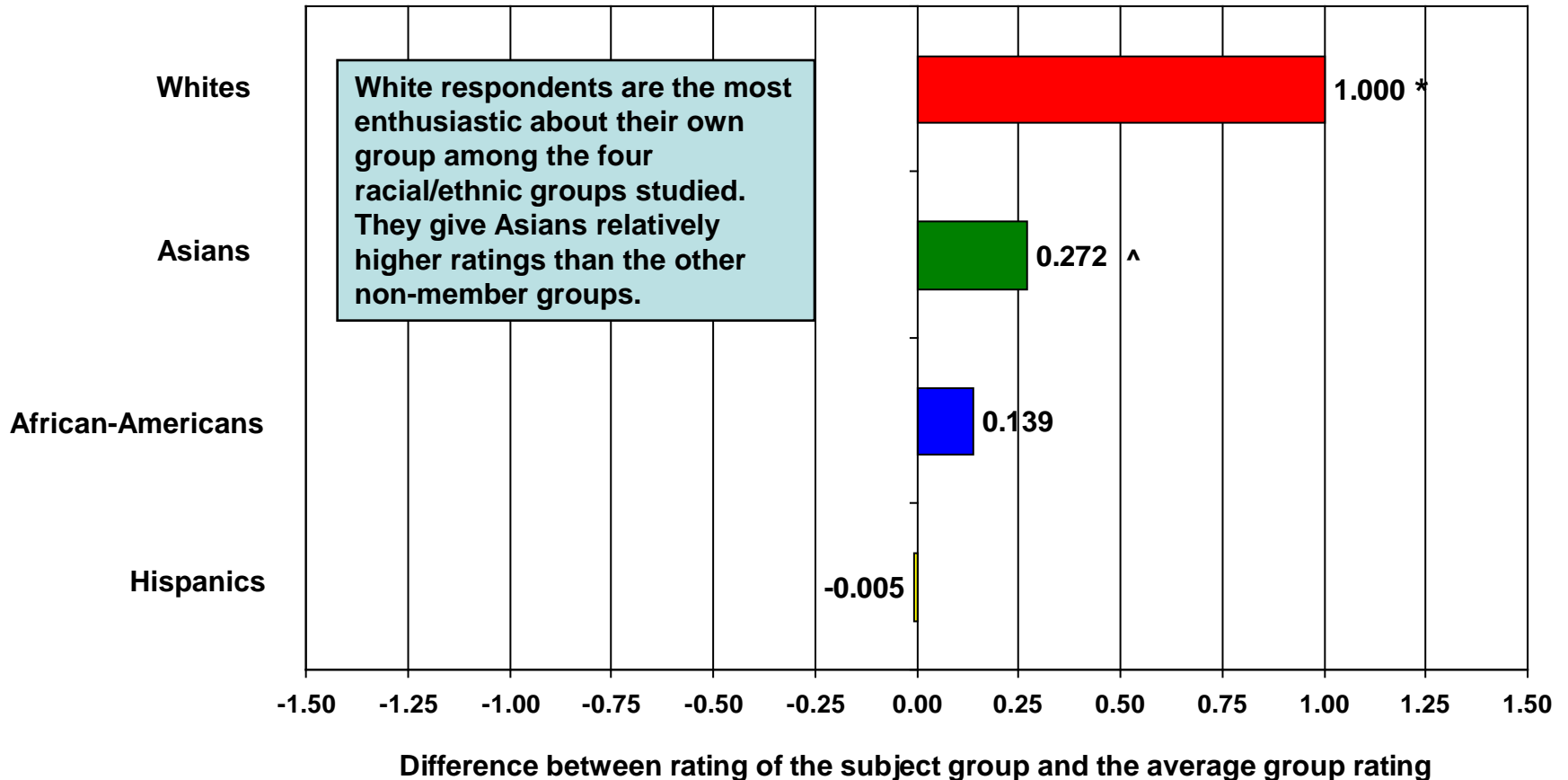


\*Score is significantly higher than all others at the 90% confidence level.

^Score is significantly higher than Asian score at the 90% confidence level.

# Group Ratings

## White Respondents

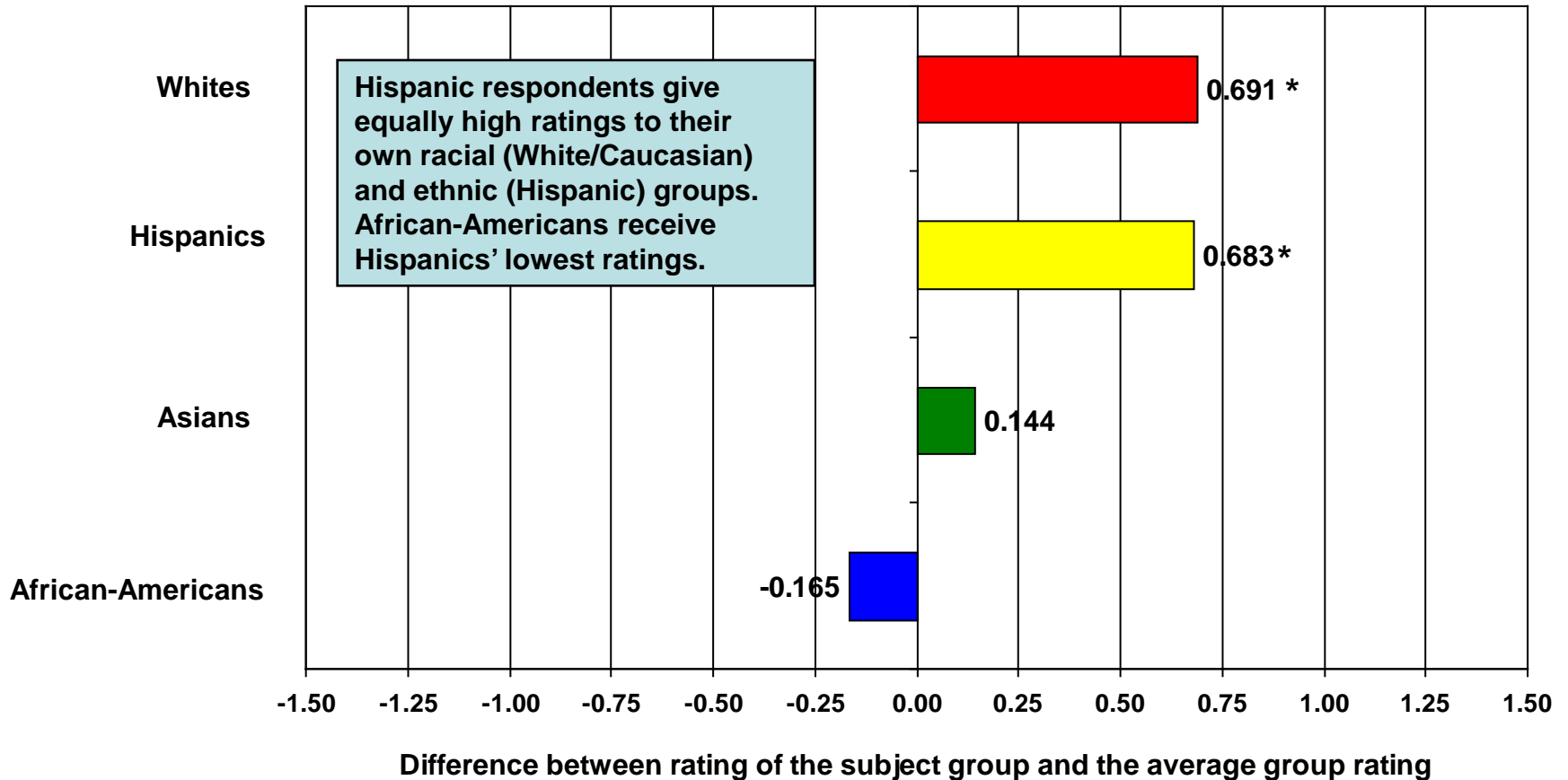


\*Score is significantly higher than all others at the 90% confidence level.

^Score is significantly higher than Hispanic score at the 90% confidence level.

# Group Ratings

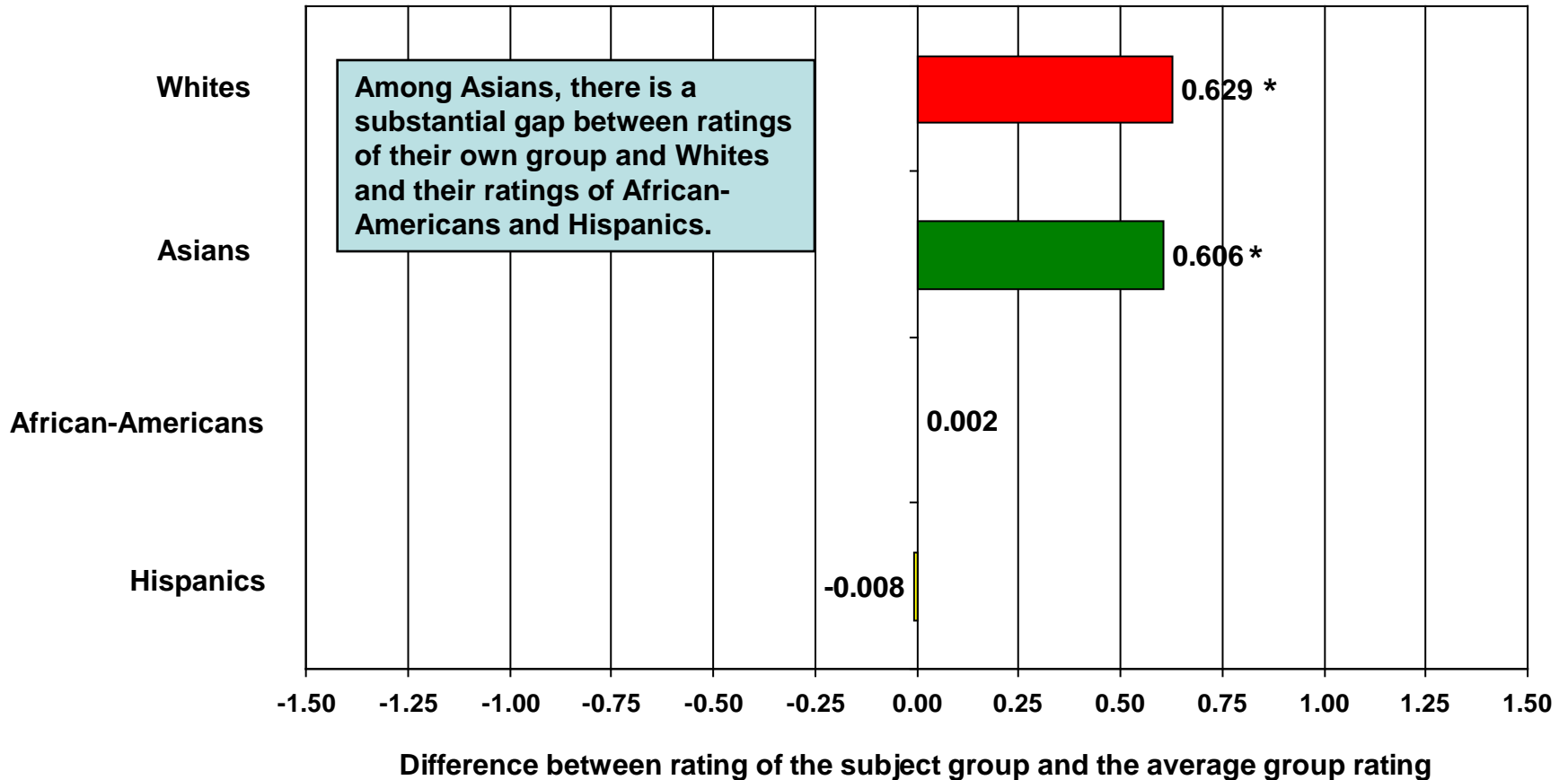
## Hispanic Respondents



\*Scores are significantly higher than Asian and African-American scores at the 90% confidence level.

# Group Ratings

## Asian Respondents



\*Scores are significantly higher than Hispanic and African-American scores at the 90% confidence level.



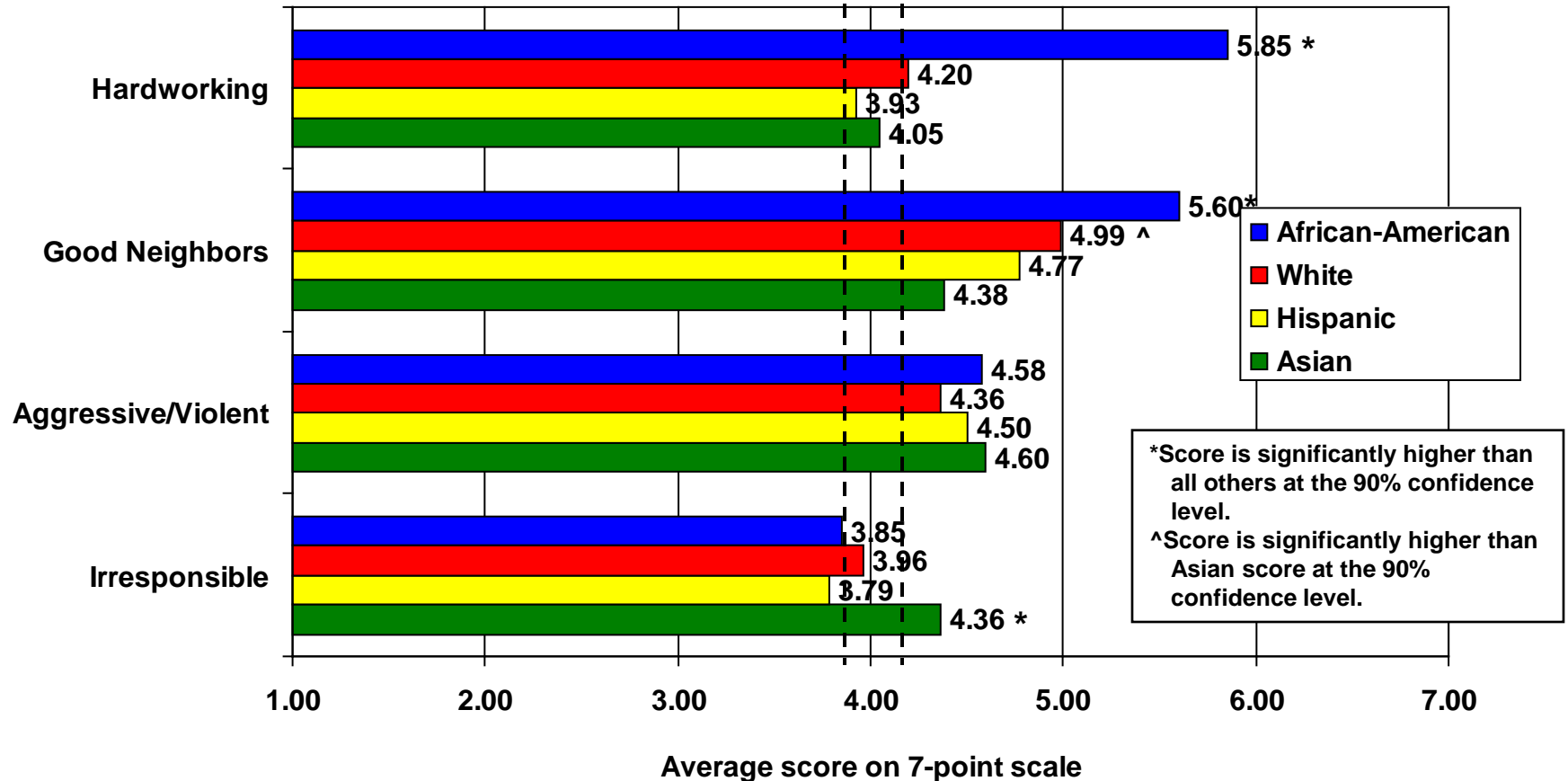
# Stereotypes

# Stereotypes

- **Answers.com** defines a “stereotype” as “a conventional, formulaic, and oversimplified conception, opinion, or image.” In general, we tend to think of the ascription of either positive or negative traits to persons based solely on that person’s race or ethnicity as an example of stereotypical thinking.
- In order to gauge the extent of stereotypical thinking in our area, respondents were asked to rate how well four terms – “hardworking,” “good neighbors,” “aggressive or violent,” and “irresponsible” describe African-Americans, Whites, Hispanics and Asians.
  - Respondents were to use a 7-point scale, where “7” means that the terms describes the group in question “very well” and “1” means that term describes the group “very poorly.”
  - In principle, a rating of “4” would indicate the absence of stereotypical thinking, **dashed vertical lines on the following charts indicate the point at which we have good assurance that deviation from the “4” point is “real” and not merely sampling variation.**

# Stereotypes

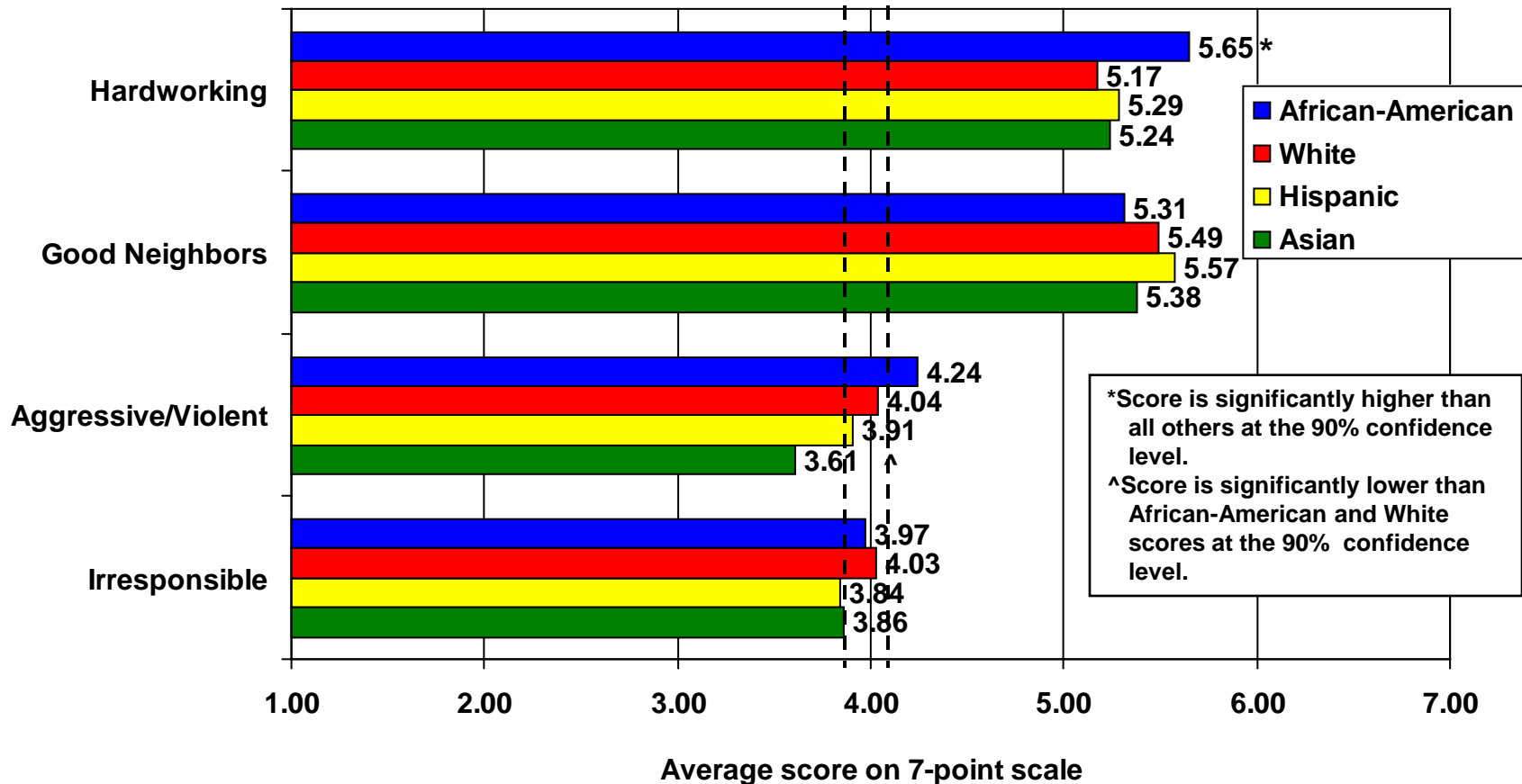
## Concerning African-Americans



Among non African-Americans, White respondents tend toward less stereotypical thinking concerning African-Americans than do Hispanics or Asians. However, there is no strong evidence of stereotype among any group.

# Stereotypes

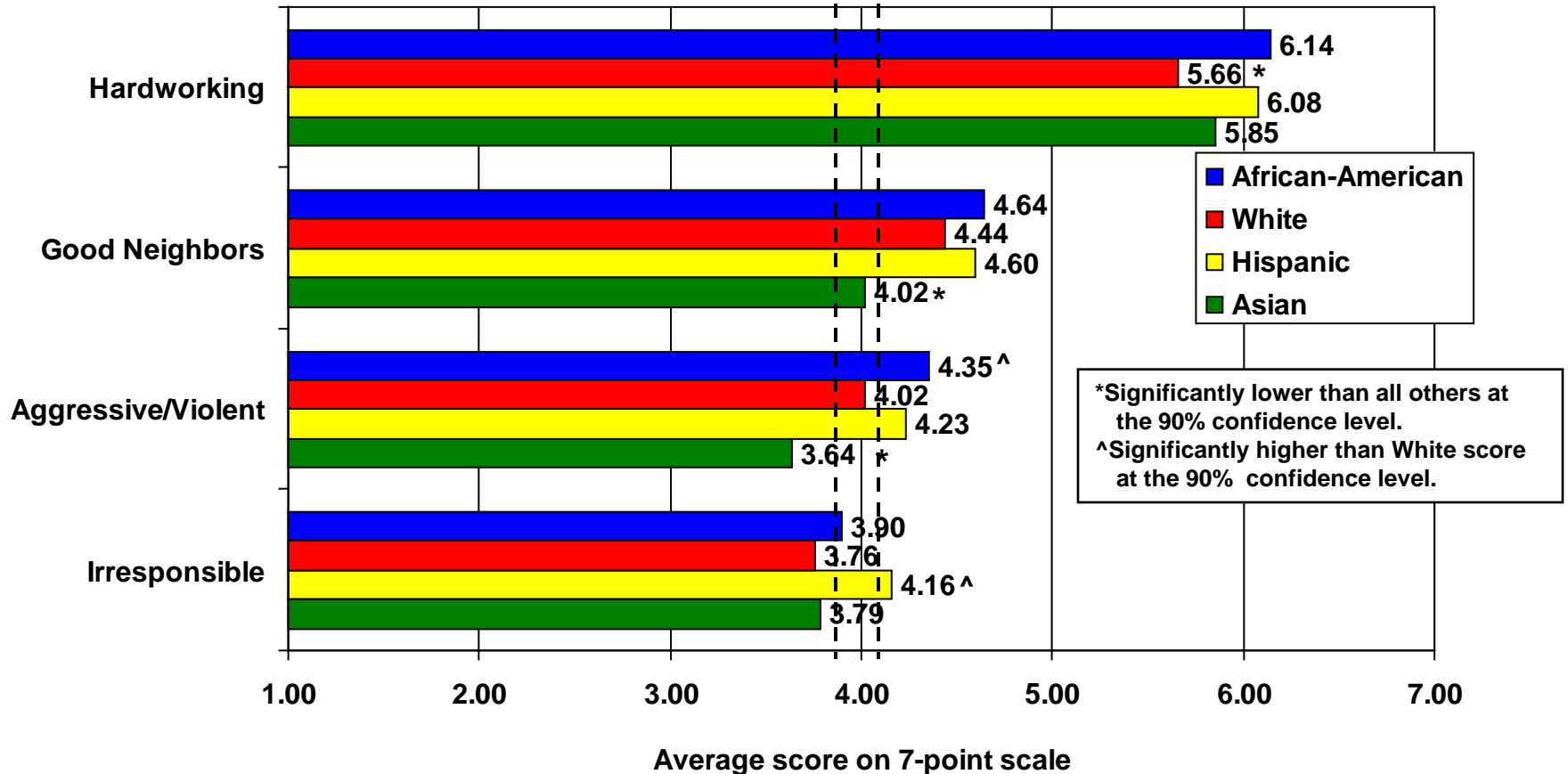
## Concerning Whites



It appears that, in general, groups have more favorable “stereotypical” attitudes toward Whites than African Americans. It is interesting that, while African-Americans are most likely to think of Whites as “aggressive” or violent,” they are actually more likely to view themselves that way (see previous page).

# Stereotypes

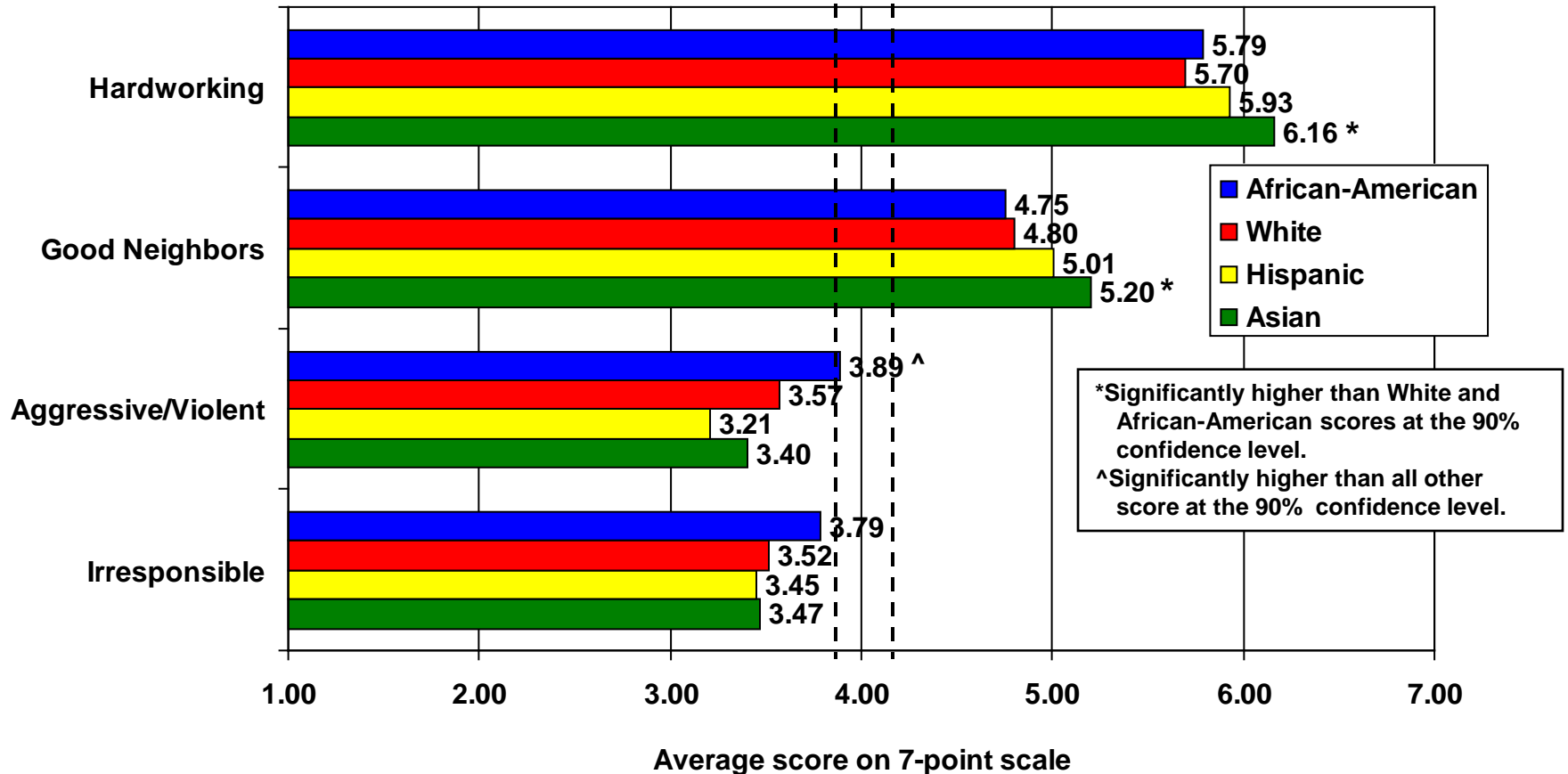
## Concerning Hispanics



While clearly stereotypical, Hispanics have developed a positive image as being “hardworking.” Interestingly, Hispanics join African-Americans in a self-assessment leaning toward being “aggressive” or “violent.”

# Stereotypes

## Concerning Asians



To the extent that thinking about Asians is stereotypical, the stereotypes at least appear to be positive. Overall, Asians appear least likely to be considered “aggressive” or “violent.”

# Traditional Racism

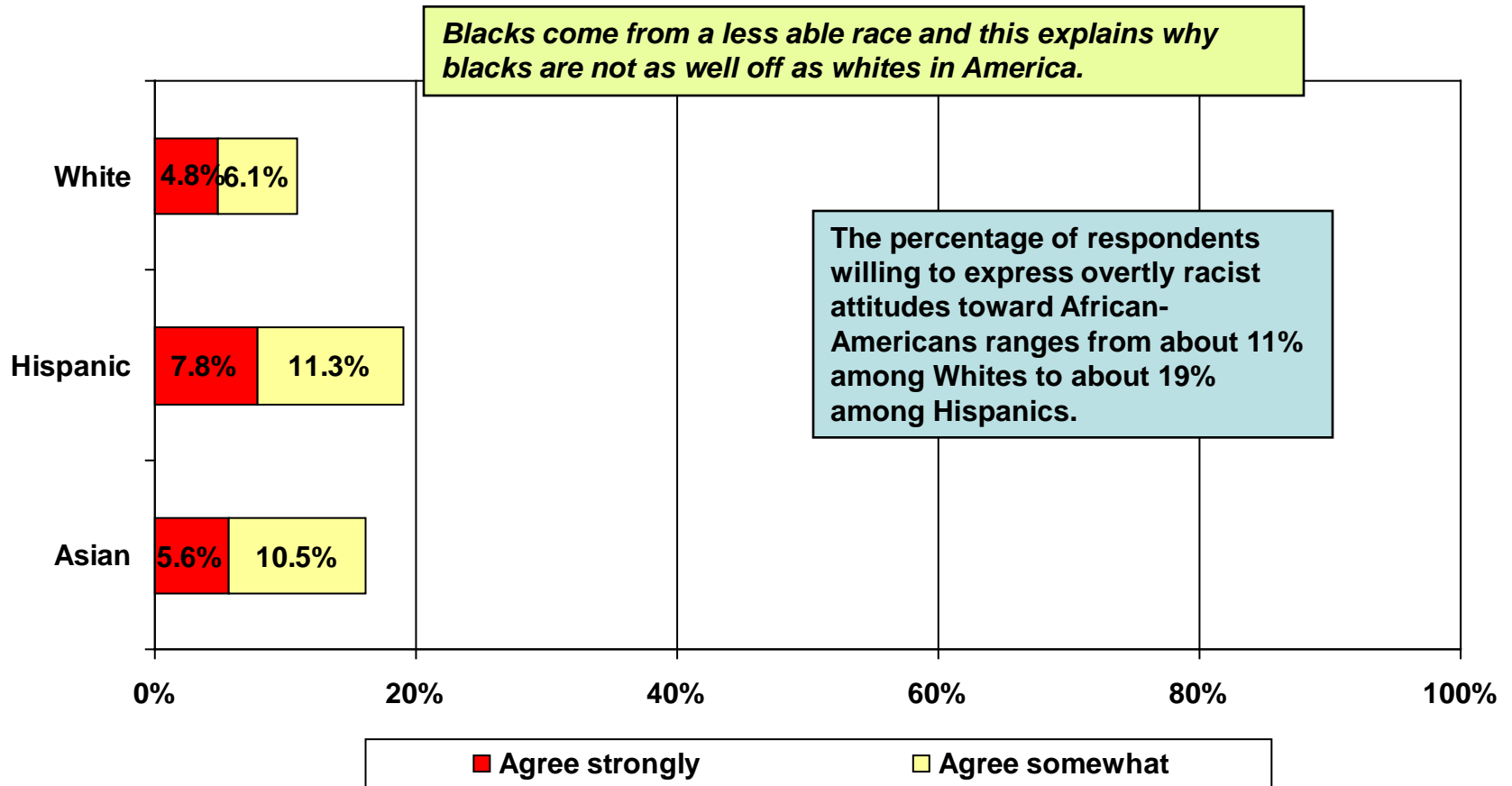
# Traditional Racism

- In contrast to stereotypical attitudes, which may be of a benign or even positive in nature, traditional racist attitudes ascribe inherent negative traits to a given race or ethnic group solely on group membership. These negative traits are, essentially, genetic in nature and cannot be overcome.
- Persons holding such attitudes see the object of their attitude as inherently inferior to themselves and, for example, typically object to things such as intermarriage with persons of the object group.
  - It must be pointed out that there is such a thing as “sensitivity bias” in survey research, when respondents are aware that they are being asked sensitive questions for which there is likely a right and wrong answer. For this reason, questions such as those reported in this section tend to understate the phenomenon under study as some respondents attempt to “please” the interviewer rather than express their true feelings.
  - Measures tapping “symbolic racism” have been developed in response to this problem and are reported in the next section.
- Questions in this section were only asked about groups other than that of which the respondent is a member.



# Traditional Racism

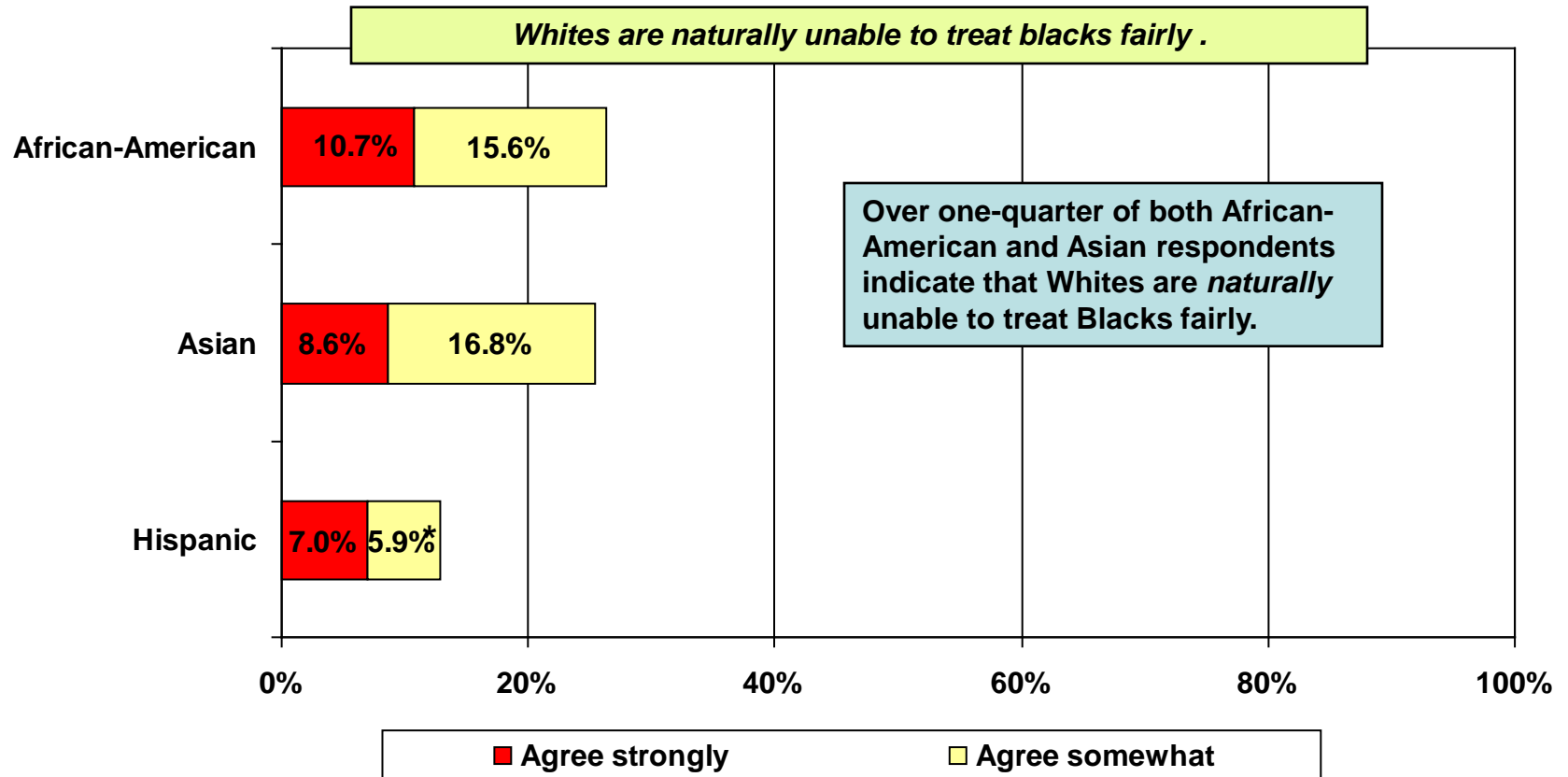
White, Hispanic and Asian Respondents



Percentages are statistically equal at the 90% confidence level.

# Traditional Racism

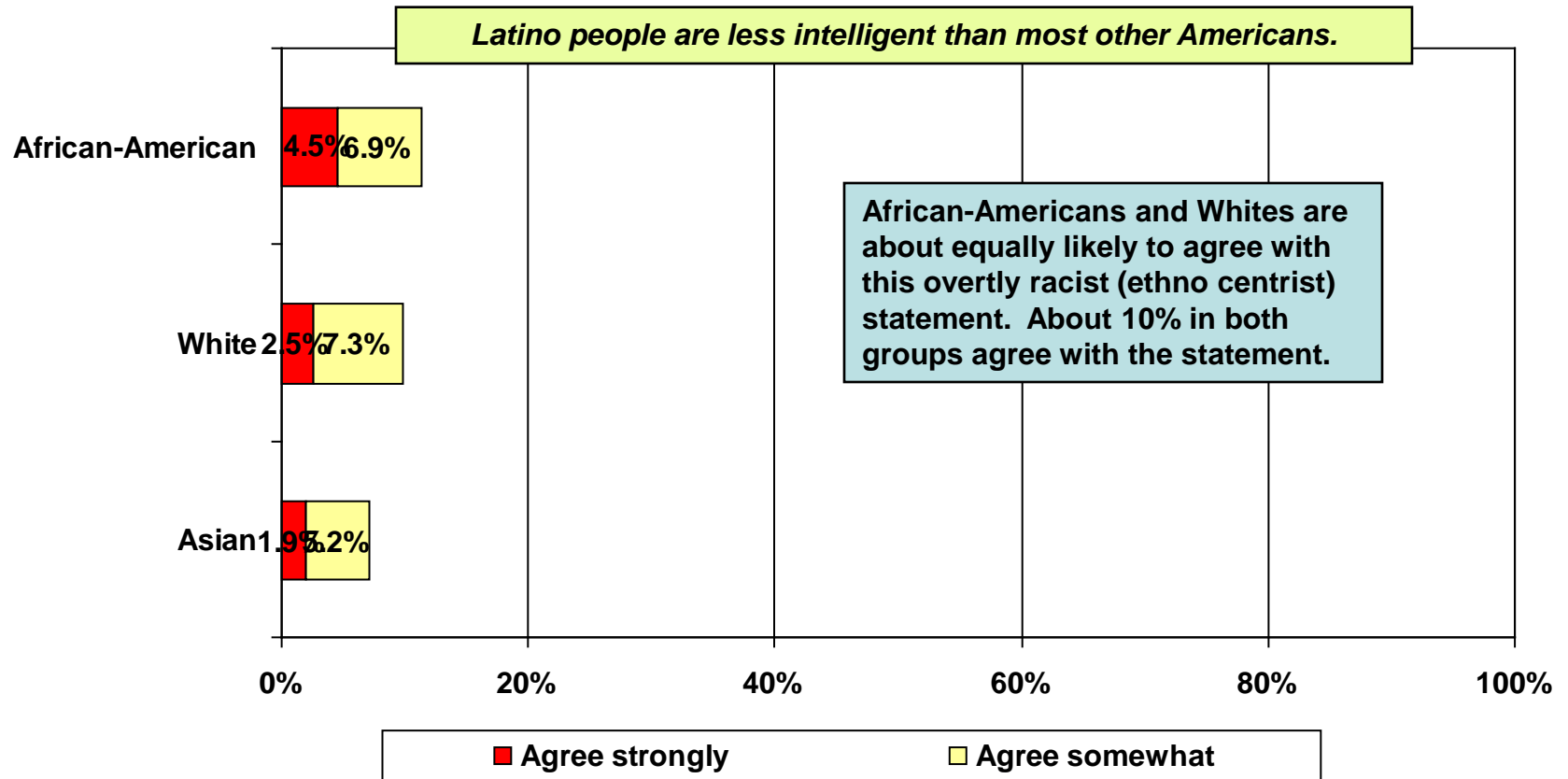
African-American, Hispanic and Asian Respondents



\*Percentage is significantly lower than all others at the 90% confidence level.

# Traditional Racism

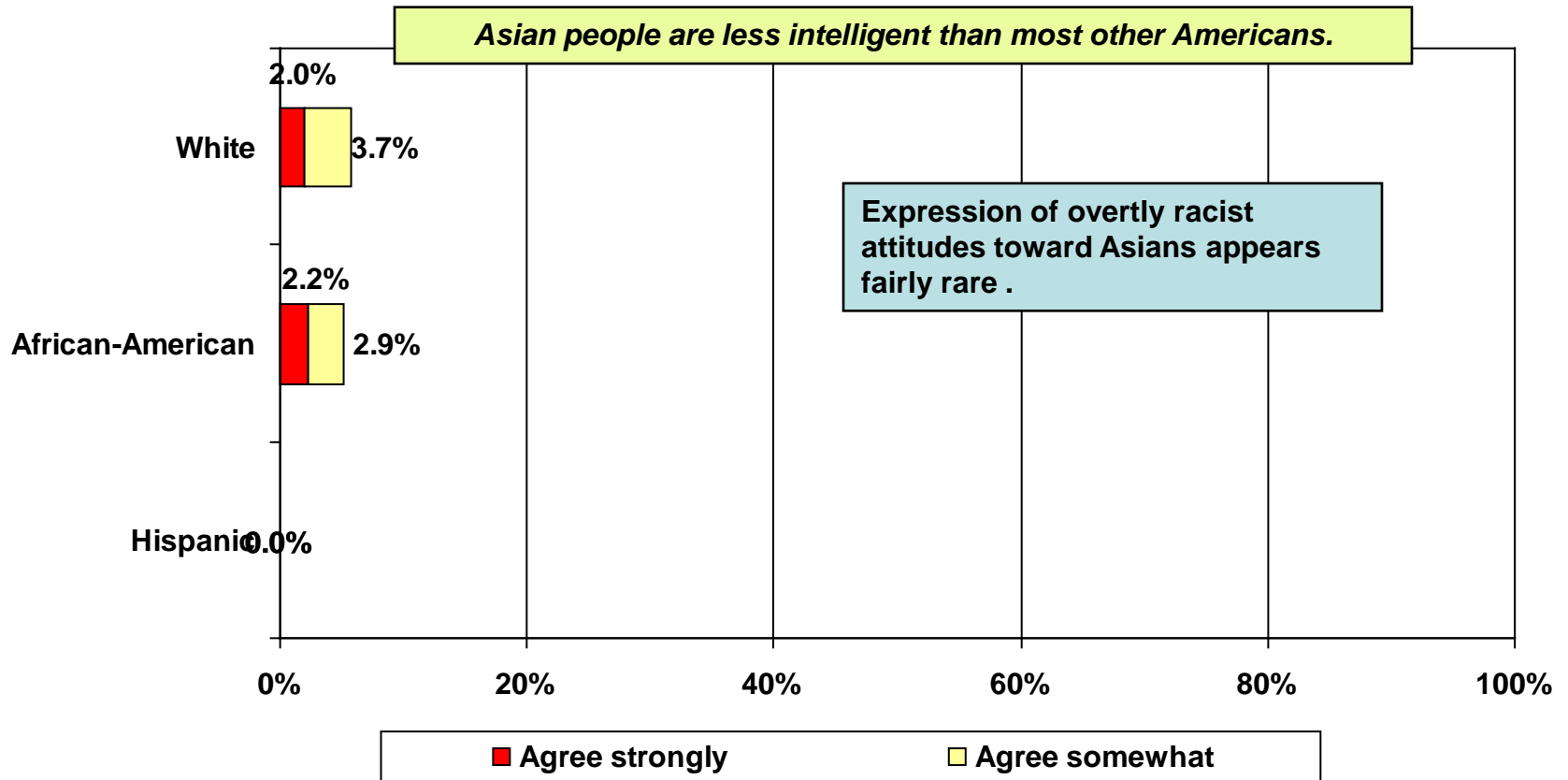
White, African-American, and Asian Respondents



Percentages are statistically equal at the 90% confidence level.

# Traditional Racism

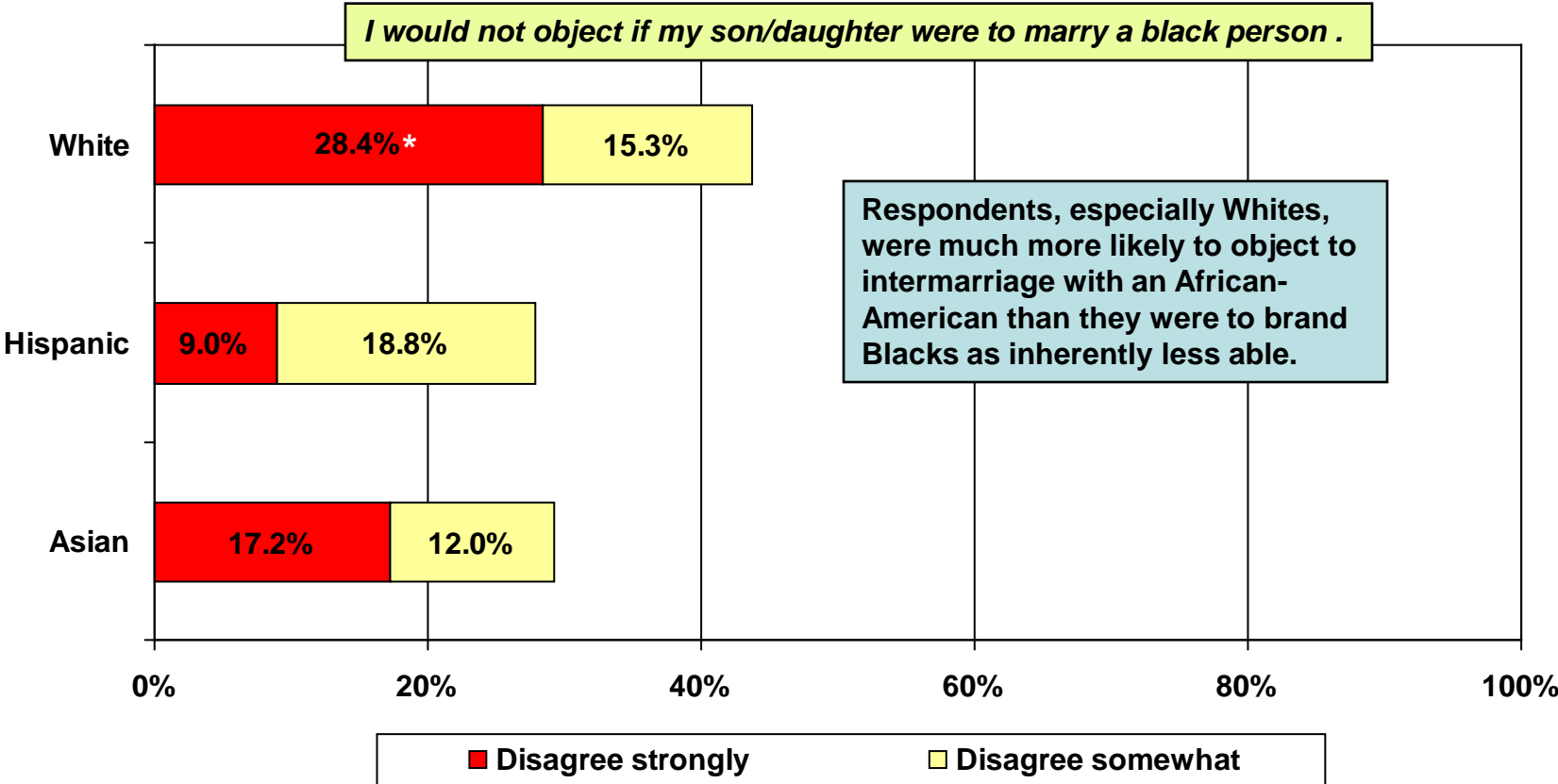
White, African-American, and Hispanic Respondents



Percentages are statistically equal at the 90% confidence level.

# Traditional Racism

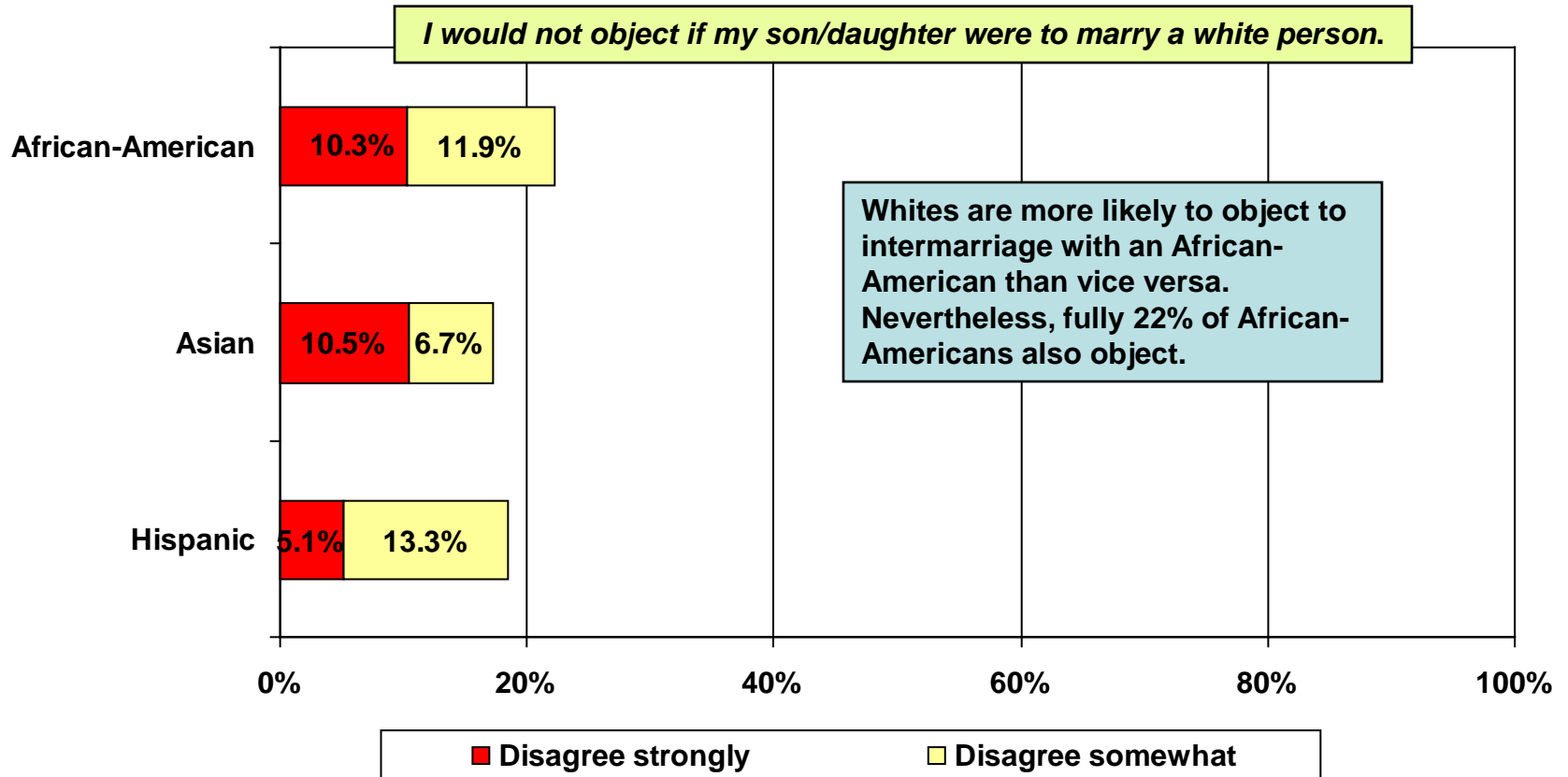
White, Hispanic and Asian Respondents



\*Percentage is significantly higher than all others at the 90% confidence level.

# Traditional Racism

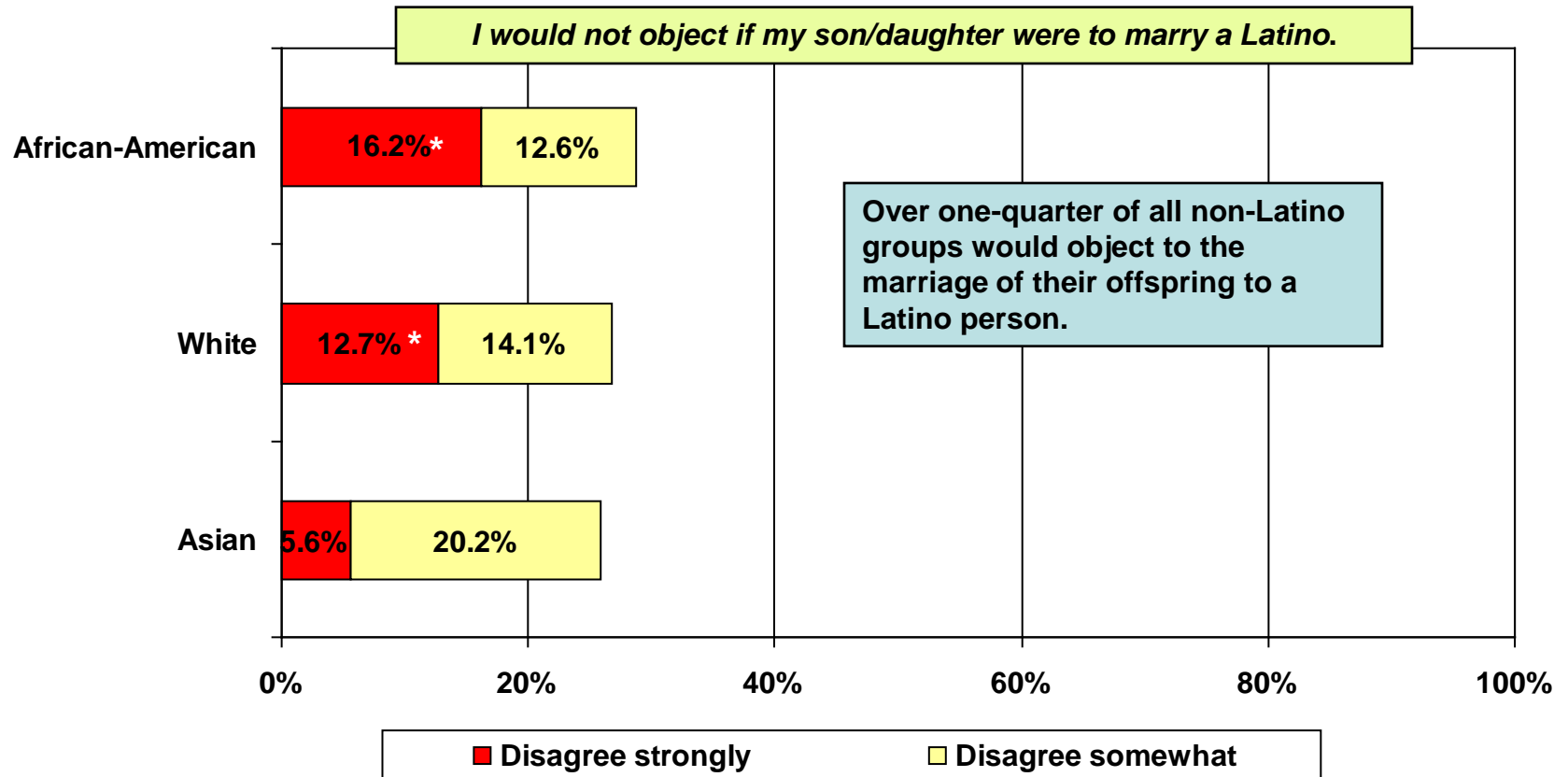
African-American, Hispanic and Asian Respondents



Percentages are statistically equal at the 90% confidence level.

# Traditional Racism

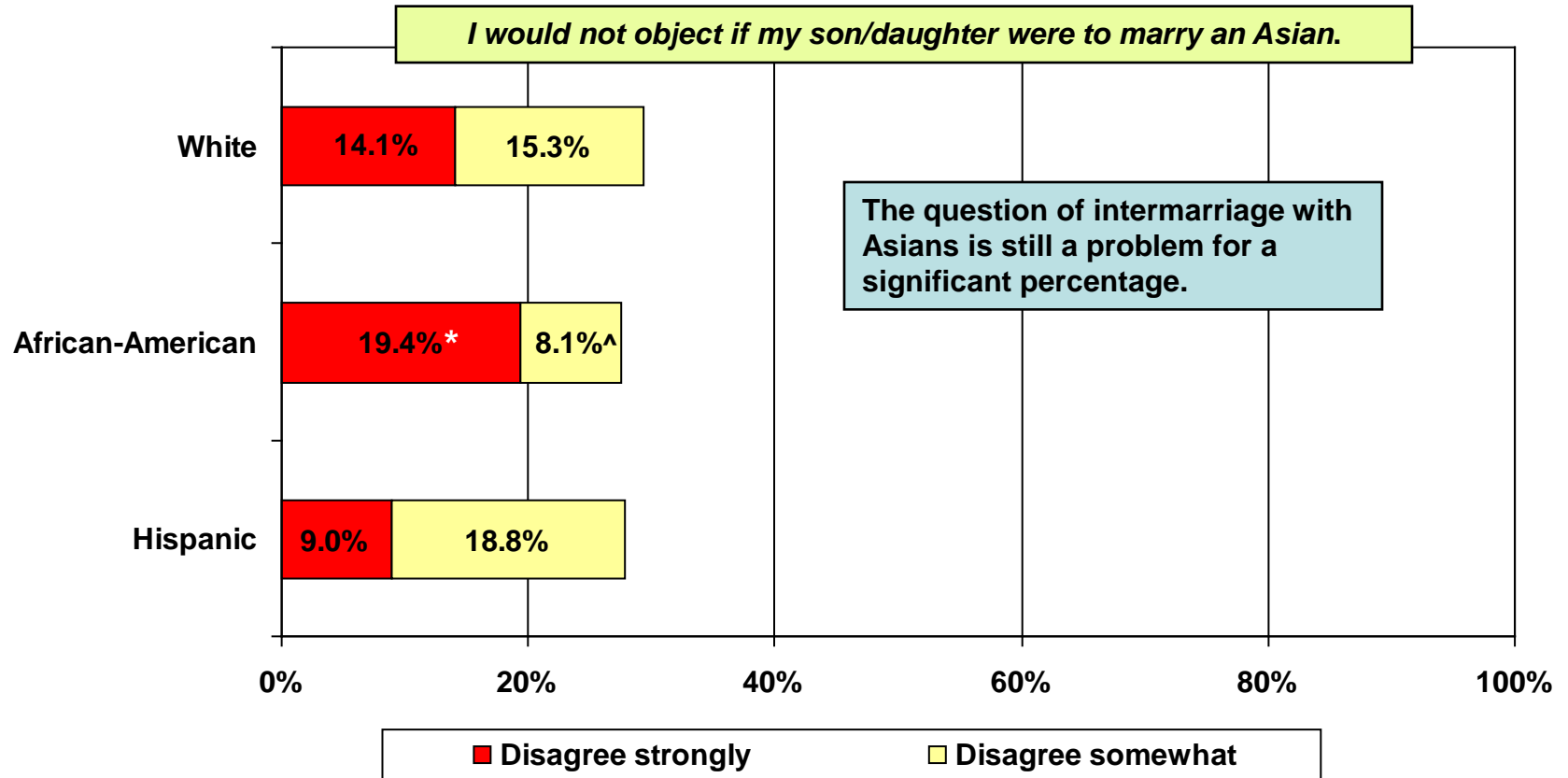
White, African-American, and Asian Respondents



\*Percentages are significantly higher than the Asian percentage at the 90% confidence level.

# Traditional Racism

White, African-American, and Hispanic Respondents



\*Percentage is significantly higher than all others at the 90% confidence level.

^Percentage is significantly lower than all others at the 90% confidence level.



# Who Are the Traditional Racists

- In order to tap the demographic correlates of traditional racist attitudes, a scale was constructed from the attitude questions reported in the preceding pages. Persons falling in the upper half of the scale were classified as “high” on the racism scale (5.1% total sample). Persons falling in the lower half were classified as “low,” (14.9% total sample) and those on the middle as “moderate” (80% total sample).
- Not surprisingly, in terms of demographics, persons classified as “high” on the scale are distinguished primarily in terms of relatively low levels of education and income (see table on next page).
  - They are also slightly more likely to reside in Jefferson or St. Tammany Parish, be White, and female.
  - It should be noted that the vast majority of respondents are not classified as “high” on the scale, regardless of demographic characteristics.

# Who Are the Traditional Racists

|                                | Total<br>(n = 525) | High on<br>Racist Scale<br>(n = 27) | Moderate on<br>Racist Scale<br>(n = 78) | Low on<br>Racist Scale<br>(n = 420) |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| % High school graduate or less | 39.4%              | 70.4%                               | 50.0%                                   | 35.5%                               |
| % Annual income under \$25,000 | 19.1%              | 33.3%                               | 27.3%                                   | 16.7%                               |
| % Orleans Parish               | 26.6%              | 21.4%                               | 24.4%                                   | 27.3%                               |
| % Jefferson Parish             | 28.2%              | 35.7%                               | 28.2%                                   | 27.6%                               |
| % St. Tammany                  | 19.0%              | 25.0%                               | 15.4%                                   | 19.3%                               |
| % White                        | 48.1%              | 53.6%                               | 51.9%                                   | 47.1%                               |
| % African-American             | 28.1%              | 21.4%                               | 27.3%                                   | 28.8%                               |
| % Hispanic                     | 11.1%              | 10.7%                               | 7.8%                                    | 11.7%                               |
| % Asian                        | 11.5%              | 7.1%                                | 11.7%                                   | 11.7%                               |
| % Male                         | 48.1%              | 46.4%                               | 42.9%                                   | 49.3%                               |
| % Female                       | 51.9%              | 53.6%                               | 57.1%                                   | 50.7%                               |

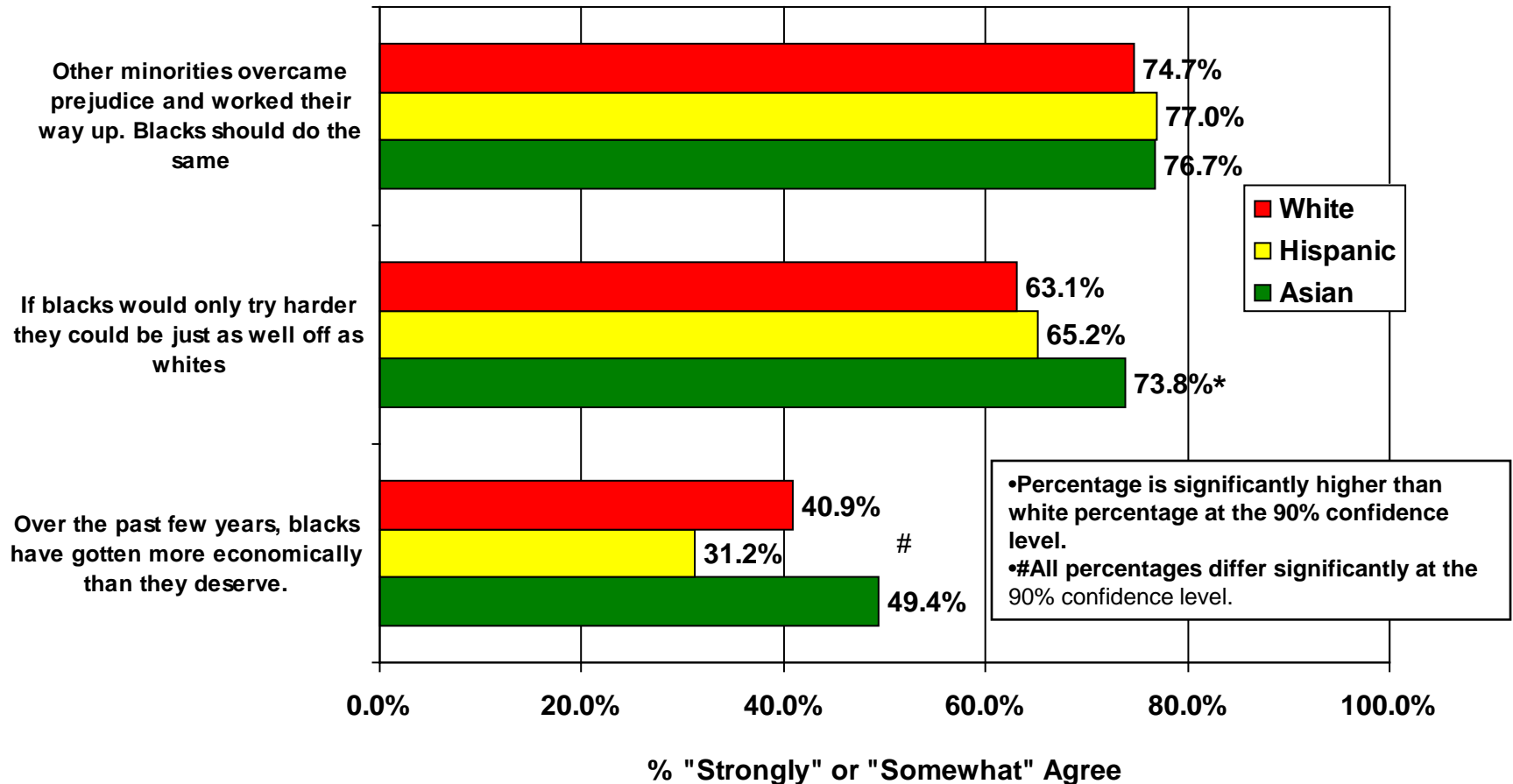
# Symbolic Racism

# Symbolic Racism

- Realizing the difficulties in measuring negative racial attitudes via “traditional” measures, over the last couple of decades, researchers have developed questions designed to tap what is termed “symbolic racism.”
  - The idea behind the symbolic racism measures is that they make it “easier” for respondents to express negative attitudes by implying reasons other than race, per se, as the factor driving the negative attitude.
  - Originally, the questions were developed solely to tap negative attitudes toward Blacks, however, new questions have been developed that are relevant to any minority ethnic group. These latter questions were used in the present study to examine attitudes toward Asians and Hispanics.
  - It should be noted that questions designed to tap attitudes toward Whites have not been developed. Questions similar in nature to the African-American questions were developed for this study. They should, however, be considered more “experimental” in nature than the questions used for other groups.
- A problem in evaluating the symbolic racism measure exists in that other factors such as legitimate differences in political philosophy, individualist values and feelings of empathy all have been shown, in addition to negative racial feelings, to drive responses to symbolic racism questions.
  - Advanced analysis is presented at the end of this section to help sort out the various driving forces.

# Symbolic Racism

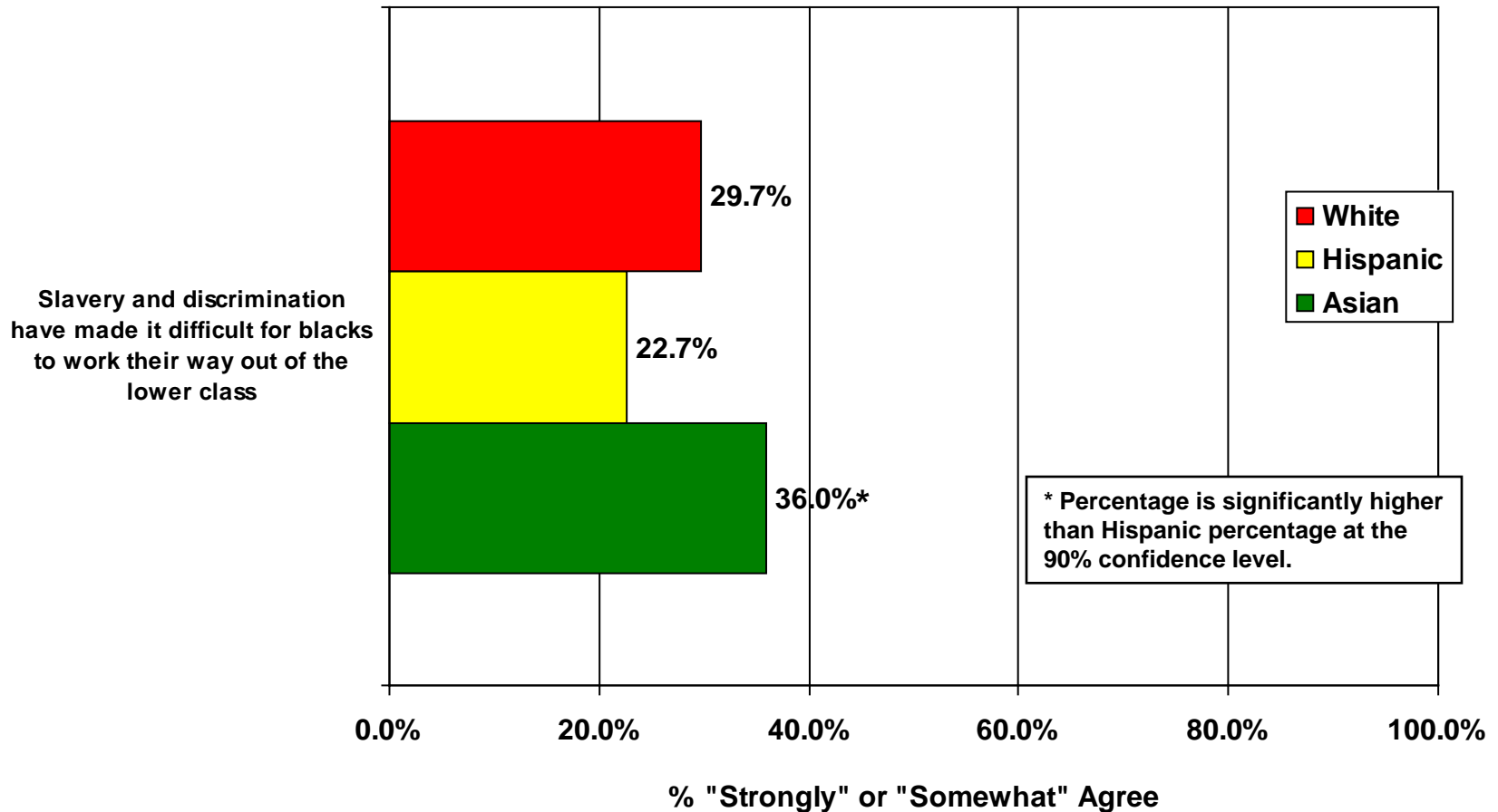
## Negative Attitudes Toward African-Americans



Non-Black respondents generally believe that African-Americans could do better with greater effort, and tend not to attribute their status to past discrimination or slavery. They are less certain that Blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.

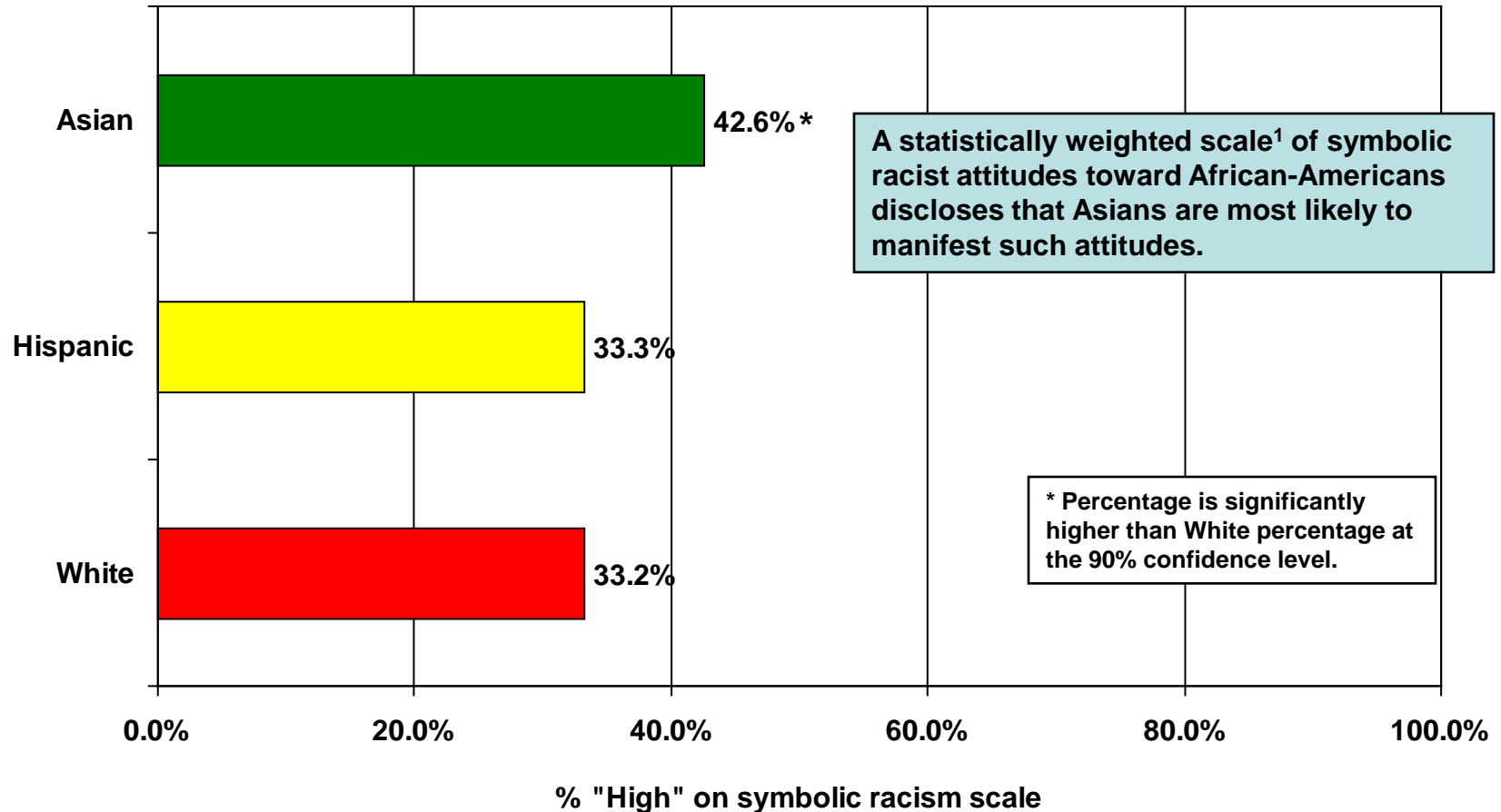
# Symbolic Racism

## Positive Attitudes Toward African-Americans



# Symbolic Racism

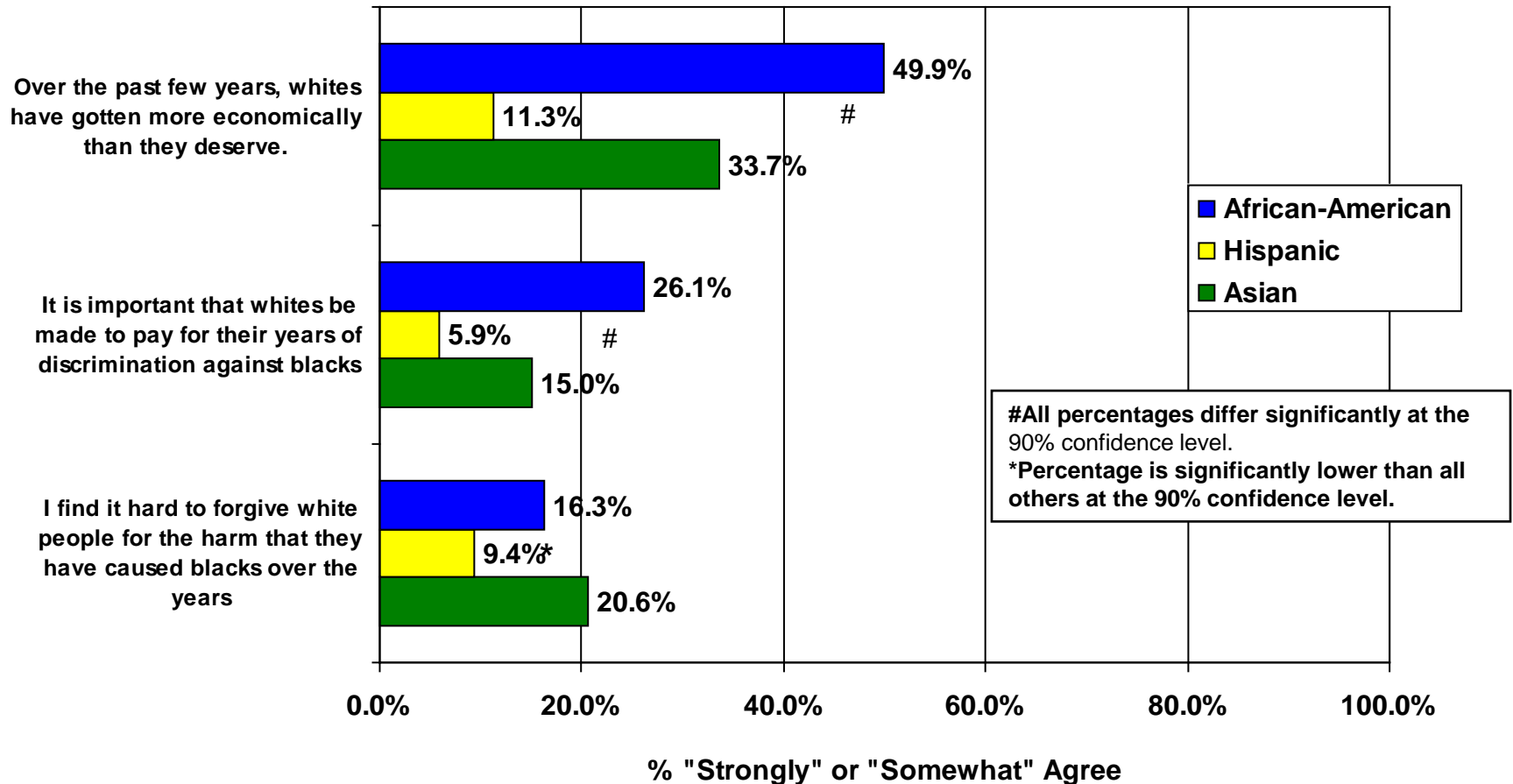
## Attitudes Toward African-Americans



<sup>1</sup>The weighted scale classifies those respondents whose mean scale score is .5 standard deviations above the overall mean as "high."

# Symbolic Racism

## Attitudes Toward Whites

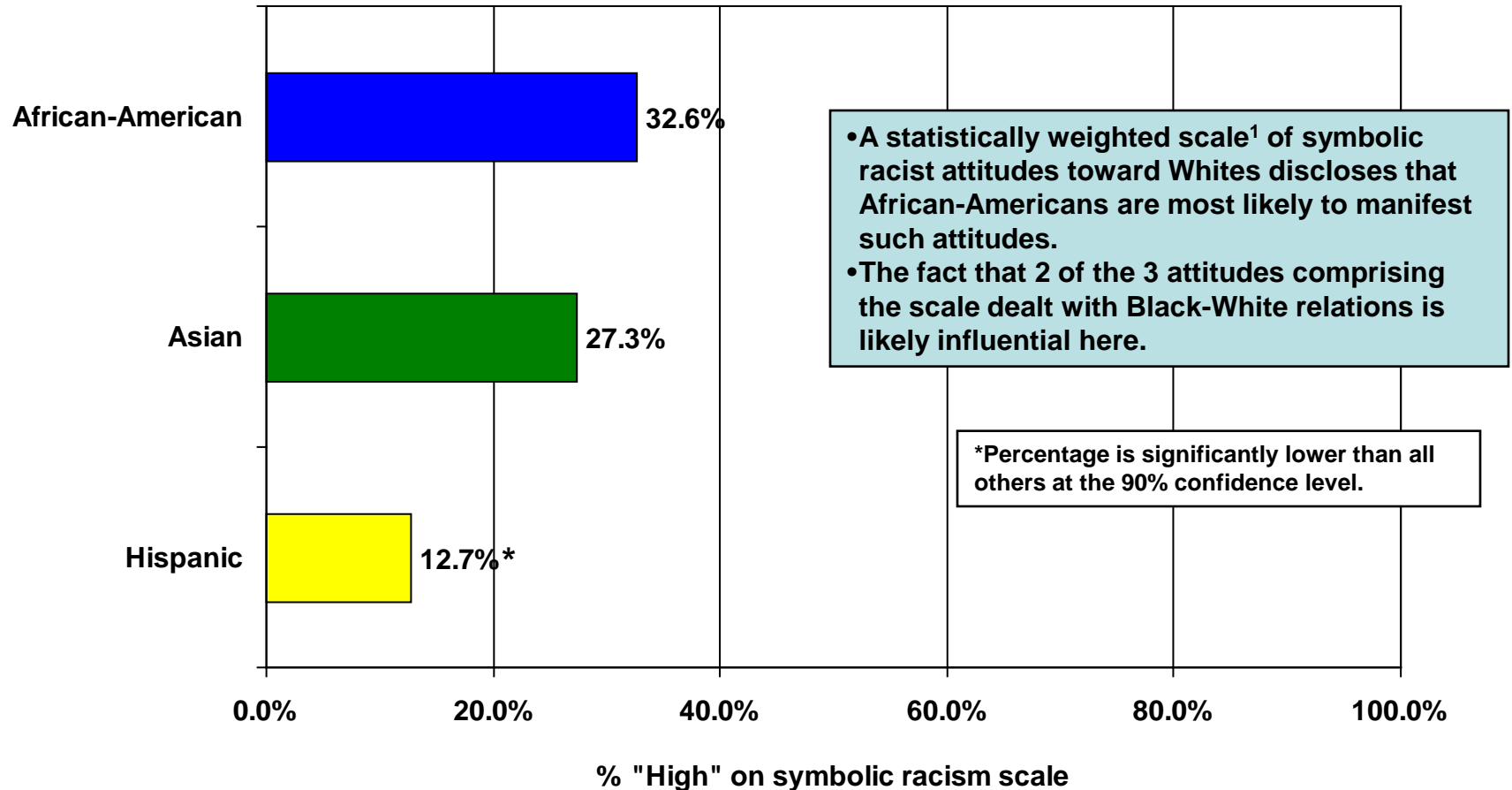


Respondents are generally less likely to express “symbolic racist” attitudes toward Whites than they were toward African-Americans, however in 2 of 3 instances, African-Americans are most likely to do so.



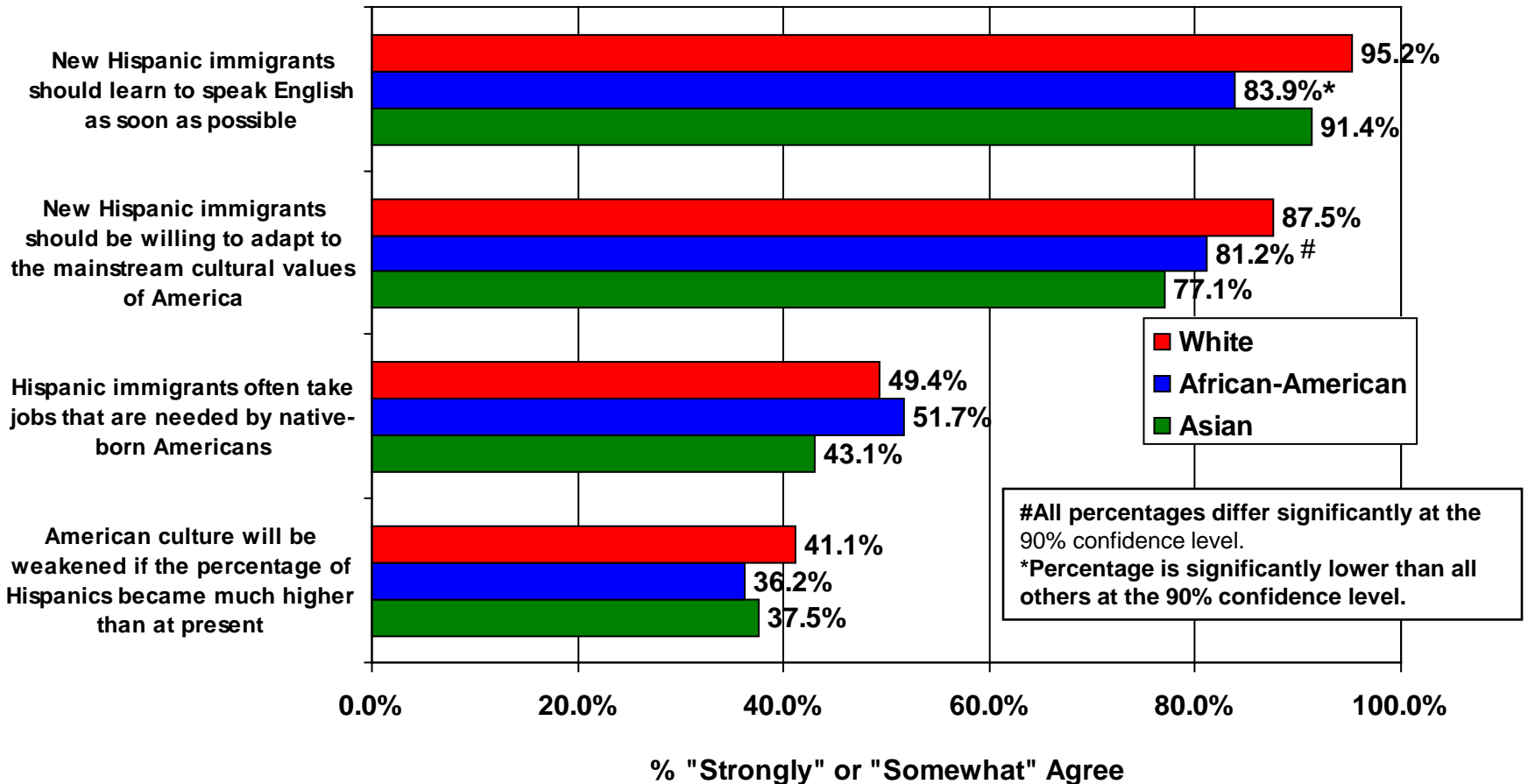
# Symbolic Racism

## Attitudes Toward Whites



# Symbolic Racism

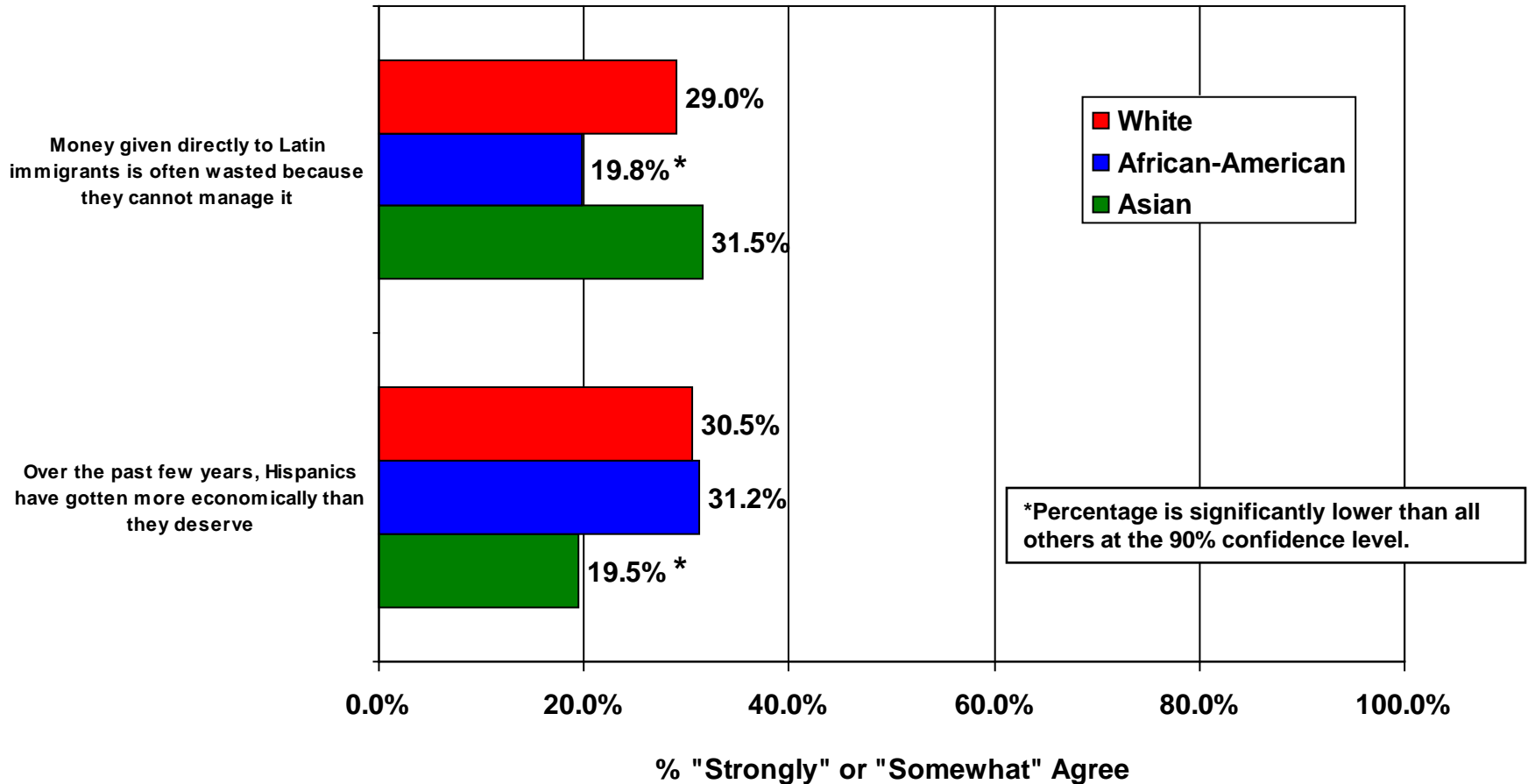
## Attitudes Toward Hispanics



There is near universal agreement that Hispanics should adapt to the mainstream culture.

# Symbolic Racism

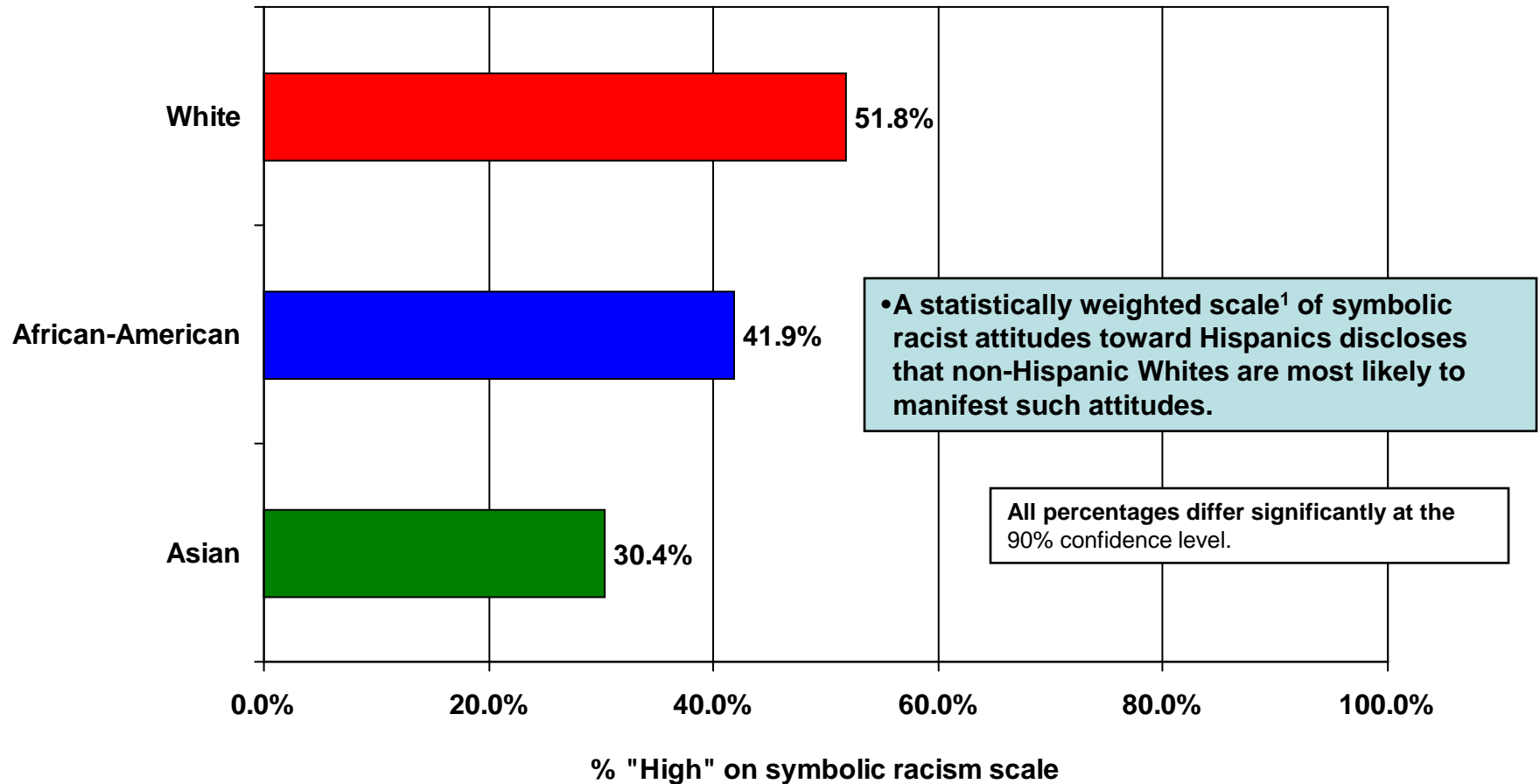
## Attitudes Toward Hispanics (Continued)



Asians and Whites were more likely than African-Americans to agree that money given to Hispanics for housing and healthcare is often wasted.

# Symbolic Racism

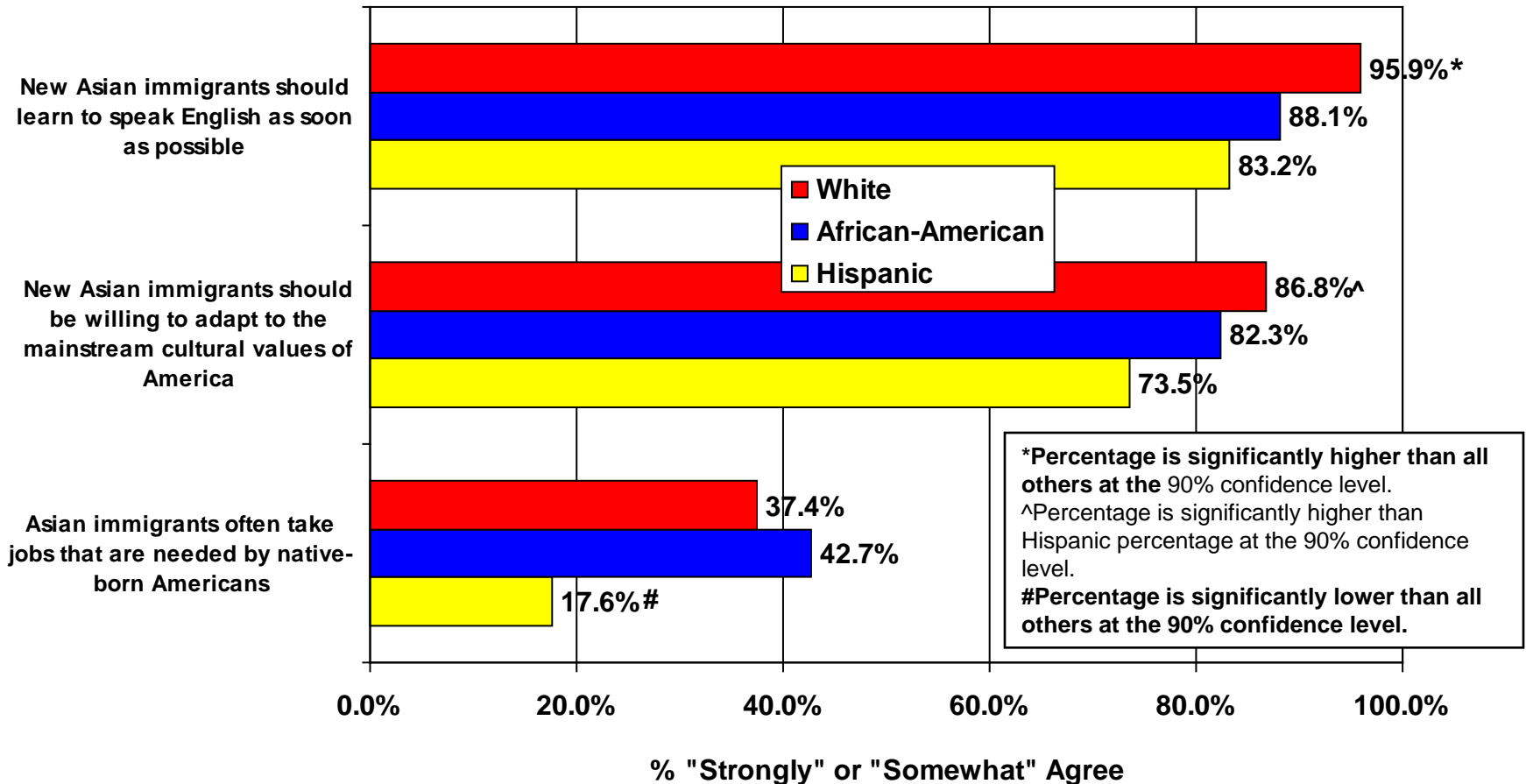
## Attitudes Toward Hispanics



<sup>1</sup>The weighted scale classifies those respondents whose mean scale score is .5 standard deviations above the overall mean as "high."

# Symbolic Racism

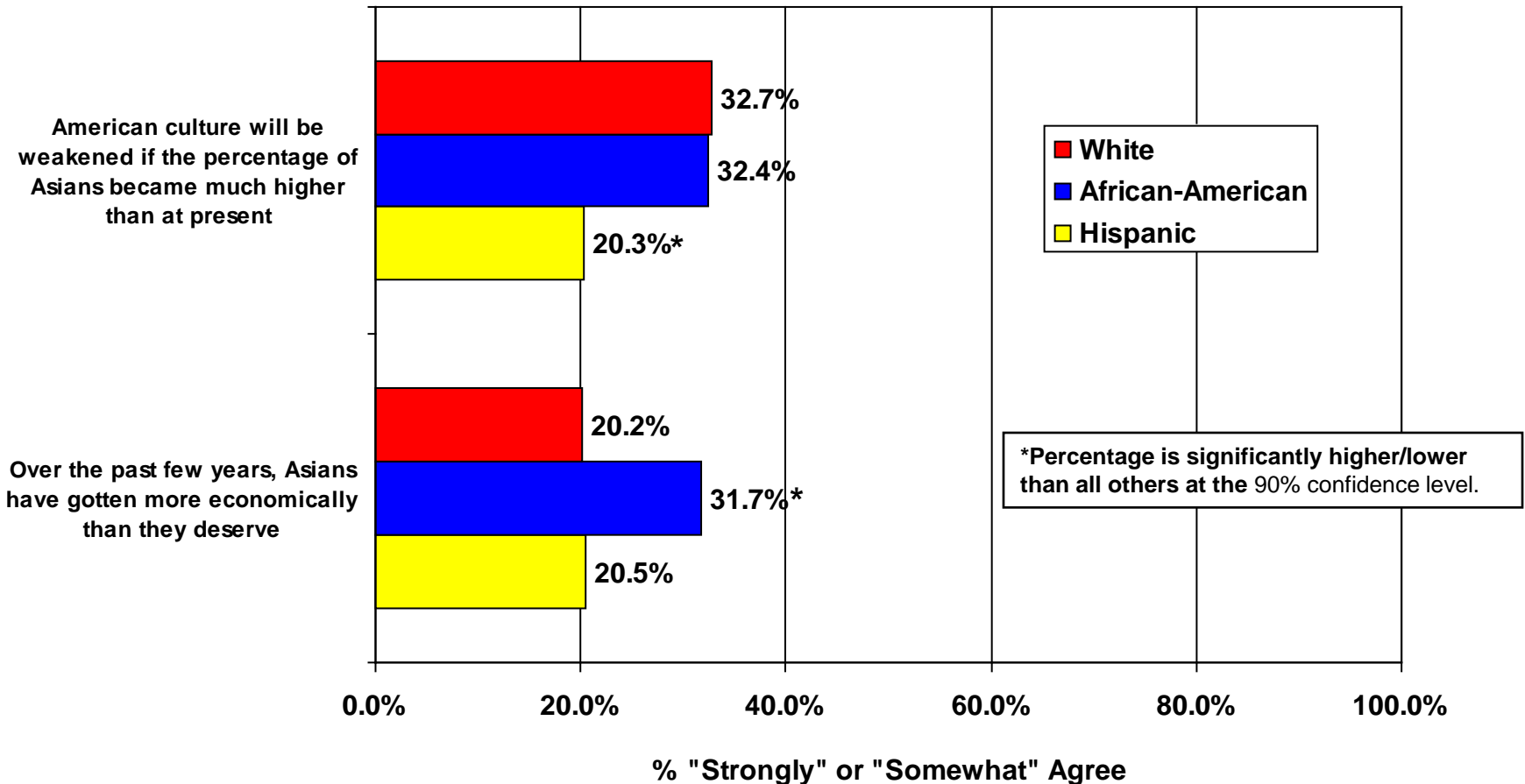
## Attitudes Toward Asians



As was the case with Hispanics, respondents are most frequently in agreement that Asians need to assimilate to the mainstream culture.

# Symbolic Racism

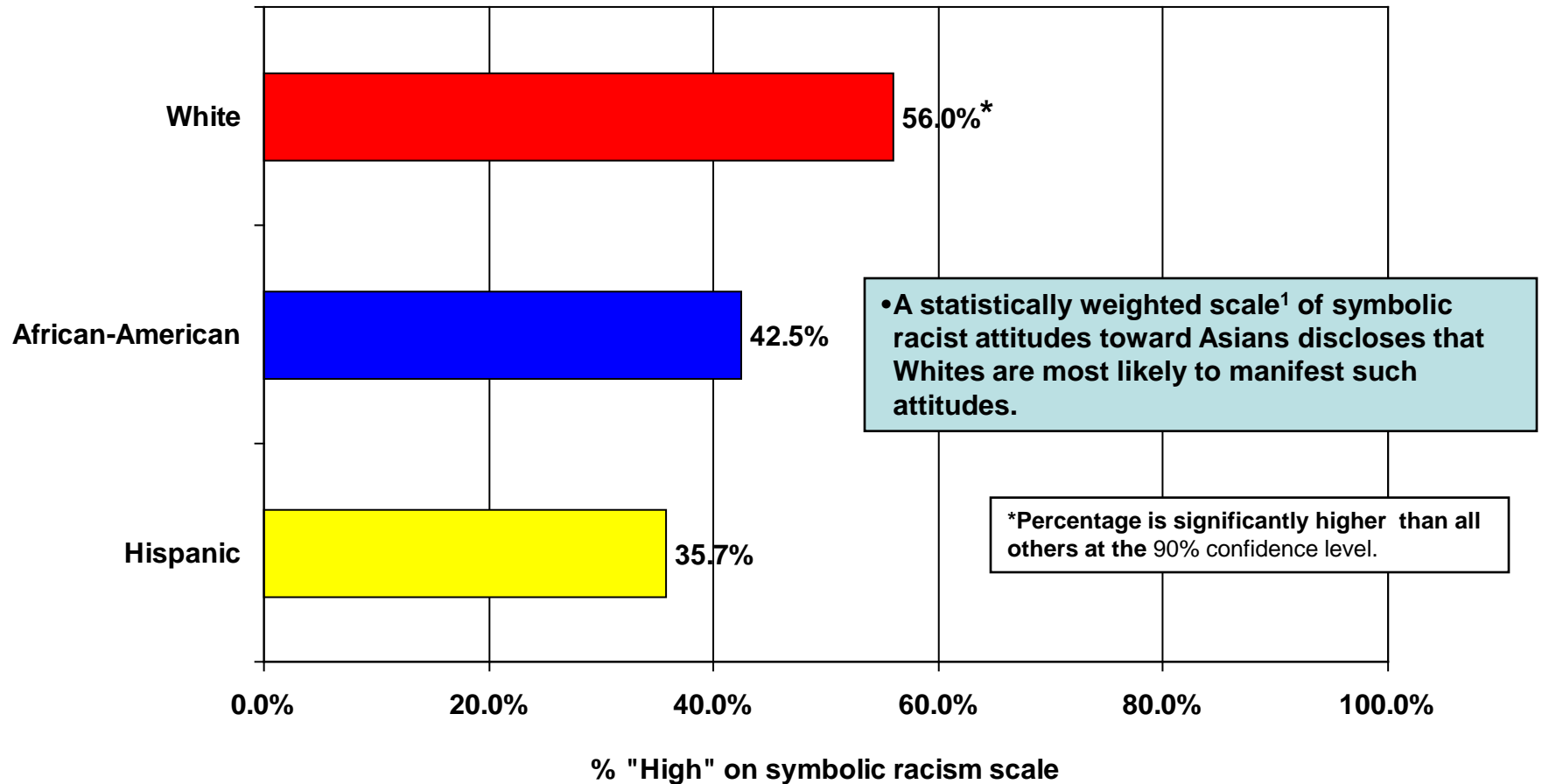
## Attitudes Toward Asians (Continued)



Respondents seem somewhat less concerned that growth in the Asian population will "weaken American culture" than they were with Hispanics.

# Symbolic Racism

## Attitudes Toward Asians



<sup>1</sup>The weighted scale classifies those respondents whose mean scale score is .5 standard deviations above the overall mean as "high."

# Accounting for Symbolic Racism

- Multiple regression analysis (OLS regression) was used to identify the attitudinal correlates, or “drivers” of symbolic racism. Potential drivers tested in the analysis include:
  - **Affective orientation** – as defined in the *Group Ratings* section.
  - **Stereotypes** – A weighted scale derived from the questions reported in the *Stereotypes* section.
  - **Traditional racism** – Negative racial attitudes expressed in terms of perceived inherent deficiencies rooted only in group membership (See *Traditional Racism* section).
  - **Empathy and Economic individualism** – Weighted scales of questions measuring these concepts as reported in the *Appendix*. Empathetic attitudes and attitudes concerning economic individualism are non-race related attitudes which could potentially drive the formation of “symbolic racist” attitudes. To the extent that these factors are found to drive the subject attitudes, they are not legitimately considered “racist.”
  - **Political philosophy** – An additive scale derived from measures of partisan and ideological self-identification (see *Appendix*). An influence of political philosophy suggests another non-racist driver of the subject attitudes.
  - **Race** – Respondents’ race/ethnic group membership is also included as a potential driver.



# Accounting for Symbolic Racism

- The column in the tables labeled “% accounted for” indexes the relative importance of each factor in driving symbolic racist attitudes.
  - For example, on the following page we see that stereotypes account for about 60% of the variation in symbolic racism toward African-Americans, while traditionally racist attitudes concerning intermarriage account for about 20%. We can interpret this as stereotypical thinking being three times as important as traditional racism in driving symbolic racist attitudes.
    - Perhaps more important, results such as those on the following page indicate that race-related factors are four times more important than non-racial factors in driving these symbolic attitudes toward Blacks.
  - For those more technically inclined, the percentages indicated are the ratio of the systematic variation accounted for by the factor to the total systematic variation accounted for by the model ( $r_a^2/R^2$ , where a=the individual factor in question).

# What Accounts For Symbolic Racism

## Attitudes Toward African-Americans

| FACTOR                             | % ACCOUNTED FOR |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Stereotypes                        | 60.3%           |
| Traditional Racism (Intermarriage) | 20.1%           |
| Political Philosophy               | 8.5%            |
| Empathy                            | 6.1%            |
| Economic Individualism             | 4.9%            |

- Though factors such as political philosophy, individualism and empathy do play a part in accounting for symbolic racist attitudes toward African-Americans, it is clear that these attitudes are driven primarily by racial stereotypes and traditional racist attitudes.
- Given that over one-third of non-Black respondents possess attitudes that can be characterized overall as “racist” from a symbolic perspective (see page 54), it would appear that an attitudinal problem does remain in the area.

# What Accounts For Symbolic Racism

Attitudes Toward Whites

| FACTOR                                | % ACCOUNTED FOR |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Traditional Racism (Naturally unable) | 53.4%           |
| Economic Individualism                | 24.1%           |
| African-American                      | 22.5%           |

•Results here indicate that negative, race based attitudes are a “two way street,” as symbolic attitudes toward Whites are largely accounted for by the belief that Whites are naturally unable to treat Blacks fairly and by other factors associated with being African-American.

# What Accounts For Symbolic Racism

## Attitudes Toward Hispanics

| FACTOR                                | % ACCOUNTED FOR |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Traditional Racism (Less intelligent) | 67.9%           |
| Affective orientation                 | 13.4%           |
| Economic Individualism                | 11.9%           |
| African-American                      | 6.7%            |

- The factor most responsible for driving symbolic racist attitudes toward Hispanics is the traditional racist attitude that Hispanics are less intelligent than others.
- Economic individualism is the only non-racially oriented factor driving these attitudes.

# What Accounts For Symbolic Racism

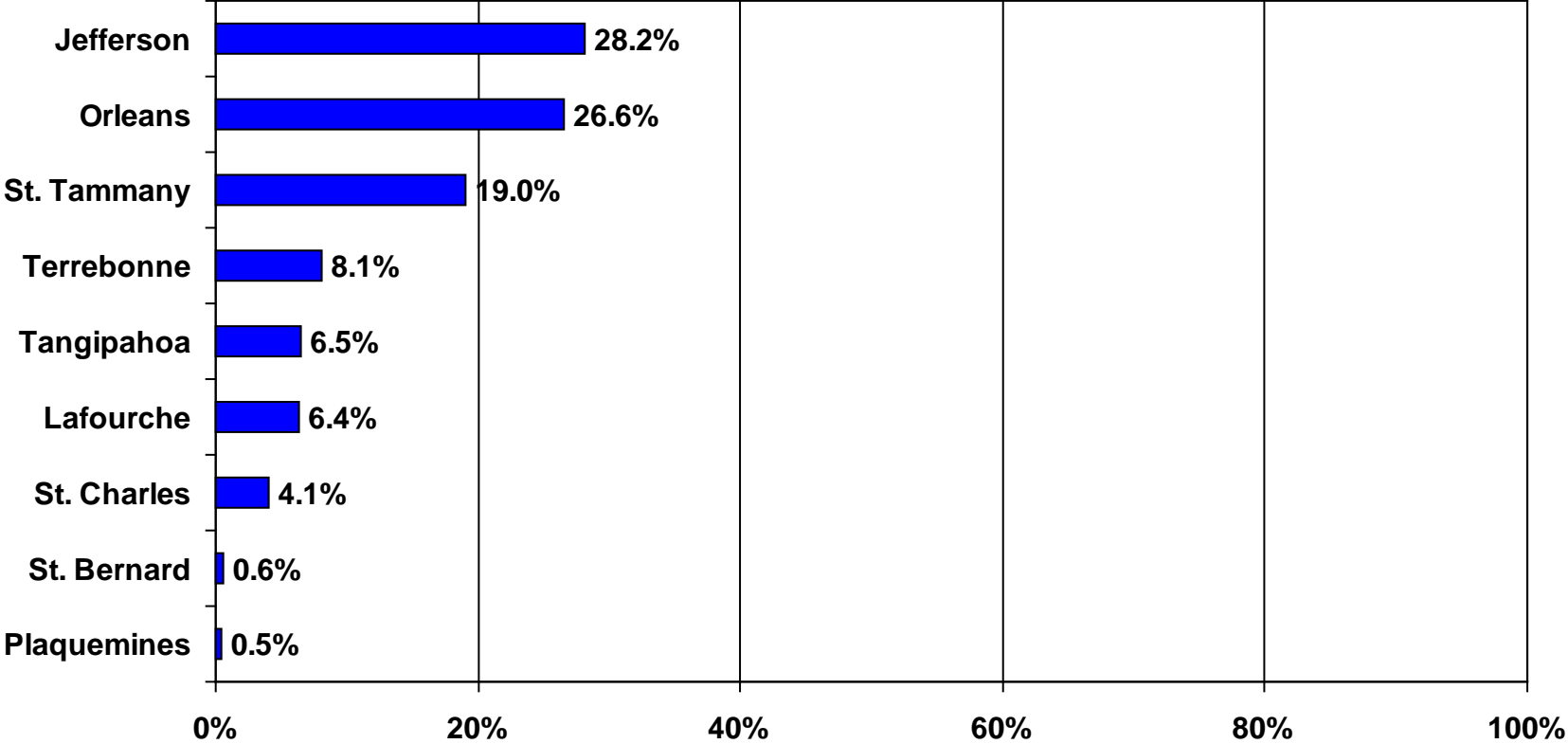
## Attitudes Toward Asians

| FACTOR                                | % ACCOUNTED FOR |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Traditional Racism (Less intelligent) | 60.4%           |
| Economic Individualism                | 19.8%           |
| Affective orientation                 | 12.8%           |
| Stereotypes                           | 7.0%            |

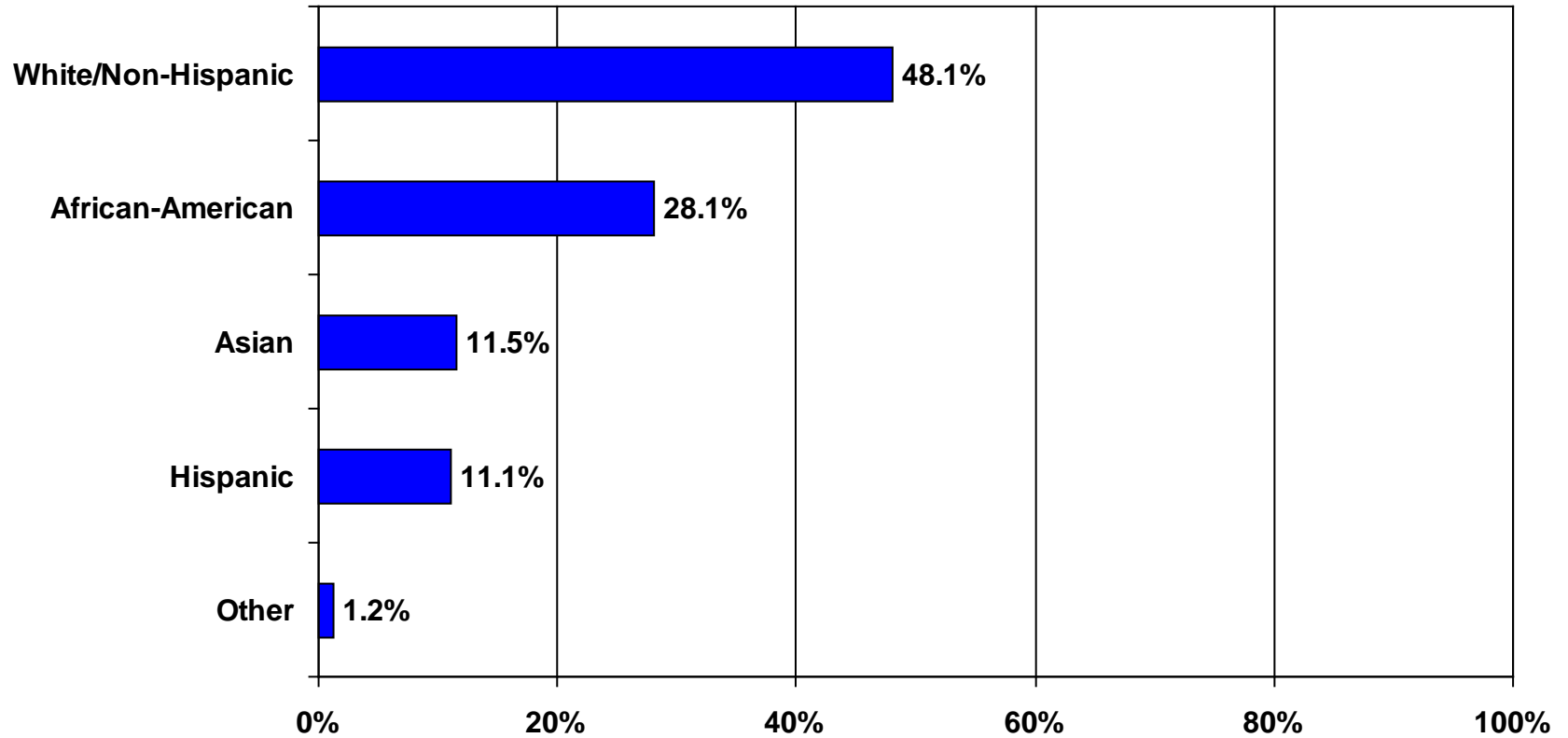
- Like Hispanics, the main factor driving symbolic racist attitudes toward Asians is the traditional racist belief that Asians are less intelligent than others.
- These attitudes toward Asians are also driven by affective orientation (feelings of like or dislike).
- Beliefs concerning economic individualism play a relatively greater role in driving attitudes toward Asians than they do in driving symbolic racist attitudes toward other groups .

# Respondent Profile

# Parish



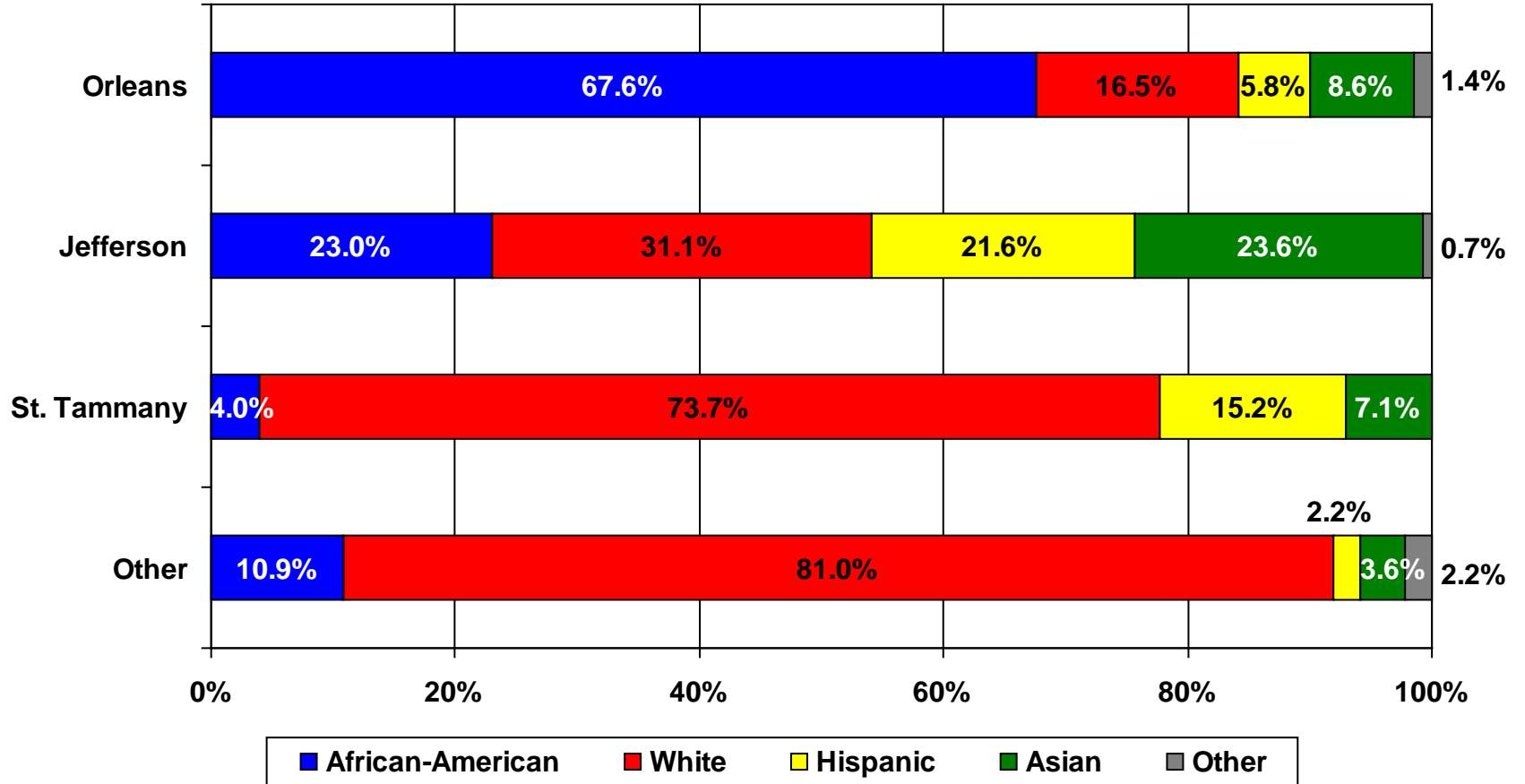
# Race/Ethnicity



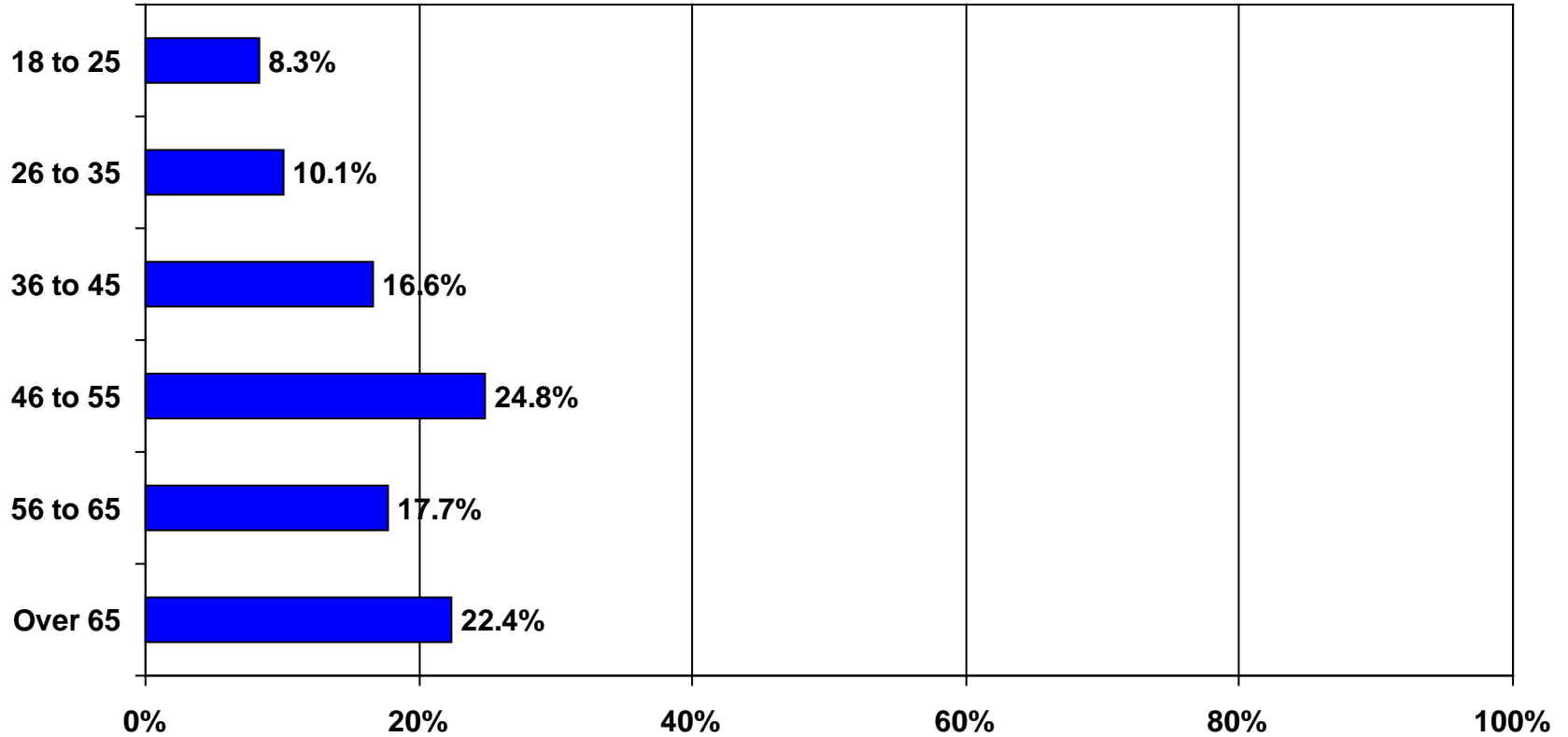


# Race/Ethnicity

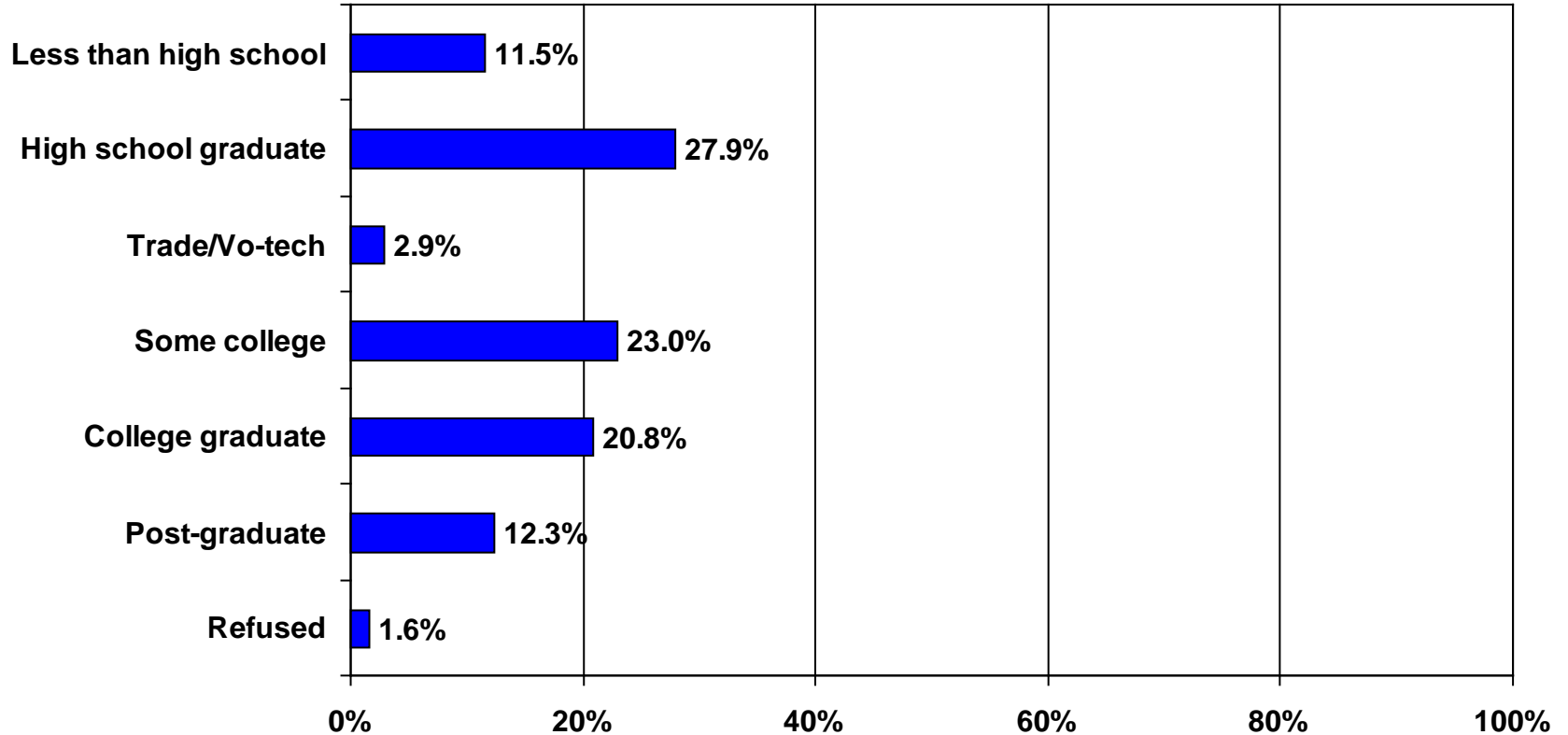
By Parish



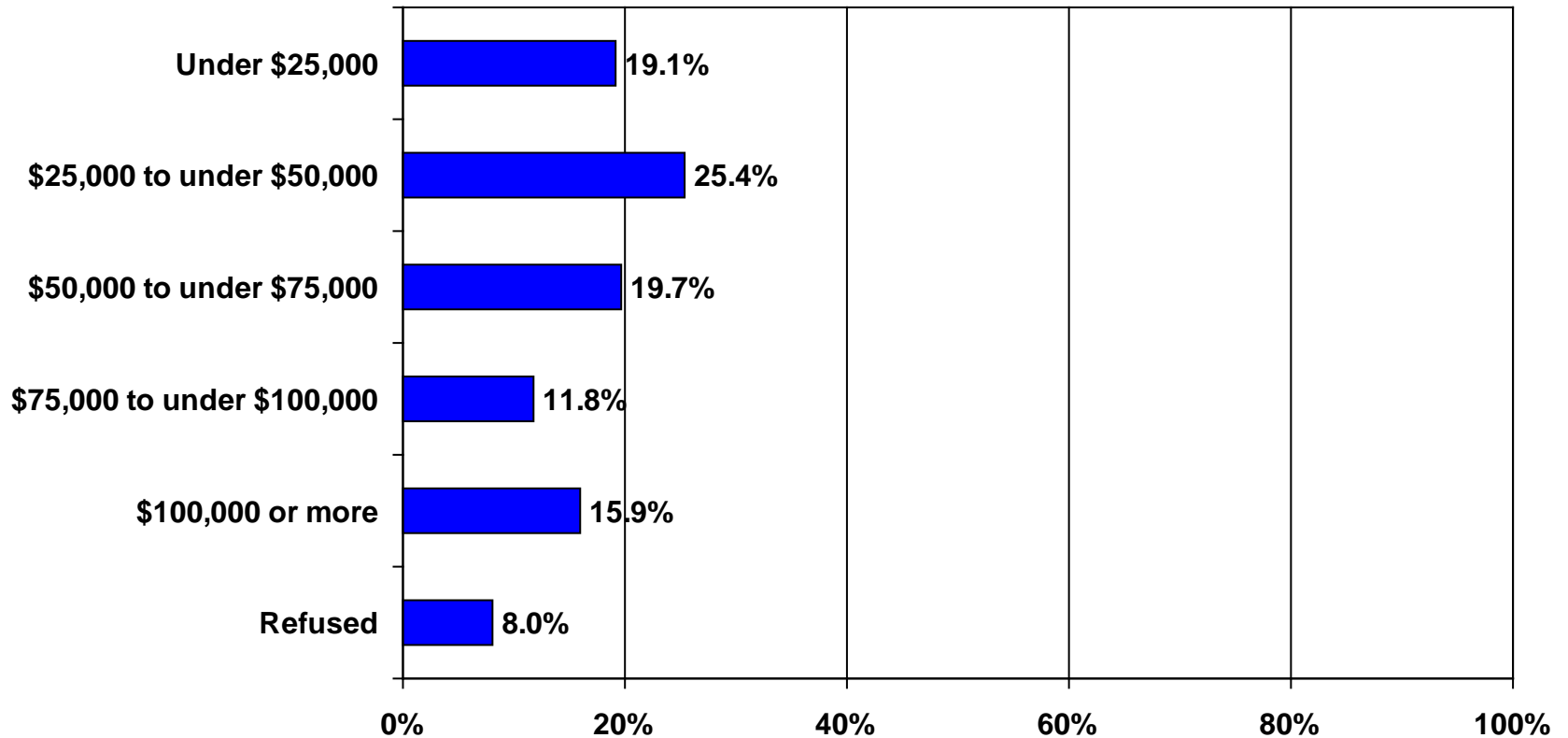
# Respondent Age



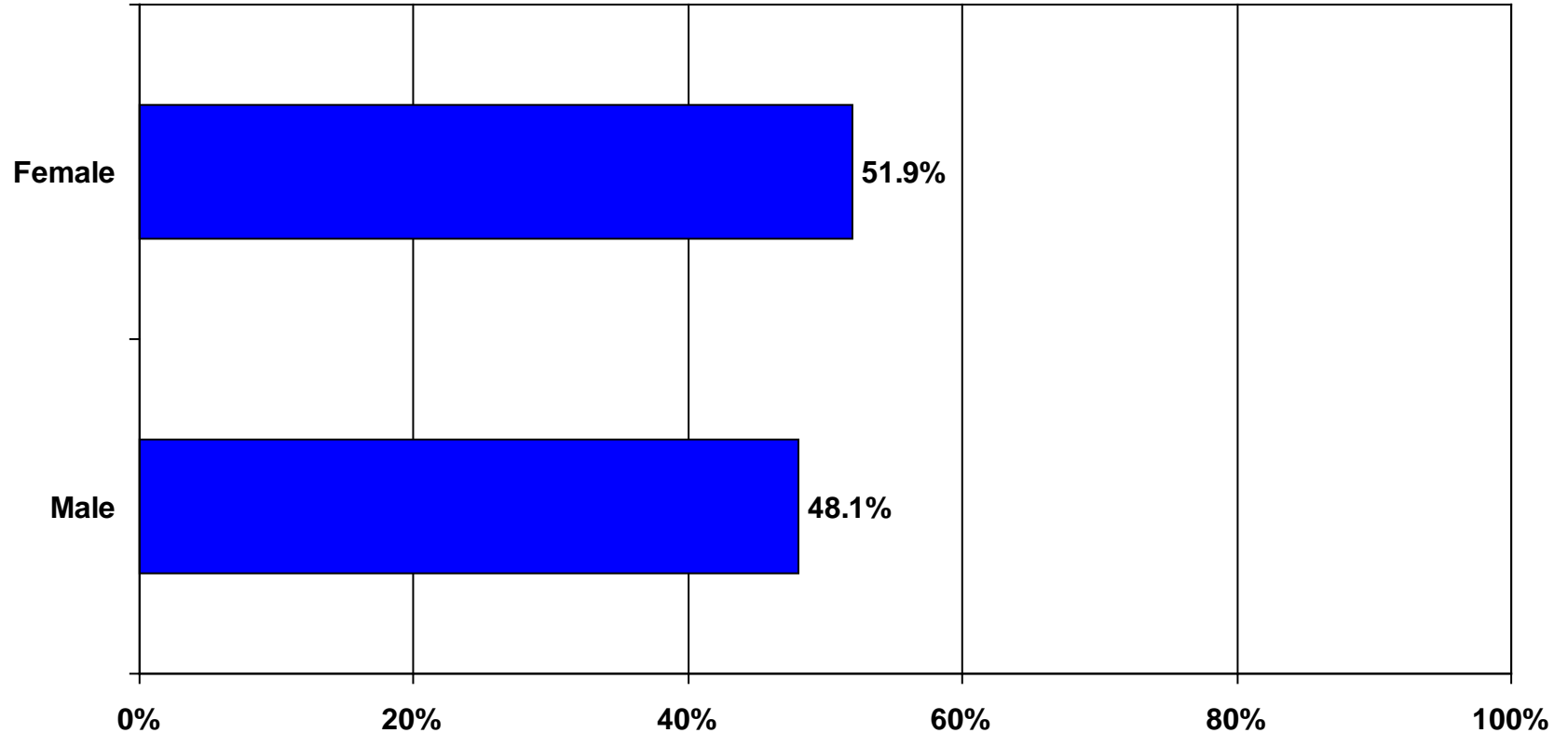
# Respondent Education



# Respondent Income



# Respondent Gender



# **Appendix: Measurement of Non-race related factors**

# Empathy

- Empathy is measured as a weighted scale based on responses to the following questions:

I'm going to read a series of statements, and for each one please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

1. I am able to remain calm even though those around me worry.
2. I tend to get emotionally involved with a friend's problems.
3. It is hard for me to see how some things upset people so much.
4. I cannot continue to feel okay if people around me are depressed.

# Economic Individualism

- Economic individualism is measured as a weighted scale based on responses to the following questions:

I'm going to read a series of statements, and for each one please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree with the statement.

1. Hard work offers little guarantee of success.
2. If people work hard, they almost always get what they want.
3. Getting ahead in the world is mostly a matter of getting the breaks.
4. Even if people are ambitious, they often cannot succeed .



# Political Philosophy

- Political philosophy is measured as an additive scale based on responses to the following questions:

1. Generally speaking, do you usually consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?
2. In general, would you consider yourself to be a liberal, moderate, or conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?