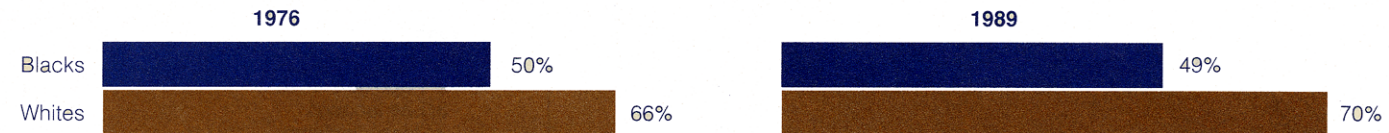


A PORTRAIT IN BLACK AND WHITE

Question: Here is a list of things having to do with community life. Would you go down the list and for each one tell me how you would rate it here in your area—excellent, good, fair, or poor?

Excellent/good responses combined

The public schools



Police protection



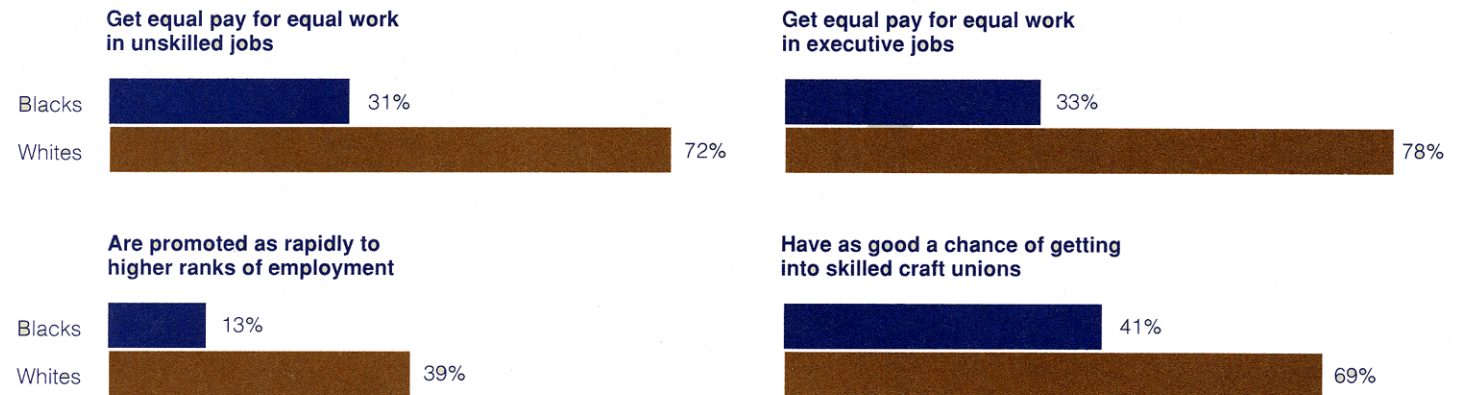
Job opportunities



Source: Surveys by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 89-2), latest that of January 7-21, 1989.

Question: Do you feel that . . . ?

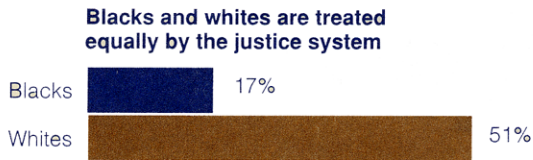
Compared with whites, blacks . . .



Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., June 3-September 12, 1988.

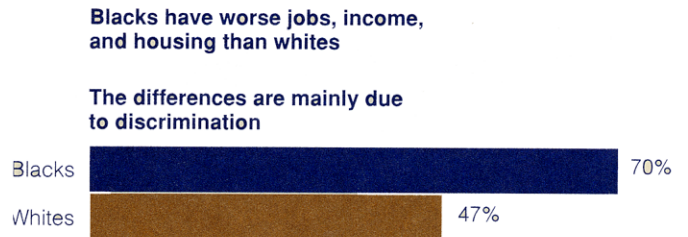
In 1968, the Kerner Commission described two Americas, "one black, one white—separate and unequal." Twenty years later, profound differences remain in the assessments black and white Americans make of their statuses and society's performance.

Question: All in all, do you feel that blacks and whites in this country are treated equally by the justice system, that blacks are treated less equally, or are they treated better than whites?



Note: Eighty-two percent of blacks and 36% of whites said that blacks are treated less equally than whites.
Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., June 3–September 12, 1988.

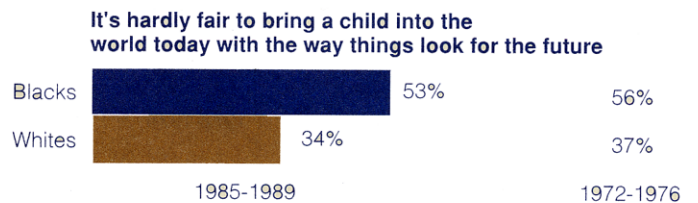
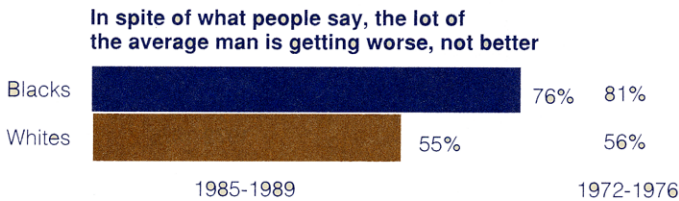
Question: Most people agree that on the average, blacks have worse jobs, income, and housing than whites. Do you think the differences are . . .



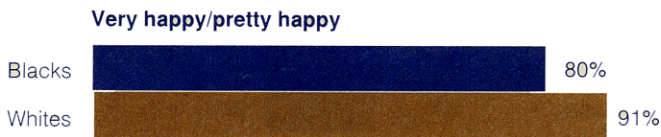
Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, September 28–October 3, 1989.

BLACK OUTLOOK BLEAKER

Question: Now I'd like your opinion on a number of different things . . .



Question: Taken all together, how would you say things are these days—would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?



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

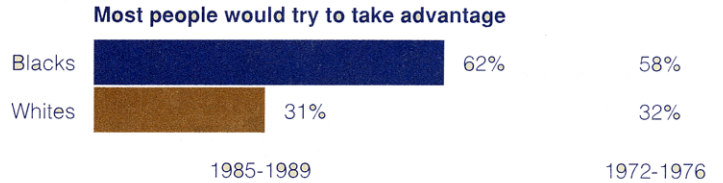
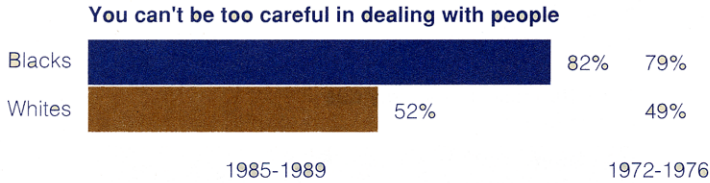


Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, latest that of 1985–1989 combined.

Compared to whites, blacks are more pessimistic generally, and less trusting of their fellow man.

Question: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

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

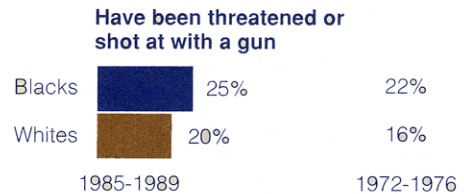


Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, latest that of 1985-1989 combined.

BLACK AND WHITE EXPERIENCES DIFFERENT

Question: During the last year, did anyone take something directly from you by using force—such as a stickup, mugging, or threat?

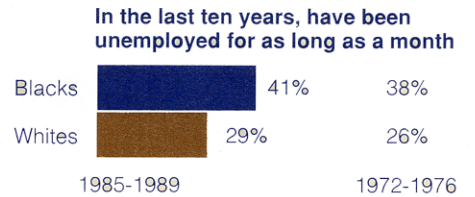
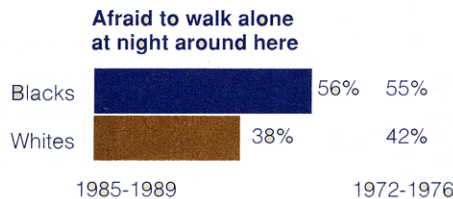
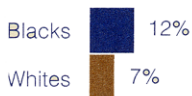
Question: Have you ever been threatened with a gun, or shot at?



Suffered two or more traumatic events (deaths, divorces, unemployments, and hospitalizations/disabilities) in the last year

Question: Is there any area right around here—that is, within a mile—where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?

Question: At any time during the last ten years, have you been unemployed and looking for work for as long as a month?



Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, latest that of 1985-1989 combined.

The sense of pessimism may be rooted in starkly different experiences of blacks and whites. As this section illustrates, blacks endure more hardships, more misfortune, and more crime than whites.

DOING THE RIGHT THING

Question: Looking back over the last 10 years, do you think the quality of life for blacks in the United States has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?



Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, September 28–October 3, 1989.

Question: Please tell me whether you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the following aspects of your life ...

Satisfied with . . .

Your present housing



Your standard of living



The work you do



Your household income

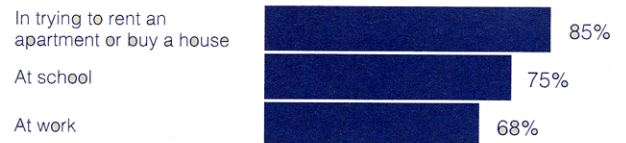


Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, September 25–October 1, 1988.

Question: Have you ever been discriminated against ...

Blacks

Have not been discriminated against . . .

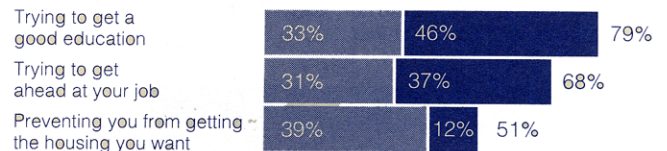


Source: Survey by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for Time, January 19–21, 1987.

Question: Has racial prejudice been a major factor, a minor factor, or not a factor in ...

Blacks

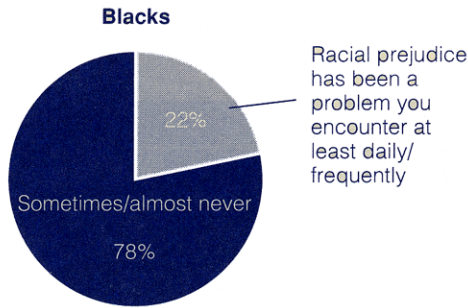
Racial prejudice has been a minor factor/not a factor in . . .



Source: Survey of black adults by Gordon S. Black Corporation for USA Today, August 30–31, 1989.

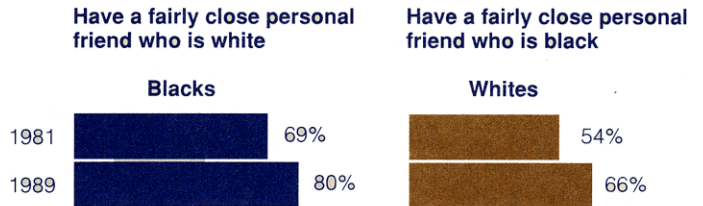
The argument of black/white distinctiveness can easily be overstated. The outlook of black Americans, for example, is not uniformly pessimistic. Majorities are satisfied with important aspects of their lives, and many report that they have not faced discrimination in everyday affairs.

Question: Generally speaking, has racial prejudice been a problem you encounter ...



Source: Survey of black adults by Gordon S. Black Corporation for *USA Today*, August 30–31, 1989.

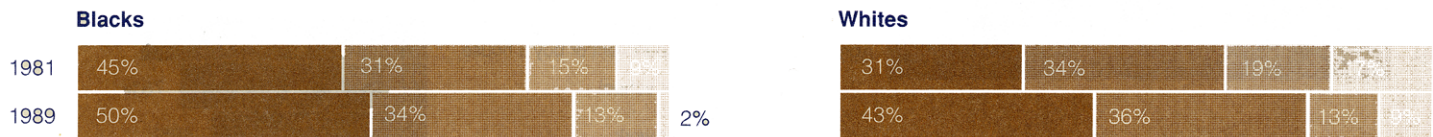
Question: Do you yourself know any (black/white) person whom you consider a fairly close personal friend?



Source: Survey by ABC News/*Washington Post*, latest that of September 28–October 3, 1989.

Question: Would you say the white children in your neighborhood tend to associate with the black children ...

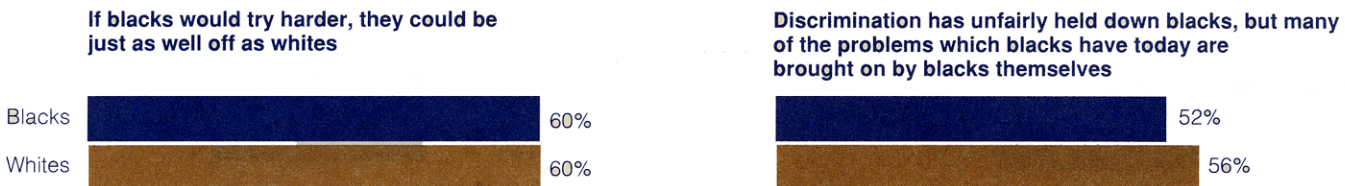
White children in my neighborhood tend to associate with the black children a great deal
 Only somewhat
 Hardly ever
 Don't know



Note: Question asked of those in integrated neighborhoods=68%.
Source: Survey by ABC News/*Washington Post*, latest that of September 28–October 3, 1989.

SELF-CRITICISM

Question: I am going to read you a few statements and for each I'd like you to tell me whether you tend to agree or disagree with it, or if perhaps you have no opinion about the statement?



Source: Surveys by ABC News/*Washington Post*, September 28–October 3, 1989.

There have been substantial increases in interracial contacts—in neighborhoods, and among children and friends. On another level, there is an element of self-criticism in black assessment.

Question: On the average blacks have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are ...

Black/white differences in income, jobs, housing exist . . .

Because most blacks have less inborn ability to learn



Because most blacks just don't have the motivation or will power to pull themselves out of poverty



Because most blacks don't have the education that it takes to rise out of poverty

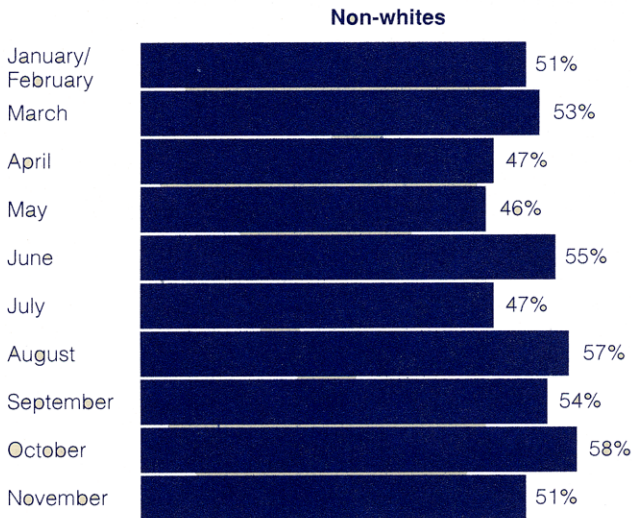


Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, 1985-1989 combined.

POLITICS AND POLICY

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

Approve of the way George Bush is handling his job as president



President Bush is considerably more popular among black Americans than Ronald Reagan was. A review of 136 Gallup polls taken during Reagan's eight years shows that he averaged only about 25% approval among blacks. By contrast, in 33 national polls taken since George Bush became president, he has dropped below 40% among blacks only five times.

Black vote for the Democratic candidate	
Year	Percent
1976	84%
1980	86
1984	91
1988	87

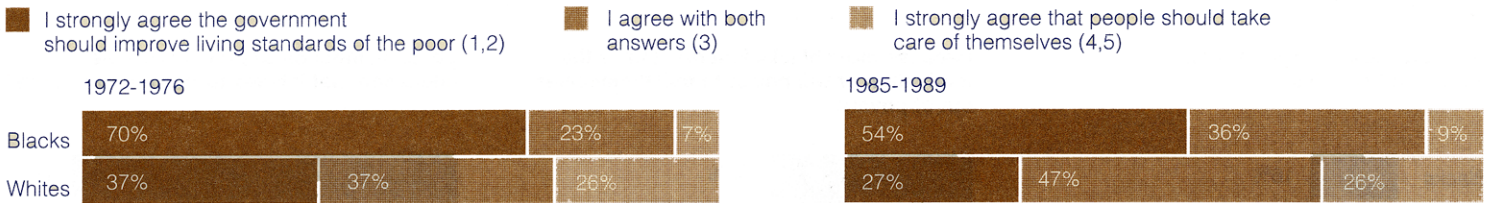
Party identification (black) (Percent Democratic)	
Year	Percent
1976	74%
1980	73
1984	80
1988	77

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of November 9-12, 1989.

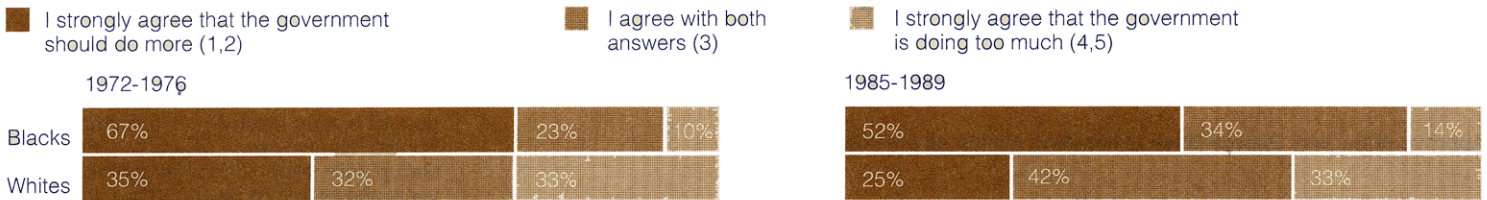
Source: Surveys by CBS News/New York Times, latest that of 1988.

Black Americans give George Bush solid support—a strong contrast to their dissatisfaction with Ronald Reagan. But blacks are also the Democrats' most loyal constituency.

Question: I'd like to talk with you about some issues people tell us are important. Please look at Card QQ. Some people think that the government in Washington should do everything possible to improve the standard of living of all poor Americans; they are at Point 1 on this scale. Other people think it is not the government's responsibility, and that each person should take care of himself; they are at Point 5. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind?



Question: Now look at Card RR. Some people think that the government in Washington is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and private businesses. Others disagree and think that the government should do even more to solve our country's problems. Still others have opinions somewhere in between. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you made up your mind on this?



Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, latest that of February–April, 1989.

Question: We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we are spending . . .

Improving the condition of blacks



Source: (Blacks) Survey by the Northwestern University Survey Laboratory for Richard Clarke Associates, October 12-20, 1988; (Whites) Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, latest that of February–April, 1989.

The major political differences between blacks and whites concern the proper role of government. Blacks favor a much stronger role for government than do whites.

AMERICAN VALUES: NOT BLACK AND WHITE

Question: Now I am going to ask you about some opportunities for getting ahead. For each of these, please tell me how important it is for getting ahead in life.



Note: * = less than .5%.

Source: (Blacks) Survey by the Northwestern University Survey Laboratory for Richard Clarke Associates, October 12-20, 1988; (Whites) Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, latest that of February-April, 1989.

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

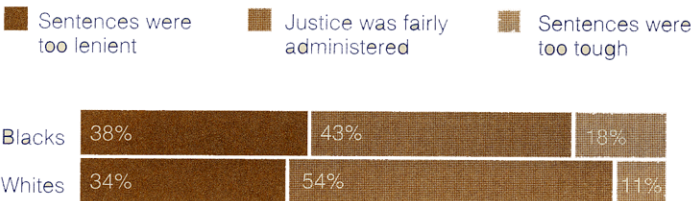
Courts in this area are not harsh enough



Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, 1985-1989 combined.

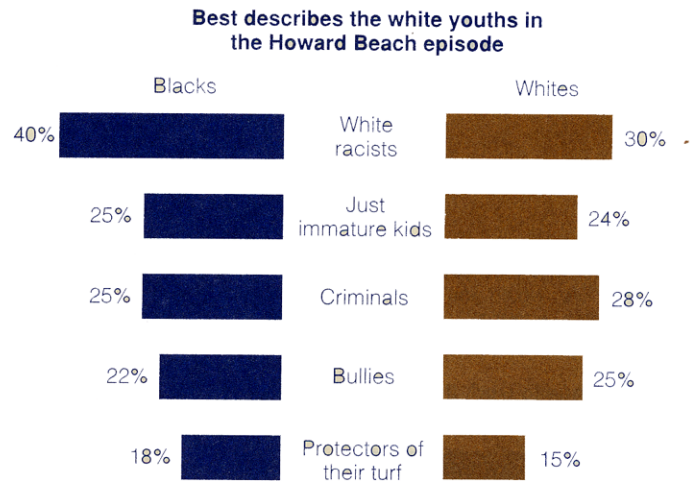
Question: In the Howard Beach case in New York City, in a dominantly white ethnic neighborhood blacks were beaten up by groups of young whites and one black was chased onto a highway and was run over and killed by a car. When tried by a jury, several of the young whites were found guilty of manslaughter and were given lengthy jail sentences. Do you feel that ...?

In the Howard Beach case. . .



Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., June 3-September 12, 1988.

Question: Now let me read you some words. Which two or three would you say best describe the white youths who attacked the blacks in the Howard Beach episode?



Note: Selected categories shown.

Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., June 3-September 12, 1988.

In the area of values, there is one America, not the two that the Kerner Commission described. Blacks and whites differ modestly on cultural, religious, and traditional values.

ONE AMERICA

Question: Now I'm going to read several more statements. As I read each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with it. For example, here is the statement:

A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work



Question: Would you call yourself a strong (name of respondent's religion) or a not very strong (name of respondent's religion)?

Religious preference strong



Question: If you were to get enough money to live as comfortably as you would like for the rest of your life, would you continue to work or would you stop working?

Would continue to work if very comfortable financially



Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, 1985-1989 combined.

Question: If you had to choose, which thing on this list would you pick as the most important for a child to learn to prepare him or her for life? Which comes next in importance?

Important for a child to learn to prepare for life



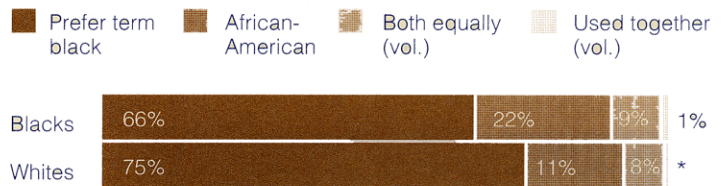
Question: How often do you attend religious services?

Attend religious services frequently*



Note: * = more than once a week, every week, and nearly every week.
Source: Surveys by National Opinion Research Center, 1985-1989, combined.

Question: Which term do you yourself prefer: black or African-American?



Note: * = less than .5%.
Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, September 28-October 3, 1989.