

## Fifty Years After Myrdal: Blacks' Racial Policy Attitudes in the 1990s

---

Steven A. Tuch

*The George Washington University*

Lee Sigelman

*The George Washington University*

Jack K. Martin

*University of Georgia*

---

Half a century has passed since the publication of Gunnar Myrdal's monumental two-volume work, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944). Myrdal painted an agonizing portrait of the pervasiveness of racially prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory practices in American life, but perhaps his most important contribution lay not in the descriptive detail he amassed concerning these conditions (Bobo, 1993), but in the compelling new interpretive context he provided for understanding racial prejudice and discrimination. Central to this context was the paradox posed by the coexistence of race-based social, economic, and political inequality, on the one hand, and the cherished American cultural values of freedom and equality, on the other. By highlighting this deeply rooted contradiction, Myrdal did much

---

The datasets utilized in this study were made available by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. The data for the 1987-1993 General Social Surveys, National Data Program for the Social Sciences, were originally collected by James A. Davis and Tom W. Smith of the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, and distributed for the Roper Public Opinion Research Center, University of Connecticut. The data for the 1988-1992 American National Election Studies were originally collected by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, under the direction of Warren E. Miller. The original collectors of the data, the Consortium, and the Center bear no responsibility for the analyses or interpretations presented here.

to inform and advance the efforts of civil rights activists, jurists, policy-makers, and others concerned with ameliorating racial disadvantage.

The decades since the publication of *An American Dilemma* have witnessed a dramatic decline in white Americans' overt expressions of anti-black and anti-integrationist sentiments (Greeley and Sheatsley, 1971; Hyman and Sheatsley, 1956, 1964; Jaynes and Williams, 1989; Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo, 1985; Sheatsley, 1966; Taylor, Sheatsley, and Greeley, 1978). In recent years, though, this liberalizing trend appears to have moderated. According to some analysts, white racism persists today but finds expression, not in traditional beliefs about racial inferiority but rather in a new, more subtle language of racial antipathy that emphasizes blacks' ostensibly illegitimate demands for changing the status quo (Sears, 1988) or their failure to endorse "mainstream" social values (See and Wilson, 1988). Most whites now voice strong support for general principles of racial equality, but look askance at specific programs designed to reduce race-based disadvantage, such as admissions and hiring quotas. This is the so-called "principle-implementation gap," the causes and consequences of which have been subjects of heated debate (see, e.g., Kinder, 1986; Sniderman and Tetlock, 1986).

Though still incomplete, our understanding of the factors that shape whites' views on racial policy issues far outstrips our understanding of the factors that shape blacks' views on these issues. Indeed, data on blacks' policy views have traditionally been missing from the policy debate. In the words of A. Wade Smith (1987: 441), "The attitudes white Americans hold toward their black counterparts probably comprise the longest running topic in public opinion research. Yet ... until recently black Americans—long the minority group most identified with 'racial matters' in the United States—were virtually invisible to serious students of American values" (see also Sigelman and Welch, 1991; Walton, 1985). Because most researchers have employed data from national surveys with severely restricted black subsamples, it has proven difficult to examine attitudinal differentiation among blacks. Thus, as Smith (1987: 441) recognized, the false impression has arisen that black Americans all think alike about these issues—an impression that impedes our understanding of blacks' views on racial issues in general and on policy issues in particular.

### **Race-Targeted Policies and the Black Middle Class**

In this paper we explore the attitudes of black Americans—and middle class black Americans in particular—toward policies designed to ameliorate racial disadvantage. We address two key issues. First, how supportive are blacks of race-targeted policies? Race-targeted policies are initiatives, typically but not necessarily by the federal government, explicitly intended to combat racial discrimination and reduce racial inequality. Those who study attitudes toward race-targeted policies often distinguish between compensatory programs, such as job training and special education, which are designed to help members of disadvantaged

groups compete more effectively in the workplace, and preferential treatment, such as admissions and hiring quotas (e.g., Lipset and Schneider, 1978). Prior research has established that most whites and most blacks support the former (Bobo and Kluegel, 1993; Sigelman and Welch, 1991). On the other hand, most whites reject programs they view as according preferential treatment on the basis of group membership, because, in their view, such programs violate fundamental American principles of fairness. Many blacks seem to agree with them, but the evidence is far less reliable.

In exploring blacks' attitudes toward race-targeted policies that span the broad spectrum between the extremes of compensatory action and preferential treatment, we pay special attention to middle class blacks. In recent years, much has been said about what many see as the increasing social and economic polarization of the black community occasioned by the concurrent swelling of the black middle class and entrapment in poverty of the great mass of ghetto blacks (see especially Wilson, 1987). Is this socioeconomic differentiation fostering political cleavages among blacks? According to one school of thought, a conservative black middle class is emerging whose objective class interests are closely tied to those of middle class whites. These common class interests, it is argued, predispose middle class blacks to adopt perspectives and behaviors generally associated with whites similarly situated in the class structure rather than with lower and working class blacks. However, others argue that blacks, as members of a historically subordinated group, are likely to maintain their sense of group identification in spite of increasing economic fragmentation. According to this view, black political interests and perspectives continue to cross class lines. It follows that in contrast to middle class whites, who exhibit strong class ties, middle class blacks are likely to identify common interests with their racial rather than their class peers.

Several attempts have been made to gauge the extent to which blacks' views on policy issues reflect their class standing (Dawson, 1991; Gilham and Whitby, 1989; Jackman and Jackman, 1983; Seltzer and Smith, 1985; Smith and Seltzer, 1992; Tate, 1993; Walton, 1985; Welch and Combs, 1985; Welch and Foster, 1987). Unfortunately, only rarely have these studies focused on attitudes toward race-targeted policies, and no study has focused on attitudes toward a broad array of such policies. In what follows, we merge data from two series of omnibus national opinion surveys, the 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, and 1993 General Social Surveys (GSS), and the 1988, 1990, and 1992 American National Studies (ANES), to enable analysis of blacks' appraisals of a substantially wider variety of questions about race-targeted policies than have been considered in any prior study.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The GSS was not conducted in 1992, and the ANES is conducted only in even-numbered years.

### Racial Differences in Support for Race-Targeted Policies

Table 1 shows how black and white interviewees in the 1987-93 GSS and the 1988-92 ANES responded to eight questions about race-targeted policies. On the first of these questions, which appeared in the GSS, interviewees were asked whether too much, about the right amount, or too little is being spent on assistance to blacks. Their responses indicate that a wide gulf separates blacks from whites on this issue: eight out of ten blacks but only one white in four said that too little is being spent on assistance to blacks, while one white in four but only one black in forty said that too much is being spent for this purpose. Black-white differences of comparable magnitude cropped up on the second question, which is the ANES version of the same item. Here, about seven blacks in ten but fewer than two whites in ten expressed support for increased federal spending on programs that assist blacks.

**Table 1. Blacks' and Whites' Opinions on Racial Policy Issues**

(1) 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're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on assistance to blacks?

	Blacks (N=475)	Whites (N=3754)
Too little	80.8%	25.6%
About right	16.8%	50.4%
Too much	2.3%	23.9%

(2) Should federal spending programs that assist blacks be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

	Blacks (N=691)	Whites (N=4321)
Increased	69.5%	18.4%
Kept the same	28.8%	56.5%
Decreased	1.7%	25.2%

(3) Some people think that blacks have been discriminated against for so long that the government has a special obligation to improve their living standard. Others believe that the government should not be giving special treatment to blacks. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

	Blacks (N=432)	Whites (N=3470)
Government should help	36.6%	5.5%
	17.6%	9.4%
	31.9%	29.9%
	6.3%	20.1%
No special treatment	7.6%	35.1%

**Table 1**  
(continued)

(4) Some people feel that the government should make every effort to improve the social and economic positions of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

	Blacks (N=655)	Whites (N=4088)
Government should help	28.9%	4.0%
	11.0%	5.1%
	9.3%	11.4%
	23.7%	26.0 %
	9.8%	16.5 %
	7.6%	15.9 %
Blacks help themselves	9.8%	21.2%

(5) Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.

	Blacks (N=513)	Whites (N=3492)
Agree strongly	19.5%	39.3%
Agree somewhat	26.9%	35.1%
Neither	12.1%	9.6%
Disagree somewhat	17.9%	12.6%
Disagree strongly	23.6%	3.4%

(6) Some people feel that if black people are not getting fair treatment in jobs, the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that it is not the federal government's business. Have you had enough interest in this question to favor one side over the other?

	Blacks (N=316)	Whites (N=1780)
Should intervene	91.1%	50.9%
Should not intervene	8.9%	49.1%

(7) Some people say that because of past discrimination blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion—are you for or against preferential hiring for blacks?

	Blacks (N=476)	Whites (N=3379)
Strongly favor	53.4%	6.2%
Favor	10.1%	7.9%
Oppose	14.9%	18.3%
Strongly oppose	21.6%	67.6%

**Table 1**  
(continued)

(8) Some people say that because of past discrimination it is sometimes necessary for colleges and universities to reserve openings for black students. Others oppose quotas because they say quotas give blacks advantages they haven't earned. What is your opinion? Are you for or against quotas to admit black students?

	Blacks (N=481)	Whites (N=3296)
Strongly favor	64.4%	11.7%
Favor	12.3%	15.4%
Oppose	8.5%	22.4 %
Strongly oppose	14.8%	50.6%

SOURCES: Items (1) and (3) are from the National Opinion Research Center's 1987-1993 General Social Surveys (Davis and Smith, 1993). Items (2) and (4) - (8) are from the Institute for Social Research's 1988, 1990, and 1992 American National Election Studies (Miffler, 1993). Both sets of surveys are based on full probability sampling designs and are representative of the noninstitutionalized adult population of the continental United States.

The third and fourth items, taken from the GSS and the ANES, respectively, asked about the necessity for special assistance for blacks. On the first version of this question, 54 percent of the black interviewees placed themselves on the "government should help" side of the scale and only 14 percent on the "no special treatment" side, but these percentages were almost exactly reversed among white interviewees. On the second version, black-white differences are somewhat less extreme, probably because this question invoked black self-help as a counterpoise to special efforts to help blacks; given that symbolically potent stimulus, more than 27 percent of black interviewees took a stand against special government efforts to help blacks.

The self-help motif also figured prominently in the fifth item, which solicited agreement or disagreement with the proposition that blacks, like earlier minority groups, should work their way up "without any special favors." More blacks agreed (46 percent) than disagreed (42 percent) with this notion, although agreement was much more widespread among whites (74 percent) and disagreement correspondingly lower (16 percent).

In contrast to the first five items, each of which asked in one way or another about a race-targeted policy without specifically describing the policy, the sixth, seventh, and eighth items were more specific. Of all eight items considered here, the sixth, which asked whether the federal government should intervene to ensure that blacks receive fair treatment in employment, seems closest to traditional American conceptions of equal opportunity and most distant from notions of preferential treatment. It thus occasions no great surprise to observe that white interviewees were more likely to express support for race-targeted policy in response to this question than to any of the seven others. Even so, only

51 percent of whites said that federal intervention was warranted, with 49 percent disagreeing. Their disagreement might, to some extent, have stemmed from specific objections to federal, as opposed to state or local, intervention (Kuklinski and Parent, 1981; Margolis and Haque, 1981), but whatever its sources, it contrasts sharply with the clear-cut consensus among blacks, 91 percent of whom considered federal intervention warranted to ensure that blacks are accorded fair treatment in employment.

The seventh and eighth items focused on two of the most controversial applications of race-targeting in public policy, racial preferences in hiring and promotion decisions and the use of racial quotas in college admissions. Both blacks and whites were somewhat more positively disposed toward admissions quotas than they were toward preferential hiring and promotion, but in both cases blacks were far more supportive than whites were: 63 percent of blacks but only 14 percent of whites endorsed preferential hiring and promotion, and 77 percent of blacks but only 27 percent of whites approved of the use of quotas in college admissions.

Across the eight items considered here, two broad patterns stand out. The first and most obvious is simply that blacks were much more likely than whites to support race-targeted policies. This is by no means a novel finding, but insofar as we are aware it has not previously been documented for such a wide variety of race-targeted policies. Second, blacks were by no means homogeneous in their support of race-targeted policies. To be sure, as many as nine blacks in ten expressed support for some of these policies, but on other questions the split between positive and negative responses was much more evenly balanced. The question now becomes whether, especially on policies about which there was fairly widespread disagreement among blacks, such disagreement was structured along class lines. That is, can we observe a clear class imprint on blacks' evaluations of race-targeted policies, with middle class blacks being less likely than other blacks to support such policies?

### **Class Differences in Blacks' Support for Race-Targeted Policies**

In Table 2 we reconsider the same eight survey items examined in Table 1, this time by distinguishing middle class from other blacks and whites.<sup>2</sup> On the first two items in the table, both of which pertained to support for government spending on programs for blacks, we see only faint hints of any class fissure among blacks in support for race-targeted policies—differences of only three or four

---

<sup>2</sup>Most prior work in this area has used education and/or income as proxy measures of class. Such measures require the selection of arbitrary education and income cutting points to differentiate classes. We measure class in terms of a less arbitrary occupation-based classification, defining members of the middle class as incumbents of the "managerial and professional specialty occupations" category of the 1980 Census occupational classification, plus nonclerical incumbents of the "technical, sales, and administrative support occupations" category (codes 003 through 259).

percentage points between middle class and other blacks, well within the bounds of sampling error. Nor do the responses of middle class blacks stand out on the third and fourth questions, which asked about the appropriateness of special help for blacks. On the third item, the balance of positive and negative responses was almost identical for middle class and other blacks, with a slightly higher percentage of the former than the latter expressing a noncommittal view. On the fourth item, the percentage of middle class and other blacks who were positively oriented toward race-targeted programs (categories 1-3) was again virtually identical, but middle class blacks were slightly less attracted than other blacks (by 22 percent to 28 percent) to the black self-help end of the continuum (categories 5-7).

**Table 2. Social Class Differences in Blacks' and Whites' Opinions on Racial Policy Issues**

(1) 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're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount. Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on assistance to blacks?

	Blacks		Whites	
	Middle Class (N=114)	Others (N=361)	Middle Class (N=1447)	Others (N=2307)
Too little	78.9%	81.4%	27.2%	24.6%
About right	17.5%	16.6%	54.4%	47.9%
Too much	3.5%	1.9%	18.4%	27.4%

(2) Should federal spending programs that assist blacks be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

	Blacks		Whites	
	Middle Class (N=122)	Others (N=569)	Middle Class (N=1661)	Others (N=2660)
Increased	67.2%	69.9%	18.8%	18.1%
Kept the same	29.5%	28.6%	57.2%	56.0%
Decreased	3.3%	1.4%	24.0%	25.9%

(3) Some people think that blacks have been discriminated against for so long that the government has a special obligation to improve their living standard. Others believe that the government should not be giving special treatment to blacks. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

	Blacks		Whites	
	Middle Class (N=99)	Others (N=333)	Middle Class (N=1321)	Others (N=2149)
Government should help	34.9%	37.3%	5.6%	5.5%
	15.8%	18.1%	10.5%	8.7%
	37.3%	30.4%	30.7%	29.4%
	5.7%	6.2%	24.5%	17.4%
No special treatment	6.3%	8.0%	28.8%	39.0%



Table 2

(continued)

(4) Some people feel that the government should make every effort to improve the social and economic positions of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

	Blacks		Whites	
	Middle Class (N=122)	Others (N=533)	Middle Class (N=1629)	Others (N=2459)
Government should help	22.1%	30.4%	3.2%	4.6%
	13.1%	10.5%	5.3%	5.0%
	13.9%	8.3%	14.1%	9.5%
	28.7%	22.5%	27.1%	25.2%
	10.7%	9.6%	17.7%	15.6%
	6.6%	7.9%	16.5%	15.5%
Blacks help themselves	4.9%	10.9%	16.0%	24.6%

(5) Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.

	Blacks		Whites	
	Middle Class (N=94)	Others (N=419)	Middle Class (N=1389)	Others (N=2103)
Agree strongly	12.8%	21.0%	32.3%	43.8%
Agree somewhat	23.4%	27.7%	35.7%	34.7%
Neither	6.4%	13.4%	9.5%	9.7%
Disagree somewhat	17.0%	18.1%	17.0%	9.7%
Disagree strongly	40.4%	19.8%	5.5%	2.0%

(6) Some people feel that if black people are not getting fair treatment in jobs, the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that it is not the federal government's business. Have you had enough interest in this question to favor one side over the other?

	Blacks		Whites	
	Middle Class (N=67)	Others (N=249)	Middle Class (N=821)	Others (N=959)
Should intervene	91.0%	91.2%	53.8%	48.8%
Should not intervene	9.0%	8.8%	46.2%	51.6%

(7) Some people say that because of past discrimination blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion—are you for or against preferential hiring for blacks?

	Blacks		Whites	
	Middle Class (N=88)	Others (N=388)	Middle Class (N=1352)	Others (N=2027)
Strongly favor	42.0%	55.9%	5.3%	6.9%
Favor	9.1%	10.3%	8.5%	7.4%
Oppose	23.9%	12.9%	19.2%	17.8%
Strongly oppose	25.0%	20.9%	67.1%	67.9%

**Table 2**  
(continued)

(8) Some people say that because of past discrimination it is sometimes necessary for colleges and universities to reserve openings for black students. Others oppose quotas because they say quotas give blacks advantages they haven't earned. What is your opinion—are you for or against quotas to admit black students?

	Blacks		Whites	
	Middle Class (N=87)	Others (N=394)	Middle Class (N=1331)	Others (N=1965)
Strongly favor	60.9%	65.2%	11.0%	12.1%
Favor	13.8%	11.9%	16.0%	14.9%
Oppose	11.5%	7.9%	22.9%	22.0%
Strongly Oppose	13.8%	15.0%	50.0%	51.0%

SOURCES: See Table 1.

Responses to the fourth item hinted at a warmer embrace of black self-help among working class and lower class blacks than can be found in the black middle class. This came through much more clearly in responses to the fifth item, on which 57 percent of middle class blacks but only 38% of other blacks registered their disagreement with the suggestion that blacks, like many other minorities before them, should work their way up without any special favors. This is the first clear class-based differential we have observed in blacks' responses, and, intriguingly, middle class blacks are less likely to endorse this notion than their lower and working class counterparts.

On the sixth item, which called for agreement or disagreement that the federal government should intervene in cases of unfair job treatment of blacks, identical percentages of middle class and other blacks endorsed government action. However, on the seventh item, a class-based differential emerged in support for racial preferences in hiring and promotion, and this time it was lower and working class blacks who took a more positive view of a race-targeted policy: 51 percent of the black middle class, but 66 percent of other blacks, endorsed such a policy. With the data at hand, it is difficult to know how to account for this difference. On the one hand, it could be that most middle class black respondents rose through their own individual efforts and were thus ill disposed toward letting other blacks take what they perceived to be the easy way out; however, the responses of members of the black middle class to questions about other race-targeted policies—and especially to the fifth question—do not seem very consistent with such a mindset. Although this matter warrants much closer scrutiny, it is worth speculating that middle class blacks have had greater first-hand experience than lower or working class blacks with preferential hiring and promotion programs and are thus more keenly attuned to some of the negative effects such programs can have on their intended beneficiaries (see, e.g., Coate and Loury, 1993; Summers, 1991).

Finally, the gap between middle class and other blacks in support for preferential hiring and promotion was not matched by any class-based differential in support for racial quotas in college admissions: 75% of middle class blacks and 77% of other blacks expressed support for such quotas. On six of the eight items considered here, then, we observed little or no difference in the views of middle class and other blacks toward race-targeted policies. On one of the two remaining items, middle class blacks were more supportive of a race-targeted policy; on the other item they were less so. These comparisons are hardly indicative of any consistent or appreciable class-based differential in blacks' attitudes.

### Conclusion

In each policy area examined here, blacks were more favorable than whites, often substantially so, toward federal government intervention to ameliorate racial inequality. From a self-interest point of view this is hardly surprising. More unexpected, perhaps, is our failure, in analyses of class differences among blacks on these policies, to uncover any consistent evidence of a deep political divide between middle class and other blacks. Indeed, we observed hardly any evidence of political divide, deep or shallow, between middle class blacks, on the one hand, and lower or working class blacks, on the other. Despite earlier indications that middle class blacks have adopted attitudes and behaviors similar in some respects to those of middle class whites (see, e.g., Smith and Seltzer, 1992), no such class-based attitudinal configuration joining middle class blacks and whites has surfaced here. Race, not class, is the primary determinant of the views of both whites and blacks on race-targeted policies. Class appears to play little, if any, role. This is not to say that blacks are united in their support for race-targeted policies, for, as we have seen, that is simply not the case. But black disunity on the issues does not, for the most part, pit the emerging black middle class against the persisting black lower and working classes. Why is this so? That is, why is there so little differentiation between the policy views of middle class and other blacks? One contributing factor is undoubtedly that the overrepresentation of middle class blacks in public sector occupations and the dependence of many lower class blacks on government assistance creates a natural coalition based on common economic interests that cross class lines (Welch and Combs, 1985)—a coalition that naturally tends to favor governmentally-based approaches to dealing with the problems that continue to beset blacks. More generally, though, blacks tend to retain a strong sense of solidarity with other blacks even after they have achieved middle class status and moved to the suburbs (Bledsoe, Welch, Sigelman, and Combs, 1994). Many members of the black middle class were not born into the black middle class, and their basic political orientations may be more reflective of the circumstances in which they were raised than of the circumstances in which they currently live. It is also true that middle class blacks continue to feel disadvantaged relative to middle class whites, particularly in the workplace. There

is ample evidence that many successful black managers and professionals perceive themselves as targets of continuing discrimination at work and elsewhere (see, e.g., Feagin, 1991), and such perceptions cannot help but reinforce racial identification rather than fostering class identification with whites. Moreover, like Jews and members of other historically subordinated groups, blacks are likely to maintain their strong sense of group identification in spite of increasing economic fragmentation. It follows that in contrast to middle class whites, who exhibit strong class ties, middle class blacks tend to identify common interests with their racial rather than their class peers.

### References

- Bledsoe, T., S. Welch, L. Sigelman, and M. Combs. (1994) *Suburbanization, Residential Integration, and Racial Solidarity Among African Americans*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.
- Bobo, L. (1993) *From Jim Crow Racism to Laissez Faire Racism: The Transformation of Racial Attitudes in the United States*. Paper presented at the Conference on Racial Attitudes, University of Georgia, Athens, GA.
- Bobo, L., and J. Kluegel. (1993) *Opposition to Race-Targeting? Self-Interest, Stratification Ideology, or Racial Attitudes?* *American Sociological Review* 58: 443-64.
- Coate, S., and G.C. Loury. (1993) *Will Affirmative Action Policies Eliminate Negative Stereotypes?* *American Economic Review* 83: 1220-40.
- Davis, J., and T.W. Smith. (1993) *General Social Surveys, 1972-1993*. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center.
- Dawson, M.C. (1991) *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African American Politics*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Feagin, J. (1991) *The Continuing Significance of Race: Antiblack Discrimination in Public Places.* *American Sociological Review* 56: 101-16.
- Gilliam F. D., Jr., and K.J. Whitby. (1989) *Race, Class, and Attitudes toward Social Welfare Spending: An Ethclass Interpretation.* *Social Science Quarterly* 70: 88-100.
- Greeley, A.M., and P.B. Sheatsley. (1971) *Attitudes toward Racial Integration.* *Scientific American* 225: 596-604.
- Hyman, H.H., and P.B. Sheatsley. (1956) *Attitudes on Integration.* *Scientific American* 195: 35-9.
- Hyman, H.H., and P.B. Sheatsley. (1964) *Attitudes toward Desegregation.* *Scientific American* 211: 16-23.

- Jackman, M., and R. Jackman. (1983) *Class Awareness in the United States*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Jaynes, G.D., and R.M. Williams, Jr., eds. (1989) *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society*. Washington, DC- National Academy Press.
- Kinder, D.R. (1986) *The Continuing American Dilemma: White Resistance to Racial Change 40 Years After Myrdal*. *Journal of Social Issues* 42: 151-71.
- Kuklinski, J.H., and W. Parent. 1981. *Race and Big Government Contamination in Measuring Racial Attitudes*. *Political Methodology* 8: 131-59.
- Lipset, S.M., and W. Schneider. (1978) *The Bakke Case: How Would It Be Decided at the Bar of Public Opinion?* *Public Opinion* (March/April): 38-44.
- Margolis, M., and K.E. Haque. (1981) *Applied Tolerance or Fear of Government? An Alternative Interpretation of Jackman's Findings*. *American Journal of Political Science* 25: 241-55.
- Miller, W.E. (1992) *American National Election Study*. Ann Arbor, NU: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.
- Myrdal, G. (1944) *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. New York: Random House.
- Schuman, H., C. Steeh, and L. Bobo. (1985) *Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Sears, D.O. (1988) *Symbolic Racism in Eliminating Racism: Means and Controversies*. Ed. P.A. Katz and D.A. Taylor. New York: Plenum Press.
- See, K.O., and W.J. Wilson. (1988) *Race and Ethnicity*. In *The Handbook of Sociology*. Ed. N.J. Smelser. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Seltzer, R., and R.C. Smith. (1985) *Race and Ideology*. *Phylon* 46: 98-105.
- Sheatsley, P.B. (1966) *White Attitudes Toward the Negro*. *Daedalus* 95: 217-38.
- Sigelman, L., and S. Welch. (1991) *Black Americans' Views of Racial Inequality: The Dream Deferred*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, A.W. (1987) *Problems and Progress in the Measurement of Black Public Opinion*. *American Behavioral Scientist* 30: 441-55.
- Smith, R.C., and R. Seltzer. (1992) *Race, Class, and Culture: A Study in African-American Mass Opinion*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Sniderman I.P.M., and P.E. Tetlock. (1986) *Symbolic Racism: Problems of Motive Attribution in Political Analysis*. *Journal of Social Issues* 42:29-50.
- Summers, R.J. (1991) *The Influence of Affirmative Action on Perceptions of a Beneficiary's Qualifications*. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 21:265-76.
- Tate, K. (1993) *From Protest to Politics: The New Black Voters in American*

*Elections*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Taylor, D.G., P.B. Sheatsley, and A.M. Greeley. (1978) *Attitudes Toward Racial Integration*. *Scientific American* 238: 42-9.

Walton, H. (1985) *Invisible Politics: Black Political Behavior*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Welch, S., and M. Combs. (1985) *Intraracial Differences in Attitudes Among Blacks: Class Cleavage or Consensus?* *Phylon* 46: 91-7.

Welch, S., and L.S. Foster. (1987) *Class and Conservatism in the Black Community*. *American Politics Quarterly* 4: 445-470.

Wilson, W.J. (1987) *The Truly Disadvantaged*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.