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December, 2015

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND RACIAL ATTITUDES: THE IMPACT OF DEMOGRAPHICS ON STATE ATTITUDES
OF RACIAL PROGRESS

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department
of Sociology
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

This study examined how state demographics influence civil rights memory, racial difference attitudes, and attitudes about affirmative action. The demographic variables were age, race, income and poverty, education, and political ideology. Initially the study sought to examine the relationship between demographic variables by state and how they influence civil rights memory, and racial difference attitudes in order to better understand attitudes about affirmative action. Using a variety of surveys, scales created measured attitudes about civil rights success, the racial difference gap, and the role of affirmative action. There was a strong relationship between civil rights and racial difference, but less so with affirmative action. It also became clear that the relationship between the three concepts were more circular than linear since for example the existence of current affirmative action programs could influence perceptions about the success of the civil rights movement. All three of these attitude scales measured racial progress attitudes. These racial progress attitudes then became the dependent variable in the analysis. It was discovered that certain age cohorts and the ideology of the citizens of a state had the most influence on the state's attitudes about racial progress. The more liberal the ideology of a state's citizens the more likely it was to have the attitude that not much progress had been made. Interestingly, states with a larger population ages 85+ tended to feel that not that much progress had been made, while the cohort directly below them, ages 75-84, felt enough progress had been made. This suggests that the different experiences of these age cohorts during the civil rights movement and their experiences may have an influence on attitudes as the keepers of memory.

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Introduction

Race relations in America have a long and tumultuous history. The Civil Rights Movement was an effort to combat racial inequality in the United States. One issue surrounding race in the United States is the use of affirmative action programs. It is difficult to determine what is shaping the attitudes either for or against affirmative action in America. For approximately fifty years there has been the belief that America could head toward actual equality between whites and minorities (Myrdal 1944). The divisiveness of affirmative action and multiculturalism amongst all levels in America present a different problem of reconciling the concept of race and not just inequality, meaning that the issue is not just with racial inequality but conceptualized differences (Lyman 1998). Despite the earlier passage of *Brown v. Board* (1954) and the 1964 Civil Rights Act associated with the Civil Rights Movement, the issue of race in education and jobs is still unsettled. This dispute over affirmative action can be seen in more recent cases such as *Fisher v. University of Texas* (2011).

There has also been a dramatic increase in racial tensions in the aftermath of events in Ferguson, Missouri surrounding the death of Michael Brown. According to the Pew Research Center 80% of Blacks felt that the case raises important issues about race compared to only 37% of Whites. Regarding their confidence in the investigation only 18% of Blacks had confidence compared to 52% of Whites (PRC 2014). These differences show that color blind equality (Delgado and Stefancic 2001) is far from reality. Examining attitudes about affirmative action in terms of civil rights and racial difference may help shed light on some of the larger influences for this divisiveness.

Early Ideas about Race and Equality

The Civil Rights Movement and the resulting court decisions are framed in the “American Creed.” The American Creed is the idea that “all men are created equal,” America is “the land of opportunity” and other such ethos of tolerance and equality found in the Declaration of Independence or the Bill of Rights (Myrdal 1944). According to Myrdal (1944), despite obvious inequalities even the Black population subscribed to these ideals. Conversely whites were prejudiced and considered Blacks inferior. Myrdal (1944) continues to describe this “American Dilemma” as a problem with the duality of individuals who are struggling moral beings. This dilemma is also not a regional or isolated problem but affected both the North and the South. The South with its larger population of Blacks had a more obvious racial problem with discriminatory practices. Many white southerners who would be labeled as overtly prejudice, would still espouse the American creed, and on some level support equality (Myrdal 1944). In contrast northern whites see themselves as liberators, but preferred for blacks to remain in the South. Also, they did not wish to enact laws fighting discrimination and promoting equity in the North since that would make blacks “wards” of the government, after all, their ancestors had to work hard to achieve their status (Myrdal 1944). When whites identified as racially more liberal or tolerant, even as liberators, they still did not want to support what would today be termed affirmative action. The American creed implies to liberate blacks from slavery, but personal prejudices wish they would just stay away and out of their lives (Myrdal 1944). Also, Myrdal (1944) discusses the black intellectual problem where other minorities are allowed to study topics outside of their race or ethnicity, but black academics are supposed to focus on black culture and black problems. Even when allowed into academia, blacks are still confined by their race.

Myrdal (1944) received several critiques from social science in that his call to eventually resolve racism in America was not objective enough. Myrdal's response to this was that the kind of objectivity that was being called for regarding social issues simply never existed in social science (Lyman 1998). In addition Myrdal (1944) was also critiqued for softening his stance on the dilemma from a conflict-power approach to one more agreeable with the white middle class values due to sponsorship (Lyman 1998).

Westie (1965) went on to test Myrdal's theory of the American Dilemma. He tested Myrdal's concepts of valuations (what should be) and beliefs (what is). When describing general valuation statements such as "Everyone in America should have equal opportunities to get ahead" a resounding 98% agreed. Yet when asked if they "would be willing to have a Negro as my supervisor in my place of work" only 60% agreed (Westie 1965). By using these types of items Westie (1965) was able to measure consistency between general and specific valuations. Remarks were then coded at different levels in order to find reasons or realizations regarding the inconsistencies. Inconsistencies were generally admitted or denied, and respondents had varying inconsistencies regarding different items (Westie 1965). He also noted that the general valuations of the American Creed were more highly valued, and that specific valuations warranted an explanation rather than general ones when justifying or explaining a conflict (Westie 1965). This means that there are cultural beliefs that are idealized by Americans even when they run into conflict with specific realities. It is highly possible that these kinds of contradictions are still manifesting themselves today but in different forms.

It is also important to note that the work done by Westie (1965) is from a sample taken in 1957 during the middle of what would become known as the Civil Rights Movement. It is of

importance because it creates a point of comparison with attitudes during the Civil Rights Movement.

Contemporary Theories about Race

An idea that has become increasingly prevalent and aspired to is termed “post-racial America,” a phrase used by multiple media outlets during the 2008 election of President Barack Obama (Paguyo and Moses 2011). Post racial America means that we have finally moved past race as a barrier and hard work is all that is needed to become even the President of the United States. Minorities and the disadvantaged would no longer have any excuses for not finding success (Paguyo and Moses 2011). A major criticism of this new post-racial America comes from Critical Race Theory (CRT).

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) states that racism is the norm rather than the exception in the United States (Delgado and Stefancic 2001, Love and Tosolt 2010, Turner 2013). This theory emerged out of a frustration with the slowdown in progress of the Civil Rights Movement by the 1970s, especially in contrast to the newly emerging feminist movement (Turner 2013). CRT argues also argues that softening stance of the Brown (1954) decision had more to do with need than morality. A large contingent of African-American service members returning from a newly integrated military in the Korean War would not just quietly return to a racial status quo at home. Also, the rise of the Cold War meant that the United States would need to appear morally superior to their Soviet opposition in order to garner international support (Delgado and Stefancic 2001). These critiques are similar to the ones that Myrdal (1944) received from conflict theorists as noted by Lyman (1998).

CRT operates under the basic tenants that racism is normal; racism promotes the interests of whites; and racism is an economic benefit for whites. These basic ideas mean that laws are not neutral because they are designed by a white power structure (Turner 2013). Specifically addressing colorblindness, CRT believes “colorblindness will allow us to redress only extremely egregious racial harms” (Delgado and Stefancic 2001:22). This is a particular issue with the colorblind stance taken by many court decisions regarding race that are then unable to redress past wrongs. Diversity serves the interest of whites in qualifying white power structures such as universities for federal grant money (Turner 2013). Under CRT even efforts towards equality have ulterior motives.

Critical Race Theory predominantly uses storytelling and first person narratives to give voice to minorities. This approach is also supposed to illuminate the social reality of minorities (Aguirre 2000). This purely qualitative approach to sociology seems at odds with sociology as a science in that it substitutes passion for reason and emotion for logic (Aguirre 2000). Brown (1995) discusses the rift between civil rights scholars and CRT theorists due to problems with use of storytelling. She notes a series of critiques found in CRT citing racism as pervasive and unavoidable which contradicts many civil rights scholars views of racism as atypical behavior. Whites are also at the mercy of whose side the storyteller takes and the construction of whites as dominative racists regardless of increasingly liberal attitudes (Brown 1995). The racism in these stories are also held as self evident and themselves are subject to their own prejudice such as whites being both helpful and overtly racist in these stories, despite this being unusual behavior (Brown 1995). While these stories are designed to create minority perspective they also lack any majority perspective as well, making them confusing for the white audiences they were designed for. It is also impossible to disagree with a story since there is no empirical evidence to dispute.

The stories also claim to represent the “voice of color.” An inherent problem with this concept is that it assumes that all minorities are the same in much the same way it assumes that whites are identical. For example, there is no taking into account the voice of black conservatives (Brown 1995).

This inability to refute the storytelling of CRT coupled with the belief in pervasive racism despite any changes in the attitudes of whites creates the “CRT Dilemma.” Where the American Dilemma battled with equality for all versus discrimination, the CRT Dilemma is its shadow function. The CRT dilemma is that racism is unchangeable, and also that it is wrong. This then asks the impossible by highlighting the problem of racism, while believing it impossible to change. Brown (1995) notes that CRT was born out of a stagnation in the Civil Rights Movement. The frustration in the equality espoused by the system, and the shortcomings of the practices of everyday Americans is a result of the American Dilemma. The American Dilemma is in a way responsible for the CRT Dilemma.

Love and Tosolt (2010) argue that whites were more accepting of Obama due to his biracial whiteness. I would argue that the narrative for many whites was to participate in electing what they considered a “black” president. This narrative is true for some of the white respondents that Love and Tosolt (2010) surveyed. Even the *New York Times* referred to Obama as the first African American president shortly after his election in 2008 (Nagourney 2008). Love and Tosolt (2010) further argue that Obama simply creates the perception of unity amongst whites and Blacks. This leads to a kind of cognitive dissonance where new feelings of unity have to be reconciled with evidence based realities of racism (Love and Tosolt 2010). For example the idea of an African American as president contrasted with still higher incarceration rates for African Americans. This perception of unity and cognitive dissonance is the focus this study.

Silent Racism on Affirmative Action

Colorblindness and post-racial attitudes also mask what Trepagnier (2006) terms “silent racism.” The racist thoughts, feelings, and assumptions that people have are dangerous precisely because they are seen as harmless (Trepagnier 2006). One problem with the idea of racist versus non-racist is that racism is defined as intentional. If individuals do not consider themselves racist then they are free from racist action. This means that well meaning whites can marginalize the issues affecting minorities and make paternalistic assumptions about how to solve race problems (Trepagnier 2006). This emerges in the attitudes and decisions made by courts regarding race and affirmative action programs in higher education. Decisions regarding minority acceptance into universities for example falls to a predominantly white judicial system making decisions about what is fair and best for minority students.

Higher education is often a popular target for affirmative action debates. Paguyo and Moses (2011) frame this debate around Colorado’s Amendment 46. In this case Amendment 46 targeted preferential treatment based on race, sex, ethnicity and other affirmative action markers. The amendment was proposed by the American Civil Rights Institute (ACRI), a group that had seen passage of similar proposals in states such as California, Michigan, Nebraska, and Washington (Paguyo and Moses 2011). At the same time opponents of Amendment 46, called Coloradans for Equal Opportunity proposed Initiative 82. Initiative 82 included language that defined preferential treatment as quotas or points awarded based on race, sex, ethnicity or country of origin (Paguyo and Moses 2011). Both of these groups wanted equality, but their views and interpretations of equality were very different. Paguyo and Moses (2011) discuss how the election of Obama and post-racial America actually hurt the goals of affirmative action by creating an egalitarian ideal that seemed to make affirmative action unfair and obsolete.

Race Relations and Affirmative Action

The policies and practice of affirmative action are far from simple. Different states can have their own interpretations of affirmative action policy, and disagreements can occur from all or only part of a particular policy. This frustration towards affirmative action felt by whites has become a new mainstream recruiting effort of hate groups (Valeri and Borgeson 2007). The use of the internet and websites like Stormfront.org have created a soft sell approach for the white nationalist message (Valeri and Borgeson 2007). Raising the issue of rationale and framing of affirmative action, Valeri and Borgeson(2007:197) use four different frames: “1) compensating for advantages to Whites by creating disadvantages for Whites; 2) compensating for advantages to Whites by creating advantages to Blacks, 3) compensating for disadvantages to Blacks by creating disadvantages for Whites, and 4) compensating for disadvantages to Blacks by creating advantages for Blacks.”

Their prediction was that equity theory, the fair distribution of resources, would result in a positive view of Black advantage-White advantage, and Black disadvantage-White disadvantage (Valeri and Borgeson 2007). This means that the framing of affirmative action as being an advantage for both racial groups, or to address disadvantages for both racial groups would result in a positive view of affirmative action. The results of their study of 104 White undergraduate students, was that the students initially felt that affirmative action created disadvantages for Whites, and created advantages for Blacks. As predicted when framed as Black disadvantage resulting in White disadvantage, or White advantage resulting in Black advantage, students had a more positive view. A negative view was formed when framed as White advantage resulting in White disadvantage (Valeri and Borgeson 2007). This supported

their prediction of equity theory and the desire for fairness resulting in different reactions due to framing.

When something is seen as unfair by a group, it is seen more negatively. Valeri and Borgeson (2007) use this as a way of explaining the tactics of hate groups. It also provides an insight into how the framing of affirmative action can change perceptions of whether it is positive or negative. When Whites describe affirmative action programs as unfair and discriminatory, Bonilla-Silva (2006:28) terms this abstract liberalism: “The frame of *abstract liberalism* involves using ideas associated with political liberalism (e.g., “equal opportunity,” the idea that force should not be used to achieve social policy) and economic liberalism (e.g., choice, individualism) in an *abstract* manner to explain racial matters.” The use of abstract liberalism allows for individuals to appear fair and reasonable when arguing against affirmative action. The issue with this is that past issues of discrimination are not redressed, which was the concern of Critical Race Theorists regarding legal color-blindness.

Demographics and Race Attitudes

Attitudes towards affirmative action can also be broken down by gender. Whites actually have a more consistent negative view of affirmative action applied to Black women compared to Black men (Steinbugler et al. 2006). They speculate that this is because Black women are seen as the primary beneficiaries of affirmative action programs since they are assumed to be single mothers (Steinbugler et al. 2006). Also of interest is towards different types of affirmative action programs. Whites were in favor of job training and educational assistance programs, but opposed to preference in hiring and promotions (Steinbugler et al. 2006). Whites felt that training was an acceptable form of affirmative action, but providing a racial advantage in job competition was

something that they did not favor. This is important because it would imply that it is not just affirmative action that people are opposed to, but unfair economic competition. Whites did not feel that they are losing anything from training and educational assistance, but they believed they were losing when it came to job competition. This kind of thinking could influence the narrative about affirmative action. If whites think that educational policies were successful and available, and economic policies are unfair, then they would view affirmative action policies as unnecessary.

The General Social Survey (GSS 2012) contains data about affirmative action pertaining to hiring. Respondents were asked if they “favor preference in hiring Blacks” (GSS 2012). When looking at the years 2000-2012 it is interesting that 82.4% are opposed to hiring preference for Blacks while 17.6% support preference. Blacks also opposed preference in hiring by 56.3%, but Blacks also had stronger support than the overall population with 43.8% supporting minority preference in hiring (GSS 2012). This would indicate that the issue of hiring preference is not only a polarizing issue, but there is a majority opposed to hiring preference for minorities. The black community’s reaction to affirmative action may actually prove similar to that of whites regarding education versus hiring.

A 2013 Gallup poll indicated that Blacks are less likely to see discrimination as the reason for Black inequalities compared to twenty years previous. In 1993 44% felt differences were due to discrimination, and 48% thought it was some other factor. In 2013 37% felt it was due to discrimination and 60% felt it was something else (Newport 2013). Among 18-34 year olds 30% felt that it was discrimination and 68% felt it was something else compared to 36% and 59% for 35-54 year olds, and 47% and 51% for 55 and older (Newport 2013). This would

suggest that the younger generation of Blacks has different memories with regards to race. This also supports the move towards this idea of post-racial America amongst the younger generation.

When it comes to the incarceration of Black males, the same poll has the 18-34 group at 46% discrimination and 54% “something else.” Compared to 25% versus 74% for national adults, there is higher view of incarceration as a result of discrimination amongst young Black adults (Newport 2013). Although young Blacks may view that general discrimination has declined they still have a greater distrust of institutions.

Civil Rights Memory

Affirmative Action can also be viewed as an extension of the Civil Rights Movement. Views about civil rights issues can also be heavily influenced by memory. Griffen and Bollen (2009) assert that collective memory is shaped by an events memorability, mnemonic consensus, and elite framing. Memorability is how well an event is remembered, and usually needs to be emotionally charged. A movement’s victories are typically reinforced through holidays, naming of streets, and memorials (Griffen and Bollen 2009). Memories are disseminated to younger generations through these institutions by memory “entrepreneurs” (Griffen and Bollen 2009).

Mnemonic Consensus and Collective Memory

Mnemonic consensus describes what, when, and how people are socialized to remember things (Griffen and Bollen 2009). The problem is that this consensus is shaped by interest groups and memory entrepreneurs. Mnemonic memory is also constantly shifting due to the shift in certain narratives being told, and has to find stability between the “elite” or official version of events, and “popular” or everyday memory of those same events (Griffen and Bollen 2009).

Framing is also important to how events are remembered. Civil rights organizations and government become memory entrepreneurs. People remember Martin Luther King Jr. and the “Dream” speech but the title of the march was “The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom”, King’s less popular stances on economics is not a part of the frame (Griffen and Bollen 2009).

Using the 1993 GSS data Griffen and Bollen (2009) looked at those public events respondents thought were important. If the respondents included a civil rights issue among the top four most recalled events it was considered civil rights memory. They then were able to show that respondents with a civil rights memory were more racially liberal on other issues (Griffen and Bollen 2009). Not only were respondents with a civil rights memory more racially liberal, but they try to show that it is memory influencing respondents to be racially liberal rather than being racially liberal affecting their memory (Griffen and Bollen 2009).

Understanding what memory is and whether it can exist for society is an important issue. Assmann (2008) refers to Maurice Halbwachs’ term “collective memory” and the use of social frames as a way to distinguish it from individual or autobiographical memory. These social frames are used to construct collective identities or a collective ‘we’ even for events that happened well after the lifetimes of anyone discussing them (Assmann 2008). Memory exists in rituals, photographs, symbols, and practices that create a collective narrative using mythical elements, and history is the study of the factual truth of events. Using memory and history, mnemohistory is created to analyze the use of mythical events and their agendas (Assmann 2008). Education and censorship are ways that a society creates memory through control of what narrative is being told (Assmann 2008). Different narratives and frames are not necessarily factually inaccurate but a different perspective on the same story.

Memory and the Regionalization of Civil Rights

The Civil Rights movement is commonly classified as the starting with the *Brown v. Board* decision of 1954 and ending with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Dowd Hall 2005). This view ignores the longer struggle for equality that led to such pivotal gains as the integration of the military in 1948 and earlier struggles. It also ignores the struggles that came after this period in the later 60s and 70s. Dowd Hall (2005) argues that this ignores the issue of racism as a national problem by specifically focusing on the South, and ignoring the Black Power movement and urban struggle in the North. She also argues that the New Deal and G.I. Bill was racially discriminatory by excluding Blacks and coupled with Jim Crow and other discriminatory state policies created a kind of affirmative action program for Whites. This allowed them to move out to suburbs spatializing race and rendering structural inequalities invisible to Whites (Dowd Hall 2005). This invisibility is characterized by the call for colorblindness and equal opportunity for all found in abstract liberalism.

Regionalization

By using the classical framing of Civil Rights as one decade focused on the South it is easier to marginalize Civil Rights issues. This narrowing framing is what allows Civil Rights to become a powerful memory for people, but draws attention away from some other Civil Rights issues (Dowd Hall 2005). This framing allows individuals to characterize themselves as racist or not racist. Before Civil Rights more people were racists, but after the Civil Rights decade the majority of people are no longer racist. This is an example of what Bonilla-Silva (2006) refers to as the minimization of race. This also leads to what CRT refers to as triumphalist history, which is where a legal action such as *Brown v. Board* (1954) is diminished over time in later court

decisions due to a view of equality having been achieved due to the original decision (Delgado and Stefancic 2001).

Attitudes towards Civil Rights can also be influenced by attitudes towards Blacks. The closer someone feels towards Blacks the more likely they are to have a positive view of Civil Rights (Jones 2006). There are also several demographic factors that can influence how someone perceives Civil Rights. Several factors that decrease a positive view of Civil Rights are an increase in age, being white, and being from the South. Identifying politically as Democrat, having a higher education, and more positive attitudes towards Blacks, increases positive attitudes towards Civil Rights (Jones 2006). Jones (2006) also states that more demographic variables account for civil rights attitudes today than just race. Political party identification, age, education, gender, race, and region of residence were the strongest predictors of civil rights attitudes (Jones 2006). Jones focused on the South and everywhere else but did not go into the significance of attitudes in different regions. It is possible that people in different regions could have different attitudes about certain dimensions of civil rights.

Civil Rights and Modern Affirmative Action

A brief history of legal decisions regarding desegregation in higher education is given by Stefkovich and Leas (1994). They break down the history of higher education and segregation into three periods. The first period is shortly after the passing of the 14th Amendment where courts decided that a separate education for the races could be equal, and the era of “separate but equal” began. The second period is the late 1930s through the 50s when individual plaintiffs began challenging separate but equal in the courts. The third period takes place after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and emphasizes institutions, dismantling desegregation, and dealing with the

old system of White and Black education (Stefkovich and Leas 1994). There is a focus on the United States vs. Fordice (1992) decision or lack thereof. The issue arose involving the integration of higher education institutions in Mississippi. The issue surrounded admissions standards at the flagship universities that were predominantly white contrasted with historically black institutions. While the court decided that action should be taken under the Equal Protection Clause, it did not declare any actions unconstitutional and did not specifically decide on how to move forward. The issue was that pressure to integrate coupled with state funding restrictions, could hurt historically black universities (Stefkovich and Leas 1994). The issue of choice presents a problem since students can choose which universities to attend. The race neutral policies of a state do not adequately integrate, and naturalization (Bonilla-Silva 2006) or informal segregation occurs. The question is what to do about historically black institutions? On one hand there is pressure to allow universities to police themselves, but state funding needs and segregation issues can conflict with this autonomy making higher education a more complicated race issue.

Affirmative Action, Merit, and Equality

There is also the question of merit in entrance to universities. A meritocracy needs two things: competition and equality of opportunity (Alon and Tienda 2004). The competition for college admissions began with the passing of the GI Bill in 1948 and a sudden increase in college applicants. Schools began to look to other methods such as the SAT, and this began the use of testing to determine merit. School prestige rankings are also based on the scores of incoming freshman with no regard to changes made by the institution itself in terms of faculty or academics (Alon and Tienda 2007). Alon and Tienda (2007) looked at a variety of factors including test scores, increase weight of test scores and class rank. They determined that when

factoring in class rank such as Texas top ten percent rule the racial diversity of institutions was increased. Using test scores created a disparity and the more selective a school the more emphasis on test scores lowered campus diversity compared to schools that put more emphasis on class ranking. This is because test scores tend to be lower for poor and minority students, while at the same time a test taking industry has sprang up targeting middle and upper class students (Alon and Tienda 2007). The use of test scores as a measurement of merit creates the need for stronger race based affirmative action programs in admissions since an increased weight on test scores discriminates against minority students (Alon and Tienda 2007). The increased use of test scores in admissions creates an increased need for affirmative action which creates controversy. Test scores are a measurement of merit but they require investment in test taking classes and materials that not every student has access to.

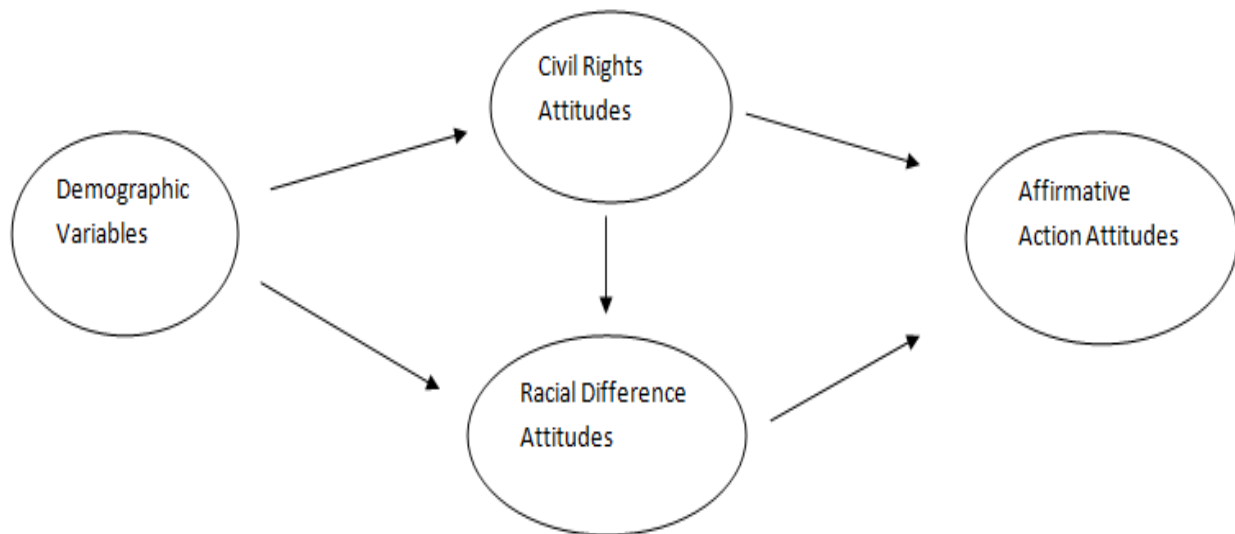
The merit and equality debates surrounding affirmative action are what make it an interesting subject in regards to Civil Rights and racial difference attitudes. This more modern debate surrounding affirmative action has its roots in the civil rights struggles that came before, and modern attitudes about the difference in race.

Problem, Theory, and Hypothesis

The United States has a large population from different backgrounds and environments all coming together to form America. This America is idealized and has important tenets such as “All men are created equal” and “Inalienable rights.” These ideas make up what Myrdal (1944) referred to as the “American Creed.” This then comprised what Westie (1965) called “general valuations.” Attitudes about Civil Rights and attitudes about affirmative action programs

designed to achieve those rights should be consistent, but it is unclear if that will hold true. Different regions have certain reputations regarding racial attitudes and civil rights, especially the South. These regions have different representations of their place in the Civil Rights struggle dating back to the debates over slave and free states. The differences in geographical regions may determine what causes the difference in attitudes towards the treatment of Blacks in America, especially in regards to affirmative action. The white and black racial divide is relevant because it is made up of predominantly native populations and shares a long history of division. The Civil Rights Movement was a predominantly black struggle and recent events such as those in Ferguson show that black and white tensions are still relevant for study and should be paid careful attention.

Figure A



Key Terms

Civil Rights Attitudes- Attitudes about the classical Civil Rights Movement

Racial Difference Attitudes- Perceptions regarding the race gap between Blacks and Whites in education and employment

Affirmative Action Attitudes- Attitudes regarding the current use of affirmative action programs in hiring and education

The concept map in figure A asserts that demographic variables should influence both attitudes about civil rights, and the reasons for racial differences. Attitudes about civil rights should also influence racial difference attitudes. Both attitudes about civil rights and the reasons for racial differences should determine attitudes about affirmative action.

Theory: Demographic variables in different states should explain differences regarding civil rights and racial differences. These attitudes towards civil rights and racial difference will influence attitudes towards affirmative action.

The theory is that attitudes in different states about affirmative action are related to feelings towards civil rights success and the reasons for differences between racial groups. These attitude differences could be better explained by certain demographic variables. These demographic differences will then help explain why different states have different attitudes towards social

issues such as race and affirmative action. By focusing on the states it will be possible to provide a better understanding of regional differences.

Figure B

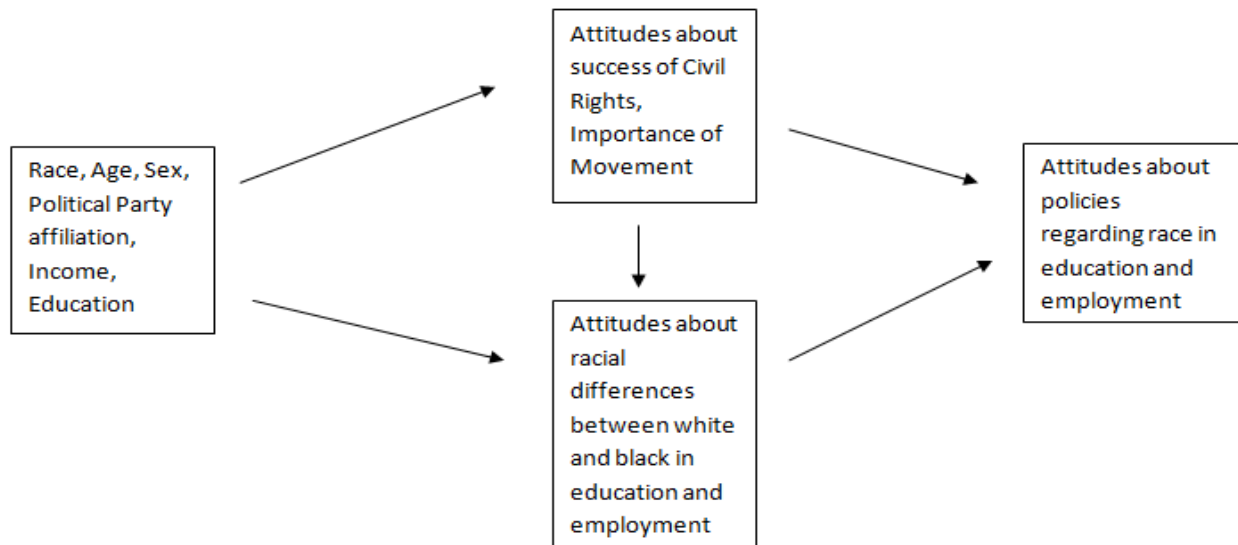


Figure B shows in more detail how those attitudes will be addressed. Demographic variables would include background variables such as age, sex, income, race, political party affiliation, and level of education of individuals within each region in order to try and determine in any particular background variables contribute to attitudes about civil rights and racial differences. Attitudes about civil rights would be comprised of attitudes about the success of civil rights activities in achieving equality, the importance of civil rights, and the classical framing surrounding civil rights memory. Racial difference attitudes would try to explain the gap between Whites and Blacks in regards to education and achievement. These items will show how people within regions view the race gap, for example, as a lack of willpower, or an inherent inability to perform. Affirmative action attitudes consist of views about the necessity for

affirmative action programs in higher education for minorities such as enrollment and also programs relating to employment.

Hypothesis 1: Demographic characteristics indicative of disadvantage or with an affinity for the disadvantaged will be positively associated recognition of civil rights and racial difference.

Background variables in different states will be able to explain how different regions have different attitudes regarding civil rights and racial differences. Many previous studies categorized region as South and Non-South (e.g. Jones 2006). The current study will measure attitudes at the state level in an attempt to evaluate differences beyond a simple North and South divide. It could be that different background variables in different states make a contribution to different attitudes. Education, political ideology, and race are expected to be the most influential.

Hypothesis 2: States whose population has a more positive view of the success of the civil rights movement should have a more negative view of racial differences.

Individual states that more strongly believe in the success of the civil rights movement should view the race gap as the result of personal deficiencies and not unfairness in the system. Unfairness should be seen as a past issue and not a current one for Blacks so any gap should be the result of personal choices.

Hypothesis 3: States whose population has a more positive view of civil rights and a negative view of racial differences should be against the use of affirmative action programs.

Individual states that have a negative view of the race gap should see affirmative action programs as unfair and unnecessary. They should believe that since civil rights were a success then there should no longer be a need for affirmative action programs.

Hypothesis 4: States will have a positive view of affirmative action when it comes to education, but a negative view regarding employment.

It is possible that affirmative action is supported when it comes to education and training. Some states may place a stronger emphasis on higher education, but still view affirmative action programs regarding employment negatively. It could be that education and jobs are actually separate issues.

Measurement

The unit of analysis used was states as defined by the U.S. Census¹. Demographic variables were then collected for these regions such as age, race/ethnicity, sex, income, education, economic mobility and political ideology. These background variables will help to determine any state differences that may shed light on potential differences in state attitudes. By using states as the unit of analysis it is then possible to look at a larger variety of data that relate specifically to states that would not be possible with individual respondents. It is also important to note that affirmative action policy is regulated at the state level giving the power to enforce or overturn affirmative action policies to the states. As noted previously it is also important since racial and Civil Rights issues are commonly classified as a regional problem in the South. It is important to determine if there are significant regional differences, and if so what are the causes?

Demographic Data

Demographic data for the states primarily came from the United States Census Bureau (Census 2010, Census 2012, Census 2013, Census 2014). The data used in this project regarding

¹ See Appendix A

age, race, median income, poverty, and educational attainment all came from the most recent and/or comprehensive data from the U.S. Census Bureau.

Age was categorized into under 15 years of age, 15-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65-74, 75-84, and 85+ years of age. These ages were then taken as a percentage of the state population (Census 2012).

The reason for these categories was to determine if certain age cohorts had different attitudes based on different life experiences. For example, older cohorts would have experienced segregation and the Civil Rights Movement first hand and this may impact their perceptions.

Race was categorized into White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Native American. These racial categories were also taken as a percentage of the state population (Census 2014).

The importance of this category is that affirmative action programs and the Civil Rights Movement were/are about racial equality. Rather than focusing strictly on race in terms of black and white, it may be that other race categories such as Hispanic or Asian play a significant role in shaping attitudes about race and affirmative action.

Median income and poverty were chosen to determine if economic factors played a role in state attitudes about affirmative action and race (Census 2013). Poverty levels were taken as a percentage of the population, and median household income was chosen over the mean income since a rich minority would have misrepresented the overall situation of most individuals in the different states.

Educational Attainment was measured as the percentage of the population in a state having a high school education, a bachelor's degree, or an advanced/professional degree (Census

2010). Since affirmative action deals largely with higher education, the percentage of the state that attended a university should have an impact on attitudes.

Political Ideology was measured using one measurement for citizen ideology and two measurements for state government ideology. Citizen ideology used the revised 1960-2013 citizen ideology averaging the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and the AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education (COPE) scores to create the ADA/COPE scores (Berry et. Al. 1998). The two government ideology measurements were the ADA/COPE measure of state government ideology (Berry et. Al. 1998) and the NOMINATE measure of state government ideology. NOMINATE made use of “common-space” scores of ideology using a comprehensive list of roll-call votes instead of ADA/COPE scores (Berry et. Al. 2010), and all of the scores used were the most recently available from 2013. The measurements were ideological scales with 0 being the most conservative and 100 being the most liberal (Berry et Al. 1998).

Political Ideology is expected to have a significant influence on attitudes since political ideology tends to be a representation of values when it comes to government involvement in the everyday life of citizens. Liberal states are expected to be more supportive of affirmative action and the idea of a racial difference gap, and less likely to view civil rights as successful, and support further government intervention. Conservative states are expected to have the opposite approach. This would fall in line with political ideological conclusions drawn by Jones (2006).

Measurements of Attitudes

As previously noted in the concept map the three main attitude measurements were in regards to Civil Rights, Racial Difference, and Affirmative Action. In order to create scales to measure attitudes in these areas items were taken from a variety of surveys regarding civil rights,

racial difference, and affirmative action respectively² (CBS 2012, CBS 2013, CNN 2013, Gallup 2012, NBC 2010, Pew 2009, Pew 2013, Pew 2014, PRRI 2013). Since the original datasets unit of analysis was individuals it was important to organize that data by state. To achieve this, the mean responses to each item were taken for each state. If a state had a frequency less than four or the state was omitted from the dataset then the regional average was used according to the U.S. Census Bureau's definition for regions³.

Civil Rights

The first scale created was the Civil Rights Success scale or Civsucc⁴. This scale was created to measure how successful the Civil Rights Movement was in accomplishing equality. There were originally eight items taken regarding civil rights success. A factor analysis was used to measure the correlation between variables to determine hypothetical components or variables (factors). Using a direct oblimin rotation and Eigen values greater than one three components were formed. Out of these three components one component was chosen that included items that most accurately represented attitudes about civil rights success.

Out of the eight items four of them factored onto one component regarding civil rights success. These initial four items had a Keiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of .547 which was at an acceptable level but were near the minimum acceptable level of .5. The Cronbach's alpha test for reliability was .485 which was very low for a four item scale. For this reason items were removed to raise the Cronbach's alpha.

² See Appendix B

³ See Appendix A

⁴ See Appendix C

The result was a two item scale with a Cronbach's alpha of .665 and factor loadings of .866. The KMO was .5 but since it is a two item scale and an identity matrix this was expected.

Racial Difference

The two racial difference scales that were constructed were racediffgap and racediffchar. These scales were the result of taking 15 items regarding racial difference and using a factor analysis with a direct oblimin rotation to determine the factors. Items dealing with racial character were measured separately since they loaded onto several components creating difficulty in reading the data. Once this was done the remaining items loaded onto two components. Upon further reduction of items the racediffgap scale was created.

The racediffgap scale measured if states believed that there was in fact an inequality gap between blacks and whites. The scale reduced items until it factored on one component with a loading of .819 for a two item scale. The KMO measure was .5 and again was the result of it being an identity matrix. The Cronbach's Alpha for this scale was .508 which for a two item scale will be acceptable.

The racediffchar scale was constructed to measure attitudes about the personal character. It initially asked the same questions regarding blacks and whites. This was a problem however since items would load onto factors regarding race as well as factors regarding the individual questions for both. Because of this, the items that factored onto the component that specifically measured blacks was chosen in order to measure attitudes about the character of blacks. The items asked about character traits such as work ethic, honesty, ect. This scale had a KMO of .808 and was a five item scale. The Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .807 making it both a highly reliable and valid measurement.

Affirmative Action

There were originally seven items regarding affirmative action. These a factor analysis with a direct oblimin rotation these items resulted in two scales being formed affactdisc and affactrole. The first scale, affactdisc, dealt with items regarding the need for affirmative action in order to combat past discrimination. This scale had a KMO of .663, a Cronbach's alpha of .529, and was a three item scale.

The affactrole scale dealt with attitudes about the government's role in supporting minorities and consisted of two items. The KMO was again .5 due to being an identity matrix, but the Cronbach's alpha was .401 which was below the desired level of .5 despite factor loadings of .820. This issue brought up a larger issue regarding the relationship between the three scales.

It is important to note that items regarding affirmative action tended to either focus on education or included work and education together. This meant that hypothesis 4 was not able to be tested since there were not items dealing strictly with affirmative action in the workplace.

Method

The first step in analyzing the scales was to run a backwards regression for each of the demographic variables separately by category: age, gender, race ideology, income and poverty, education, and the other scales respectively. The reason for this was to reduce the number of items in order to reduce issues with multicollinearity.

When this was done the racediffchar scale dealing with attitudes about black character was no longer significant except with age and the black population in a state. The scale did not

have a relationship with any of the other variables or scales. This scale was then trimmed due to it potentially causing multicollinearity issues. The same was done for the affactdisc scale, which was the scale using affirmative action as a means to combat discrimination. Only a wide range of ages were significant to this scale making it difficult to draw any conclusions so it was also trimmed. The three remaining scales were civsucc, racediffgap, and affactrole.

After trimming variables and scales the demographic variables that were common amongst all of the scales were then used. The reason for this was to determine if in fact affirmative action was indeed the dependent variable. Since this project is exploratory in nature it is important to determine it is not the present impacting interpretations of the past. For example, that the existence of current affirmative action legislation must mean that the civil rights movement was not successful, rather than the attitudes about civil rights affecting affirmative action in a purely chronological order of events.

Analysis

Civil Rights

The first step was to test Hypothesis 1 that certain demographic variables were impacting attitudes about civil rights and racial difference. The civil rights scale civsucc was the first to be regressed as seen in figure 1.1.

The regression coefficients in figure 1.1 will help explain the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. This model is the demographic variables and the racediffgap and affactrole scales regressed on the civsucc scale. The Pearson's r of .843 indicates that it is a very strong relationship. The adjusted R square or coefficient of determination shows that demographic variables account for 61.6% of the variance in civil rights success attitudes.

Figure 1.1 Effect of Covariates on Civil Rights Success Attitudes^a

Model		B	B(se)	β	t	p
1	Demographics and Scales					
	ages 35-44	-8.777	22.645	-.066	-.388	.701
	ages 45-54	1.064	18.932	.010	.056	.955
	ages 75-84	26.436	43.330	.170	.610	.546
	ages 85+	-22.101	80.138	-.088	-.276	.784
	Black	-1.930	1.527	-.185	-1.264	.214
	Hispanic	-.601	1.403	-.061	-.428	.671
	Asian	.742	2.118	.041	.350	.728
	citizen ideology ada/cope	-.034	.013	-.537	-2.724	.010
	high school graduate	-5.718	5.434	-.195	-1.052	.300
	advanced degree	2.694	7.444	.067	.362	.720
	racediffgap	-.366	.163	-.366	-2.245	.031
	affactrole	-.014	.114	-.014	-.119	.906
	Intercept	6.905	6.001		1.150	.257
	R= .843	R ² =.710	R ² (adj.)=.616	F=7.547, df=12		p=.000

a. Dependent Variable: civsucc

Variables were considered significant at the $p < .05$ level. The first model details what demographic variables were significant on civsucc. Citizen ideology was also significant with a β of $-.537$. This means that the more liberal a state the more likely it is to feel that the civil rights movement was unsuccessful. This can be explained by more liberal states concerned with the need for more policies to protect minorities in the pursuit of equality.

Looking at the relationship with the other scales only racediffgap was significant. The β for the racediffgap scale was $-.366$ and suggests that when a state views the race gap as more significant, the less likely it is to view the civil rights movement as successful. Before drawing definite conclusions about the race gap and civil rights memory it is important to look at the other scales.

Racial Difference

The next scale in question is the racediffgap scale as seen in figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2 Effect of Covariates on Racial Difference Gap Attitudes^a

Model		B	B(se)	β	t	p
1	Demographics and Scales					
	ages 35-44	22.806	21.164	.171	1.078	.288
	ages 45-54	-29.876	17.248	-.281	-1.732	.092
	ages 75-84	-115.004	36.661	-.741	-3.137	.003
	ages 85+	249.643	63.950	.998	3.904	.000
	Black	.939	1.469	.090	.639	.526
	Hispanic	.527	1.330	.053	.396	.694
	Asian	1.205	2.000	.067	.603	.550
	citizen ideology ada/cope	.021	.013	.329	1.670	.103
	high school graduate	.449	5.223	.015	.086	.932
	advanced degree	-2.801	7.049	-.070	-.397	.693
	affactrole	-.042	.108	-.042	-.391	.698
	civsucc	-.328	.146	-.328	-2.245	.031
	Intercept	.481	5.785		.083	.934
	R=.860	R ² =.740	R ² (adj.)=.655	F=8.764, df=12		p=.000

a. Dependent Variable: racediffgap

The Pearson's r of .860 suggests a strong relationship between demographic variables and the racediffgap scale, and that demographic variables explain 65.5% of the variance.

Using figure 1.2 the demographic variables for ages 75-84 and ages 85+ are significant at the $p < .05$ level. A difference between the regression coefficients of the two age groups emerged. The 75-84 group has a b of $-.741$, and the 85+ group has a b of $.998$. What could cause such drastically different reactions to the racial difference gap? The 75-84 cohort would have

been the cohort that was young during the civil rights movement and experienced the desegregation process. The older 85+ cohort directly above them however would have been the last generation to experience segregation.

It could be implied that personal experiences are what are shaping perceptions about the race gap. The 75-84 cohort that experienced desegregation would see less of a gap having experienced the process of desegregation and civil rights laws being passed. The older 85+ cohort just above them however may view the race gap through a lens of segregation. This would mean that their experiences would cause them to believe that there was definitely a gap since a gap was institutionalized when they were in the school system.

The Relationship between Civil Rights and Racial Difference

Now would be a good opportunity to address the first two hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 proposed that certain demographic variables should explain attitudes about civil rights and racial differences. While this hypothesis is not exactly new, on the surface, it is the types of demographic variables that are important. It was originally predicted that education, political ideology and race would best be able to explain attitudes. After running the model it was actually age and political ideology that was significant on civil rights and racial difference attitudes. Educational attainment and race were surprisingly not significant in predicting scales. This data only supported some of what Jones (2006) believed to be predictors of civil rights attitudes.

Hypothesis 2 was that states with a more positive view of the success of the civil rights movement should have a more negative view of racial differences. This hypothesis was supported with the two scales having an inverse relationship. States that viewed the civil rights movement as successful were less likely to support attitudes about the race gap. A problem with

this hypothesis however, is that the reverse was also true. In fact the racediffgap scale had a b of -.366 on the civsucc scale while civsucc had a b of -.328 on racediffgap, and even though the difference is slight racial difference technically had more of an impact on civil rights than the other way around as the hypothesis originally stated. This would give credence to mnemonic consensus, as proposed by Griffen and Bollen (2009) and collective memory by Assmann (2008). It could be that current attitudes about the race gap are influencing attitudes about the past through collective consensus, with memories being influenced by a more current narrative and reinforced through institutions.

Affirmative Action

Finally, the last scale to be regressed is affactrole in figure 1.3 and this is in line with the original concept model. The Pearson's r of .630 in figure 1.3 shows a strong positive relationship between the demographic variables and the affactrole scale. The adjusted R Square shows that demographic variables along with the civsucc and racediffgap scales account for 20.2% of the variance in affactrole.

Only one variable was significant on affactrole, which was ages 45-54 with a b of -.583. An interpretation for this result could be that the ages 45-54 cohort would be the age group with children that are of college age meaning they are concerned with their entry into a university as well as the means to pay for it. This perceived competition amongst prospective students would give them a negative view of affirmative action. This would seem to follow conflict theory, supporting Delgado and Stefancic (2001) and CRT. Whenever there is perceived competition amongst the races racism is inherent and unavoidable.

Figure 1.3 Effect of Covariates on Role of Affirmative Action Attitudes^a

Model		B	B(se)	β	t	p
1	Demographics and Scales					
	ages 35-44	40.798	32.018	.306	1.274	.211
	ages 45-54	-62.090	25.315	-.583	-2.453	.019
	ages 75-84	13.792	62.742	.089	.220	.827
	ages 85+	38.979	115.476	.156	.338	.738
	Black	1.860	2.227	.178	.835	.409
	Hispanic	-2.165	1.997	-.219	-1.084	.285
	Asian	.737	3.056	.041	.241	.811
	citizen ideology ada/cope	.016	.020	.253	.820	.418
	high school graduate	4.674	7.914	.159	.591	.558
	advanced degree	16.444	10.406	.408	1.580	.123
	civsucc	-.028	.237	-.028	-.119	.906
	racediffgap	-.098	.250	-.098	-.391	.698
	Intercept	-3.910	8.782		-.445	.659
	R=.630	R ² =.397	R ² (adj.)=.202	F=2.031, df=12		p=.049

a. Dependent Variable: affactrole

The insignificance of the civsucc and racediffgap scales would imply that hypothesis 3 was incorrect when it asserted that states with a positive view of civil rights and a negative view of racial differences should be against the use of affirmative action programs.

The Relationship between Civil Rights, Racial Difference, and Affirmative Action

One of the issues regarding civil rights, racial difference, and affirmative action is determining the true nature of their relationship with each other. It could be argued that these three ideas follow a chronological pattern of civil rights success influencing racial difference attitudes and the need for affirmative action. As noted earlier this could be reversed and racial difference attitudes influence attitudes about the success of civil rights and the need for affirmative action. Even affirmative action is not necessarily the dependent since it could be seen as simply an extension of the civil rights movement which influences modern attitudes about

racial difference. Either the past influences perceptions of the present, or the present influences perceptions of the past. It could also be argued that affirmative action is just a form of civil rights legislation.

If the reading of the previous paragraph is any indication, this circular logic can be quite confusing. Another hypothesis is that these three scales are in fact coterminous and are in fact measuring the same thing.

Hypothesis 5: Attitudes about civil rights, racial difference, and affirmative action are actually indicators of racial progress attitudes.

This means that the measures for all these attitudes are essentially asking about racial progress. The existence of the race gap and the need for more civil rights legislation including affirmative action are more likely to be supported by more liberal states. The less liberal a state the more likely it is to not see a need for more racial progress since it should already have been achieved.

Racial Progress Attitudes

Measurement

To measure racial progress attitudes a scale was created using the civsucc, racediffgap, and affactrole scales. One glaring issue however was the inverse relationship between civsucc and racediffgap. Civsucc was recoded into civsucrcode so that the liberal responses of civil rights not being successful would be positive in order to better fit with the already liberal racediffgap and affactrole scales.

Using a factor analysis for the three scales a new scale was created called raceprogatt. Raceprogatt had a KMO of .585 which was an acceptable level of validity for a three item scale, and all items loaded onto a single component. The scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .721 giving a good level of reliability. This would support hypothesis 5 that these scales are in fact measuring a single component.

Analysis

The model used divided the demographic variables by category in order to determine how each category influenced the dependent variable as shown in figure 1.4. The first model was age, followed by race, then ideology, and finally education. Age alone had a Pearson's r of .729 indicating a strong relationship and accounting for 49% of the variance. When race was added there was a slight increase to an R of .778 and R Square of .540. An increment of R^2 test was used to test the significance of the increase in variance between the models. Between model 1 and model 2, $F= 2.4$, $df= 3, 45$ so we can accept the H_0 that there was no significant change in variance. Adding citizen ideology created the largest increase to .873 indicating a very strong positive relationship and accounting for 71.5% of the variance in racial progress attitudes.

The test of significance between model 3 and 2 is $F= 17.33$, $df= 1, 42$ so we can reject the H_0 and the change in variance between model 2 and 3 is significant. After adding education, there was only a slight increase in Pearson's r to .880 and an R Square of .717. The change in variance between model 3 and 4 was not significant with $F= 1.167$, $df= 2, 41$ so we accept the H_0 that there was no significant change in variance. Finally, I examined whether the addition of the attitudinal and educational variables between model 2 and model 4 raised the R square significantly. The obtained increment of R Square was significant with $F= 6.22$, $df= 3, 42$

showing that the addition of ideological and educational variables had a significant impact on the change in variance.

Figure 1.4 Effect of Covariates on Racial Progress Attitudes^a

Model		B	B(se)	β	t	p
1	Age Demographics					
	ages 35-44	66.127	16.320	.496	4.052	.000
	ages 45-54	-5.892	13.156	-.055	-.448	.656
	ages 75-84	-140.933	32.157	-.908	-4.383	.000
	ages 85+	325.649	55.146	1.302	5.905	.000
	Intercept	-7.540	2.376		-3.174	.003
	R=.729	R ² =.531	R ² (adj.)=.490	F=12.752, df=4		p=.000
2	Age & Race Demographics					
	ages 35-44	32.749	20.285	.246	1.614	.114
	ages 45-54	8.185	14.371	.077	.570	.572
	ages 75-84	-144.629	32.900	-.932	-4.396	.000
	ages 85+	315.710	57.724	1.262	5.469	.000
	Black	2.393	1.277	.229	1.873	.068
	Hispanic	1.122	1.196	.114	.938	.353
	Asian	4.547	1.986	.251	2.290	.027
	Intercept	-5.522	2.399		-2.302	.026
	R=.778	R ² =.606	R ² (adj.)=.540	F=9.213, df=7		p=.000
3	Age, Race, and Ideology					
	ages 35-44	29.264	15.975	.220	1.832	.074
	ages 45-54	-33.542	13.882	-.315	-2.416	.020
	ages 75-84	-116.801	26.437	-.753	-4.418	.000
	ages 85+	231.565	48.234	.926	4.801	.000
	Black	1.701	1.014	.163	1.678	.101
	Hispanic	-.424	.987	-.043	-.430	.670
	Asian	.883	1.715	.049	.515	.609
	citizen ideology ada/cope	.042	.008	.664	5.181	.000
	Intercept	-.323	2.138		-.151	.881
	R=.873	R ² =.762	R ² (adj.)=.715	F=16.377, df=8		p=.000

a. Dependent Variable: raceprogatt

Figure 1.4 Continued^a

Model		B	B(se)	β	t	p
4	Age, Race, Ideology, and Education					
	ages 35-44	33.318	18.625	.250	1.789	.081
	ages 45-54	-38.990	14.402	-.366	-2.707	.010
	ages 75-84	-91.980	31.487	-.593	-2.921	.006
	ages 85+	195.448	55.368	.781	3.530	.001
	Black	2.502	1.275	.240	1.962	.057
	Hispanic	.141	1.179	.014	.119	.906
	Asian	.520	1.811	.029	.287	.776
	citizen ideology ada/cope	.043	.009	.665	4.514	.000
	high school graduate	5.591	4.628	.191	1.208	.234
	advanced degree	1.032	6.148	.026	.168	.868
	Intercept	-5.554	5.129		-1.083	.286
	R=.880	R ² =.775	R ² (adj.)=.717	F=13.413, df=10		p=.000

a. Dependent Variable: raceprogatt

In the final model ages 45-54, 75-84, 85+, and citizen ideology were significant at the $p < .05$ level. Ages 45-54 had a b of $-.366$, ages 75-84 had a b of $-.593$ and ages 85+ had a b of $.781$. The result of the age groups show that states with a larger ages 45-54 and 75-84 population had a more positive view of racial progress with the 75-84 group having a larger impact. States with a larger 85+ population were more likely to have a more liberal attitude toward racial progress seeing less progress having been made than their more conservative counterparts. This again could possibly be traced to the personal experiences of these populations having a direct effect on the attitudes of their respective states. Citizen ideology had a b of $.665$ and would imply that the more liberal a state the more likely they were to see less racial progress.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the discussion about affirmative action is about more than current policies regarding college admissions. The discussion surrounding affirmative action involves both the past and the present. It is difficult to have a conversation about affirmative action without including the discussion about the overall state of civil rights and racial difference. The concern of affirmative action programs is racial progress towards equality. In order to have a more understandable discourse about the role of affirmative action programs in a state it may be important to start with assessing attitudes about overall racial progress in order to understand where different attitudes are coming from.

Age and ideology had the most impact on state attitudes. It could be supposed that life experiences of large pockets of a state's population have a serious impact on the attitudes of that state. Having a cohort that remembers segregation and a cohort that remembers experiencing desegregation could influence the collective memories and ideologies of that state supporting Griffen and Bollen (2009) and Assmann (2008) in their assertions about the creation and preservation of memory. Jones (2006) showed that as age increased support for civil rights decreased, and if this project had scaled age along a continuous scale instead of by cohort the results may have been much the same. This study was able to show that there is a strong correlation between different age cohorts and their views on racial progress. The difference between the ages 75-84 cohort and the 85+ group would imply that it is not just how geriatric these groups become that influences their attitudes, but their experiences.

Ideology was also a major factor influencing attitudes about racial progress. The more liberal the ideology the citizens of a state were, the more likely the state was to support the idea

that more racial progress was needed. It is important to note that the attitudes about racial progress examined in this study have no reflection on racism or discrimination for states. The affectdisc scale dealing with discrimination would have had much more significance in this study if that was the case. The attitudes measured here dealt primarily with attitudes concerning the state of racial progress, not if the progress, or lack thereof, was a good or bad thing. It could simply be different interpretations of the American Creed (Myrdal 1944) that are molding views of racial progress by state.

Other Insights

What is also of interest is not just what turned out to be significant to state attitudes, but what did not. It was expected that race and education would have played a strong role in attitudes. The lack of race being a significant category could be attributed to the state populations themselves. It could have been the case that states with high populations of Blacks had a more negative view of say black character or racial progress, but the different responses of whites and blacks cancelled each other out. It would be interesting to go back and examine responses for specifically the white population in those states. Education could have been washed out by ideology if say more liberal states were also the states with higher levels of education.

Implications for future research

Regarding the use of Ecological Correlations

This study focused on correlations between different variables for states. Since it focused on the states it would be more useful for examining the impact of certain demographic variables at the state level, such as state affirmative action policies. This is because the correlations used were ecological correlations, where the statistical object is a group of persons rather than the

descriptive properties of individuals such as in an individual correlation (Robinson 1950). The problem with using ecological correlations is that they are dependent upon the size of the coefficient and the average size of the areas from which it is being determined. This means that as groups become larger, such as moving from the state to region level, the correlation also has a tendency to increase. Robinson (1950) states that ecological correlations cannot validly be used to substitute for individual correlations in research.

The use of ecological correlations is still of use in examining a relationship, however, just not necessarily the true strength of a relationship as noted in Robinson's (1950) own use of the literacy amongst Blacks example. Menzel (1950) contends that ecological correlations are useful for determining interindividual differences and relationships such as culture conflict. Ecological correlations can point to identical historical circumstances and aspects of development that can cause differences at the state level (Menzel 1950). Since the purpose of this research was to determine how historical circumstances impact attitudes and culture in different areas (in this case states) then the use of an ecological approach can be supported. The objective of the research was to determine the existence of a relationship and it is up to future research to examine the individual properties of those relationships.

The importance of age to this study prompts the need to further examine the impact of certain age cohorts of the interpretations of certain historical events such as the civil rights movement. However, if a study was to be done it should probably be done for civil rights it should be done so quickly, since the age cohort that remembers segregation the most intimately is already small and will only continue to shrink. In addition, the impact of citizen ideology on attitudes would also suggest that the impact of political ideology on citizens may have a strong impact on the attitudes and actions of a state.

Appendix A: State, Region, and Demographic Variables

State

- 1- Alabama
- 2- Alaska
- 3- Arizona
- 4- Arkansas
- 5- California
- 6- Colorado
- 7- Connecticut
- 8- Delaware
- 9- Florida
- 10- Georgia
- 11- Hawaii
- 12- Idaho
- 13- Illinois
- 14- Indiana
- 15- Iowa
- 16- Kansas
- 17- Kentucky
- 18- Louisiana
- 19- Maine
- 20- Maryland
- 21- Massachusetts

- 22- Michigan
- 23- Minnesota
- 24- Mississippi
- 25- Missouri
- 26- Montana
- 27- Nebraska
- 28- Nevada
- 29- New Hampshire
- 30- New Jersey
- 31- New Mexico
- 32- New York
- 33- North Carolina
- 34- North Dakota
- 35- Ohio
- 36- Oklahoma
- 37- Oregon
- 38- Pennsylvania
- 39- Rhode Island
- 40- South Carolina
- 41- South Dakota
- 42- Tennessee
- 43- Texas
- 44- Utah

- 45- Vermont
- 46- Virginia
- 47- Washington
- 48- West Virginia
- 49- Wisconsin
- 50- Wyoming

Region

- 1- New England- Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island
- 2- Middle Atlantic- New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania
- 3- East North Central- Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio
- 4- West North Central- Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas
- 5- South Atlantic- Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, District of Columbia
- 6- East South Central- Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi
- 7- West South Central- Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Texas
- 8- Mountain- Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico
- 9- Pacific- Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, Hawaii

Demographic Variables

Age- percentage of state population

ageu15- under 15

age15- 15-24

age25- 25-34

age35- 35-44

age45- 45-54

age55- 55-64

age65- 65-74

age75- 75-84

age85- 85+

Race- percentage of state population

rwhite- White

rblack- Black

rhispanic- Hispanic

rasian- Asian

rnatamer- native American

Political Ideology- ada/cope and nominate scores 0 conservative to 100 liberal

polcitiac- citizen ideology using ada/cope scores

polinstac- institutional ideology ada/cope scores

polinstnom- institutional ideology nominate scores

Education- percentage of state with types of degrees

eduhs- percentage with a high school education

eduba- percentage with a bachelor's degree

eduadv- percentage with an advanced degree

Economic Factors- median income and percentage in poverty by state

medincome- median income

poverty- percentage in poverty

Appendix B: Items by Dataset and Recoded

Items by Dataset

Gallup. 2012. USA Today. USA Today/Gallup Poll: August Wave 1--2012 Elections/Federal Debt/Race, Aug, 2011 [dataset]. USAIPOUSA2011-14, Version 2. Gallup Organization [producer]. Storrs, CT:Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Roper*Express* [distributor].

(Affact1) 12. How much of a role, if any, do you think the government should have in trying to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups in this country – a major role, a minor role, or no role at all?

1 Major role

2 Minor role

3 No role at all

4 DON'T KNOW

5 REFUSED

(Civsucc1) 14. Thinking back over your lifetime, how do you feel civil rights for blacks have changed in this country -- would you say the situation has greatly improved, somewhat improved, stayed pretty much the same, somewhat worsened, or greatly worsened?

1 Greatly improved

2 Somewhat improved

3 Stayed the same

4 Somewhat worsened

5 Greatly worsened

6 DON'T KNOW

7 REFUSED

(Civsucc6) 15. Do you think new civil rights laws are needed to reduce discrimination against blacks, or not?

1 Yes, new laws are needed

2 No, not needed

3 DON'T KNOW

4 REFUSED

(Civsucc2) 22. Thinking back to Dr. Martin Luther King and his dream of racial equality, do you think that dream has now been realized in the United States, or not?

1 Yes, has

2 No, has not

3 DON'T KNOW

4 REFUSED

(Civsucc3) [IF '2-4' IN Q.22, CONTINUE; OTHERWISE SKIP TO Q.24] 23. [IF '2'4' IN Q.22 (DREAM HAS NOT BEEN REALIZED), ASK:] Do you think the United States has made major progress toward realizing that dream, minor progress, or no progress at all?

1 Major progress

2 Minor progress

3 No progress

4 DON'T KNOW

5 REFUSED

Pew. 2009. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press/Pew Social & Demographic Trends. Pew Research Center Poll: Pew Social Trends--October 2009-Racial Attitudes in America II, Oct, 2009 [dataset]. USPEW2009-10SDT, Version 2. Princeton Survey Research Associates International [producer]. Storrs, CT:Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Roper*Express* [distributor].

(racediff1) Q.21F1 Compared with five years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living?

1 Wider

2 Narrower

3 No change (VOL.)

9 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

(racediff2) Q.22F2 Compared with TEN years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living?

1 Wider

2 Narrower

3 No change (VOL.)

9 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Q.69 In general, would you say that most blacks are [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE], or not?

What about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY, AND AT LEAST EVERY FEW ITEMS:

“would you say most blacks are [ITEM]:

(racediff3) a. Hard-working

(racediff4) b. Intelligent

NO ITEM c

(racediff7) d. Honest

(racediff8) e. Generous

(racediff9) f. Law-abiding

RESPONSE CATEGORIES: 1 Yes

2 No

8 Don't know (VOL.)

9 Refused (VOL.)

Q.70 In general, would you say that most whites are [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE], or not?.

What about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY, AND AT LEAST EVERY FEW ITEMS:

“would you say most whites are [ITEM]:

(racediff5) a. Hard-working

(racediff6) b. Intelligent

NO ITEM c

(racediff10) d. Honest

(racediff11) e. Generous

(racediff12) f. Law-abiding

RESPONSE CATEGORIES: 1 Yes

2 No

8 Don't know (VOL.)

9 Refused (VOL.)

Pew. 2013. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press/Pew Social & Demographic Trends.

Pew Social and Demographic Trends Poll: 2013 Martin Luther King Jr. Race Survey, Aug, 2013

[dataset]. USPEW2013-SDT08, Version 2. Princeton Survey Research Associates International
[producer]. Storrs, CT:Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Roper*Express* [distributor].

(civsucc4) PEW.2 As you may know, Martin Luther King Jr. gave his “I Have a Dream
Speech” at a civil rights march in 1963

Overall, how much progress toward Martin Luther King’s dream of racial equality do you think
the U.S. has made over the last FIFTY years? **[READ IN ORDER]**?

- 1 A lot
- 2 Some
- 3 A little [OR]
- 4 None at all
- 9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

(civsucc5) PEW.3 And how much more needs to be done in order to achieve Martin Luther
King’s dream of racial equality? **[READ IN ORDER]**?

- 1 A lot
- 2 Some
- 3 A little [OR]

4 Nothing at all

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

(racediff14) PEW.9 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same?

1 Better

2 Worse

3 About the same

9 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)

(racediff15) PEW.12 Now thinking about the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation?

1 Better off

2 Worse off

3 About as well off

9 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)

Pew. 2014. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. Pew Research Center Poll: 2014 Political Typology/Polarization Survey, Jan, 2014 [dataset]. USPEW2014-TYPO, Version 2. Abt SRBI, Inc. (Schulman, Ronca, & Bucuvalas, Inc.) [producer]. Storrs, CT:Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Roper*Express* [distributor].

Q.25 I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the **FIRST** statement or the **SECOND** statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is **[READ AND RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR]**. Next, **[NEXT PAIR] [IF NECESSARY: “Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?”]**

(racediff13) f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days **[OR]**

Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition

Q.50 Now I'm going to read a few more pairs of statements. Again, just tell me whether the **FIRST** statement or the **SECOND** statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is **[READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS Q THRU Z FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS AA THRU HH; RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR]**. Next, **[NEXT PAIR] [IF NECESSARY: “Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?”]**

(civsucc8) hh. Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites **[OR]**

Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

1 Statement #1

2 Statement #2

5 Neither/Both equally (**VOL.**)

9 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)

(affact2) Q.C127 In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing?

1 Good thing

2 Bad thing

9 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)

CNN. 2013. Cable News Network. CNN/ORC Poll: NSA Data Collection/IRS, Jun, 2013 [dataset]. USORCCNN2013-007, Version 2. Opinion Research Corporation [producer]. Storrs, CT:Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, *RoperExpress* [distributor].

(affact3) Q13 Do you approve or disapprove of affirmative action admissions programs at colleges and law schools that give racial preferences to minority applicants?

(3322)

1 Approve

2 Disapprove

9 DON'T KNOW/UNDECIDED/REFUSED (vol.)

CBS. 2013. CBS News and The New York Times. CBS News/New York Times Poll: IRS/Terrorism/Rights, May, 2013 [dataset]. USCBSNYT2013-05B, Version 2. Social Science Research Solutions (SSRS) [producer]. Storrs, CT:Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Roper*Express* [distributor].

(civsucc7) Q50 As you may know, the Voting Rights Act was passed in the 1960s to prevent state and local governments from using rules and procedures which prevented many blacks from voting. Do you think the Voting Rights Act is necessary today to make sure that blacks are allowed to vote, or do you think the Voting Rights Act is no longer necessary?

1 Necessary today

2 No longer necessary

9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/No answer

CBS. 2012. 60 Minutes/Vanity Fair. CBS News/60 Minutes/Vanity Fair Poll: Political Campaigns/Comedy, Oct, 2012 [dataset]. USCBS2012-10A, Version 2. CBS News [producer]. Storrs, CT:Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Roper*Express* [distributor].

(affact4)Q15 Do you think affirmative action programs in hiring, promoting, and college admissions should be continued, or do you think these

affirmative action programs should be abolished?

1 Continued

2 Abolished

9 Don't know

NBC. 2010. NBC News and The Wall Street Journal. NBC News/Wall Street Journal Poll: Barack Obama/Economy, Jan, 2010 [dataset]. USNBCWSJ2010-9500, Version 2. Hart and McInturff Research Companies [producer]. Storrs, CT:Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Roper*Express*[distributor].

(affact5) Q39. Now let me read you two brief statements on affirmative action programs, and ask which one comes closer to your own point of view. Statement A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas. Statement B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities, and should be ended because they unfairly discriminate against whites. (If Respondent makes a choice, ask:) Do you feel strongly about that, or not so strongly?

1 Statement A/feel strongly

2 Statement A/do not feel strongly

3 Statement B/do not feel strongly

4 Statement B/feel strongly

5 Not sure

PRRI. 2013. Public Religion Research Institute. Public Religion Research Institute Poll: May 2013 PRRI Religion and Politics Tracking Survey, May, 2013 [dataset]. USPRRI2013-05, Version 2. Public Religion Research Institute [producer]. Storrs, CT:Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, Roper*Express*[distributor].

(affact6) Q1. In order to make up for past discrimination, do you favor or oppose programs which make special efforts to help blacks and other minorities get ahead?

1 Favor

2 Oppose

7 Other

9 Don't know

(affact7) Q2. Do you think blacks and other minorities should receive preference in college admissions to make up for past inequalities, or not?

1 Yes, should

2 No, should not

7 Other

9 Don't know

Scale Items Recoded

Civsucc scale items recoded

(Civsucc1) Thinking back over your lifetime, how do you feel civil rights for blacks have changed in this country -- would you say the situation has greatly improved, somewhat improved, stayed pretty much the same, somewhat worsened, or greatly worsened?

1 Greatly worsened

2 Somewhat worsened

3 Stayed the same

4 Somewhat improved

5 Greatly improved

(Civsucc2) Thinking back to Dr. Martin Luther King and his dream of racial equality, do you think that dream has now been realized in the United States, or not?

1 No, has not

2 Yes, has

(Civsucc3) Do you think the United States has made major progress toward realizing that dream, minor progress, or no progress at all?

1 No progress

2 Minor progress

3 Major progress

(civsucc4) As you may know, Martin Luther King Jr. gave his “I Have a Dream Speech” at a civil rights march in 1963:

Overall, how much progress toward Martin Luther King’s dream of racial equality do you think the U.S. has made over the last FIFTY years?

- 1 None at all
- 2 A little
- 3 Some
- 4 A lot

(civsucc5) PEW.3 And how much more needs to be done in order to achieve Martin Luther King’s dream of racial equality?

- 1 A lot
- 2 Some
- 3 A little [OR]
- 4 Nothing at all

(Civsucc6) 15. Do you think new civil rights laws are needed to reduce discrimination against blacks, or not?

1 Yes, new laws are needed

2 No, not needed

(civsucc7) Q50 As you may know, the Voting Rights Act was passed in the 1960s to prevent state and local governments from using rules and procedures which prevented many blacks from voting. Do you think the Voting Rights Act is necessary today to make sure that blacks are allowed to vote, or do you think the Voting Rights Act is no longer necessary?

1 No longer necessary

2 necessary

(civsucc8) hh. Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites
[OR]

Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

1 Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites

2 Neither/Both equally

3 Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites

Affect scale items recoded

(Affact1) 12. How much of a role, if any, do you think the government should have in trying to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups in this country – a major role, a minor role, or no role at all?

1 No role

2 Minor role

3 Major role

(affact2) Q.C127 In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing?

1 Bad thing

2 Good thing

(affact3) Q13 Do you approve or disapprove of affirmative action admissions programs at colleges and law schools that give racial preferences to minority applicants?

(3322)

1 Disapprove

2 Approve

(affact4)Q15 Do you think affirmative action programs in hiring, promoting, and college admissions should be continued, or do you think these affirmative action programs should be abolished?

1 Abolish

2 Continue

(affact5) Q39. Now let me read you two brief statements on affirmative action programs, and ask which one comes closer to your own point of view. Statement A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas. Statement B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far

in favoring minorities, and should be ended because they unfairly discriminate against whites. (If Respondent makes a choice, ask:) Do you feel strongly about that, or not so strongly?

1 programs gone too far-strongly

2 programs gone too far-do not feel strongly

3 programs still needed-do not feel strongly

4 programs still needed-strongly

(affact6) Q1. In order to make up for past discrimination, do you favor or oppose programs which make special efforts to help blacks and other minorities get ahead?

1 Oppose

2 Favor

(affact7) Q2. Do you think blacks and other minorities should receive preference in college admissions to make up for past inequalities, or not?

1 No, should not

2 Yes, should

Racediff scale items recoded

(racediff1) Q.21F1 Compared with five years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living?

1 narrower

2 no change

3 wider

(racediff2) Q.22F2 Compared with TEN years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living?

1 narrower

2 no change

3 wider

Q.69 In general, would you say that most blacks are [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE], or not?

What about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY, AND AT LEAST EVERY FEW ITEMS:

“would you say most blacks are [ITEM]:

(racediff3) a. Hard-working

(racediff4) b. Intelligent

NO ITEM c

(racediff7) d. Honest

(racediff8) e. Generous

(racediff9) f. Law-abiding

RESPONSE CATEGORIES: 1 no

2 yes

Q.70 In general, would you say that most whites are [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE], or not?.

What about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY, AND AT LEAST EVERY FEW ITEMS:

“would you say most whites are [ITEM]:

(racediff5) a. Hard-working

(racediff6) b. Intelligent

NO ITEM c

(racediff10) d. Honest

(racediff11) e. Generous

(racediff12) f. Law-abiding

RESPONSE CATEGORIES: 1 no

2 yes

(racediff13) Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR]

Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition

1. Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition
2. Neither/Both
3. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days

(racediff14) PEW.9 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same?

1 Better

2 same

3 worse

(racediff15) PEW.12 Now thinking about the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation?

1 Better off

2 same

3 worse off

Appendix C: Scale Creation

Civsucc scales creation

Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.516
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	44.686
	df	28
	Sig.	.024

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
How Have Civil Rights for Blacks Changed in Your Lifetime civsucc1	1.000	.616
Think Dr Kings Dream of Racial Equality in the U.S. Has Been Realized civsucc2	1.000	.723
Think US Made Progress toward Realizing Dr Kings Dream of Racial Equality civsucc3	1.000	.302
PEW.2 Overall, how much progress toward Martin Luther King's dream of racial equality do you think the U.S. has made over the last FIFTY years? civsucc4	1.000	.742
PEW.3 And how much more needs to be done in order to achieve Martin Luther King's dream of racial equality? civsucc5	1.000	.613
Think New Civil Rights Laws are Needed to Reduce Discrimination against Blacks civsucc6	1.000	.538
Do you think the Voting Rights Act is necessary today to make sure that blacks are allowed to vote, or do you think the Voting Rights Act is no longer necessary? civsucc7	1.000	.337
Q50hh. Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites [OR] Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites civsucc8	1.000	.727

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings ^a
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	1.926	24.079	24.079	1.926	24.079	24.079	1.728
2	1.349	16.861	40.940	1.349	16.861	40.940	1.487
3	1.323	16.534	57.474	1.323	16.534	57.474	1.449
4	.963	12.041	69.515				
5	.924	11.554	81.070				
6	.615	7.693	88.763				
7	.506	6.325	95.088				
8	.393	4.912	100.000				

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. When components are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.

Component Matrix^a

	Component		
	1	2	3
How Have Civil Rights for Blacks Changed in Your Lifetime civsucc1	.536	.435	-.372
Think Dr Kings Dream of Racial Equality in the U.S. Has Been Realized civsucc2	.643	-.402	-.385
Think US Made Progress toward Realizing Dr Kings Dream of Racial Equality civsucc3	-.394	.381	-.045
PEW.2 Overall, how much progress toward Martin Luther King's dream of racial equality do you think the U.S. has made over the last FIFTY years? civsucc4	.305	.240	.769
PEW.3 And how much more needs to be done in order to achieve Martin Luther King's dream of racial equality? civsucc5	.494	.230	.562
Think New Civil Rights Laws are Needed to Reduce Discrimination against Blacks civsucc6	.408	.562	-.236
Do you think the Voting Rights Act is necessary today to make sure that blacks are allowed to vote, or do you think the Voting Rights Act is no longer necessary? civsucc7	.134	.502	-.258
Q50hh. Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites [OR] Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites civsucc8	.741	-.418	.065

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 3 components extracted.

Pattern Matrix^a

	Component		
	1	2	3
How Have Civil Rights for Blacks Changed in Your Lifetime civsucc1	.205	.751	-.008
Think Dr Kings Dream of Racial Equality in the U.S. Has Been Realized civsucc2	.819	.178	-.242
Think US Made Progress toward Realizing Dr Kings Dream of Racial Equality civsucc3	-.529	.126	-.060
PEW.2 Overall, how much progress toward Martin Luther King’s dream of racial equality do you think the U.S. has made over the last FIFTY years? civsucc4	-.080	-.047	.867
PEW.3 And how much more needs to be done in order to achieve Martin Luther King’s dream of racial equality? civsucc5	.111	.132	.746
Think New Civil Rights Laws are Needed to Reduce Discrimination against Blacks civsucc6	.000	.722	.108
Do you think the Voting Rights Act is necessary today to make sure that blacks are allowed to vote, or do you think the Voting Rights Act is no longer necessary? civsucc7	-.164	.562	-.026
Q50hh. Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites [OR] Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites civsucc8	.810	-.004	.190

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

Structure Matrix

	Component		
	1	2	3
How Have Civil Rights for Blacks Changed in Your Lifetime civsucc1	.230	.758	.041
Think Dr Kings Dream of Racial Equality in the U.S. Has Been Realized civsucc2	.798	.198	-.142
Think US Made Progress toward Realizing Dr Kings Dream of Racial Equality civsucc3	-.532	.106	-.117
PEW.2 Overall, how much progress toward Martin Luther King’s dream of racial equality do you think the U.S. has made over the last FIFTY years? civsucc4	.017	-.020	.856
PEW.3 And how much more needs to be done in order to achieve Martin Luther King’s dream of racial equality? civsucc5	.201	.161	.763
Think New Civil Rights Laws are Needed to Reduce Discrimination against Blacks civsucc6	.037	.726	.132
Do you think the Voting Rights Act is necessary today to make sure that blacks are allowed to vote, or do you think the Voting Rights Act is no longer necessary? civsucc7	-.148	.555	-.026
Q50hh. Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites [OR] Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites civsucc8	.832	.030	.282

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Component Correlation Matrix

Component	1	2	3
1	1.000	.035	.114
2	.035	1.000	.034
3	.114	.034	1.000

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Looking at the rotated pattern matrix, the items in component 3 were trimmed since civsucc5 was dependent on civsucc4 being answered in the same dataset. The items also only measured progress which gave no clear indication as to attitudes about the overall success of the civil rights movement. The two remaining components are then looked at as scales in this case.

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.	.543
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square
	8.155
	df
	3
	Sig.
	.043

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
How Have Civil Rights for Blacks Changed in Your Lifetime civsucc1	1.000	.589
Think New Civil Rights Laws are Needed to Reduce Discrimination against Blacks civsucc6	1.000	.630
Do you think the Voting Rights Act is necessary today to make sure that blacks are allowed to vote, or do you think the Voting Rights Act is no longer necessary? civsucc7	1.000	.231

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.450	48.336	48.336	1.450	48.336	48.336
2	.918	30.598	78.934			
3	.632	21.066	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix^a

	Component
	1
How Have Civil Rights for Blacks Changed in Your Lifetime civsucc1	.768
Think New Civil Rights Laws are Needed to Reduce Discrimination against Blacks civsucc6	.794
Do you think the Voting Rights Act is necessary today to make sure that blacks are allowed to vote, or do you think the Voting Rights Act is no longer necessary? civsucc7	.481

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Scale: ALL VARIABLES

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	50	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	50	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.388	3

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item- Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
How Have Civil Rights for Blacks Changed in Your Lifetime civsucc1	3.24359	.032	.286	.263
Think New Civil Rights Laws are Needed to Reduce Discrimination against Blacks civsucc6	5.84463	.076	.376	.187
Do you think the Voting Rights Act is necessary today to make sure that blacks are allowed to vote, or do you think the Voting Rights Act is no longer necessary? civsucc7	6.11301	.076	.152	.422

The items in this scale tend to focus on civil rights laws instead of the civil rights movement and also has a weak Cronbach's alpha.

Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.	.500
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square
	13.664
	df
	1
	Sig.
	.000

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Think Dr Kings Dream of Racial Equality in the U.S. Has Been Realized civsucc2	1.000	.750
Q50hh. Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites [OR] Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites civsucc8	1.000	.750

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.500	74.999	74.999	1.500	74.999	74.999
2	.500	25.001	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix^a

	Component
	1
Think Dr Kings Dream of Racial Equality in the U.S. Has Been Realized civsucc2	.866
Q50hh. Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites [OR] Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites civsucc8	.866

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Reliability

Scale: ALL VARIABLES

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	50	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	50	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.665	2

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item- Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Think Dr Kings Dream of Racial Equality in the U.S. Has Been Realized civsucc2	2.06325	.020	.500	.
Q50hh. Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites [OR] Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites civsucc8	1.47052	.017	.500	.

This component focused more on the impact of the civil rights movement and had a much higher Cronbach's alpha making this the scale used to represent civil rights success attitudes or civsucc.

Racediff Scales Creation

Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.	.719
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square
	360.632
	df
	105
	Sig.
	.000

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Q.21F1 Compared with five years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff1	1.000	.708
Q.22F2 Compared with TEN years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff2	1.000	.782
Q.69a In general, would you say that most blacks are - Hard-working, or not? racediff3	1.000	.740
Q.69b In general, would you say that most blacks are - Intelligent, or not? racediff4	1.000	.726
Q.70a In general, would you say that most whites are - Hard-working, or not? racediff5	1.000	.875
Q.70b In general, would you say that most whites are - Intelligent, or not? racediff6	1.000	.862
Q.69d In general, would you say that most blacks are - Honest, or not? racediff7	1.000	.537
Q.69e In general, would you say that most blacks are - Generous, or not? racediff8	1.000	.712
Q.69f In general, would you say that most blacks are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff9	1.000	.661
Q.70d In general, would you say that most whites are - Honest, or not? racediff10	1.000	.825
Q.70e In general, would you say that most whites are - Generous, or not? racediff11	1.000	.829
Q.70f In general, would you say that most whites are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff12	1.000	.623
Q25f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR] Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition? racediff13	1.000	.784
PEW.9 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same? racediff14	1.000	.631
PEW.12 ...the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation? racediff15	1.000	.795

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.351	35.674	35.674	5.351	35.674	35.674
2	1.836	12.238	47.913	1.836	12.238	47.913
3	1.554	10.359	58.271	1.554	10.359	58.271
4	1.205	8.036	66.307	1.205	8.036	66.307
5	1.144	7.626	73.934	1.144	7.626	73.934
6	.793	5.284	79.217			
7	.687	4.579	83.797			
8	.531	3.538	87.335			
9	.443	2.955	90.290			
10	.415	2.769	93.059			
11	.332	2.216	95.276			
12	.310	2.065	97.341			
13	.178	1.187	98.528			
14	.137	.916	99.444			
15	.083	.556	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix^a

	Component				
	1	2	3	4	5
Q.21F1 Compared with five years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff1	-.087	-.288	.593	-.057	-.513
Q.22F2 Compared with TEN years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff2	-.234	.728	.376	.235	-.006
Q.69a In general, would you say that most blacks are - Hard-working, or not? racediff3	.729	-.180	-.256	-.064	.326
Q.69b In general, would you say that most blacks are - Intelligent, or not? racediff4	.654	.472	.011	.095	.258
Q.70a In general, would you say that most whites are - Hard-working, or not? racediff5	.813	-.034	.244	-.353	-.173
Q.70b In general, would you say that most whites are - Intelligent, or not? racediff6	.711	.569	.152	-.104	.016
Q.69d In general, would you say that most blacks are - Honest, or not? racediff7	.652	.017	-.005	.311	.122
Q.69e In general, would you say that most blacks are - Generous, or not? racediff8	.667	-.450	-.093	.153	.180
Q.69f In general, would you say that most blacks are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff9	.699	-.396	-.008	.094	-.076
Q.70d In general, would you say that most whites are - Honest, or not? racediff10	.821	.178	.298	.055	-.167
Q.70e In general, would you say that most whites are - Generous, or not? racediff11	.695	-.082	.146	-.542	-.153
Q.70f In general, would you say that most whites are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff12	.700	.122	-.063	.337	-.024
Q25f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR] Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition? racediff13	-.102	-.302	.648	.506	.086
PEW.9 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same? racediff14	-.378	.184	.305	-.433	.418
PEW.12 ...the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation? racediff15	-.070	-.324	.527	-.124	.626

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. a. 5 components extracted

Pattern Matrix^a

a. Rotation failed to converge in 25 iterations.
(Convergence = .001).

The sheer number of components meant that some trimming was in order so the items that dealt with character were taken out.

Racediffgap Scale Creation

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.	.419	
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	16.019
	df	10
	Sig.	.099

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Q.21F1 Compared with five years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff1	1.000	.304
Q.22F2 Compared with TEN years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff2	1.000	.575
Q25f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR] Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition? racediff13	1.000	.655
PEW.9 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same? racediff14	1.000	.650
PEW.12 ...the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation? racediff15	1.000	.507

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings ^a
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	1.540	30.806	30.806	1.540	30.806	30.806	1.481
2	1.150	22.996	53.802	1.150	22.996	53.802	1.241
3	.979	19.579	73.381				
4	.850	17.006	90.387				
5	.481	9.613	100.000				

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. When components are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.

Component Matrix^a

	Component	
	1	2
Q.21F1 Compared with five years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff1	.503	-.225
Q.22F2 Compared with TEN years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff2	.285	.702
Q25f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR] Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition? racediff13	.706	-.396
PEW.9 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same? racediff14	.480	.648
PEW.12 ...the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation? racediff15	.691	-.171

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 2 components extracted.

Pattern Matrix^a

	Component	
	1	2
Q.21F1 Compared with five years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff1	.552	-.012
Q.22F2 Compared with TEN years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? Racediff2	-.090	.762
Q25f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR] Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition? racediff13	.814	-.091
PEW.9 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same? racediff14	.108	.788
PEW.12 ...the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation? racediff15	.692	.111

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Structure Matrix

	Component	
	1	2
Q.21F1 Compared with five years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff1	.551	.046
Q.22F2 Compared with TEN years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff2	-.010	.753
Q25f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR] Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition? racediff13	.804	-.006
PEW.9 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same? racediff14	.191	.799
PEW.12 ...the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation? racediff15	.703	.184

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Component Correlation Matrix

Component	1	2
1	1.000	.105
2	.105	1.000

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Using the pattern matrix a factor analysis was run for racediff1, racediff13, and racediff15.

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.	.514
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square
	8.911
	df
	3
	Sig.
	.030

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Q25f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR] Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition? racediff13	1.000	.674
PEW.12 ...the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation? racediff15	1.000	.479
Q.21F1 Compared with five years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff1	1.000	.302

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.455	48.497	48.497	1.455	48.497	48.497
2	.939	31.312	79.809			
3	.606	20.191	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix^a

	Component
	1
Q25f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR] Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition? racediff13	.821
PEW.12 ...the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation? racediff15	.692
Q.21F1 Compared with five years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff1	.549

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Reliability

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	50	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	50	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.399	3

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Q.21F1 Compared with five years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff1	3.99560	.056	.192	.508
Q25f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR] Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition? racediff13	4.01218	.083	.379	.106
PEW.12 ...the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation? racediff15	3.31897	.097	.208	.362

Racediff1 was then removed in order to raise the Cronbach's alpha

Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.	.500
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square
	5.865
	df
	1
	Sig.
	.015

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Q25f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR] Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition? racediff13	1.000	.670
PEW.12 ...the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation? racediff15	1.000	.670

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.341	67.041	67.041	1.341	67.041	67.041
2	.659	32.959	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix^a

	Component
	1
Q25f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR] Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition? racediff13	.819
PEW.12 ...the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation? racediff15	.819

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Scale: ALL VARIABLES

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	50	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	50	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.508	2

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Q25f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR] Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition? racediff13	2.34440	.021	.341	.
PEW.12 ...the financial situation of blacks compared with whites TODAY, would you say the average black person is better off, worse off or just about as well off as the average white person in terms of income and overall financial situation? racediff15	1.65120	.021	.341	.

The next step was to look at racediff2 and racediff14 which factored onto component 2.

Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.500
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	2.286
	df	1
	Sig.	.131

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Q.22F2 Compared with TEN years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff2	1.000	.608
PEW.9 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same? racediff14	1.000	.608

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.217	60.837	60.837	1.217	60.837	60.837
2	.783	39.163	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix^a

	Component
	1
Q.22F2 Compared with TEN years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff2	.780
PEW.9 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same? racediff14	.780

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Reliability

Scale: ALL VARIABLES

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	50	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	50	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.299	2

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Q.22F2 Compared with TEN years ago, do you think there is a wider gap or a narrower gap between black people and white people in their standard of living? racediff2	1.77616	.012	.217	.
PEW.9 All in all, compared with five years ago, do you think the situation of black people in this country today is better, worse, or about the same? racediff14	1.56241	.045	.217	.

Since the resulting Cronbach's alpha was so low racediff13 and racediff15 were chosen as the racediffgap scale.

Racediffchar Scale Creation

Next the items dealing with racial character were trimmed to create a coherent scale.

Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.799
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	290.969
	df	45
	Sig.	.000

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Q.69a In general, would you say that most blacks are - Hard-working, or not? racediff3	1.000	.665
Q.69b In general, would you say that most blacks are - Intelligent, or not? racediff4	1.000	.778
Q.70a In general, would you say that most whites are - Hard-working, or not? racediff5	1.000	.898
Q.70b In general, would you say that most whites are - Intelligent, or not? racediff6	1.000	.883
Q.69d In general, would you say that most blacks are - Honest, or not? racediff7	1.000	.547
Q.69e In general, would you say that most blacks are - Generous, or not? racediff8	1.000	.720
Q.69f In general, would you say that most blacks are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff9	1.000	.748
Q.70d In general, would you say that most whites are - Honest, or not? racediff10	1.000	.761
Q.70e In general, would you say that most whites are - Generous, or not? racediff11	1.000	.897
Q.70f In general, would you say that most whites are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff12	1.000	.570

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings ^a
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	5.179	51.795	51.795	5.179	51.795	51.795	3.532
2	1.252	12.523	64.318	1.252	12.523	64.318	3.667
3	1.035	10.347	74.665	1.035	10.347	74.665	3.293
4	.717	7.170	81.835				
5	.546	5.457	87.292				
6	.417	4.167	91.459				
7	.384	3.844	95.303				
8	.196	1.963	97.266				
9	.154	1.539	98.805				
10	.120	1.195	100.000				

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. When components are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.

Component Matrix^a

	Component		
	1	2	3
Q.69a In general, would you say that most blacks are - Hard-working, or not? racediff3	.719	.376	.082
Q.69b In general, would you say that most blacks are - Intelligent, or not? racediff4	.673	-.337	.459
Q.70a In general, would you say that most whites are - Hard-working, or not? racediff5	.823	-.148	-.446
Q.70b In general, would you say that most whites are - Intelligent, or not? racediff6	.738	-.561	.153
Q.69d In general, would you say that most blacks are - Honest, or not? racediff7	.652	.129	.323
Q.69e In general, would you say that most blacks are - Generous, or not? racediff8	.648	.544	.062
Q.69f In general, would you say that most blacks are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff9	.688	.508	-.129
Q.70d In general, would you say that most whites are - Honest, or not? racediff10	.837	-.240	-.057
Q.70e In general, would you say that most whites are - Generous, or not? racediff11	.695	-.175	-.619
Q.70f In general, would you say that most whites are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff12	.697	.041	.289

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 3 components extracted.

Pattern Matrix^a

	Component		
	1	2	3
Q.69a In general, would you say that most blacks are - Hard-working, or not? racediff3	.122	.727	-.075
Q.69b In general, would you say that most blacks are - Intelligent, or not? racediff4	.884	.039	.052
Q.70a In general, would you say that most whites are - Hard-working, or not? racediff5	.120	.162	-.820
Q.70b In general, would you say that most whites are - Intelligent, or not? racediff6	.830	-.205	-.354
Q.69d In general, would you say that most blacks are - Honest, or not? racediff7	.449	.482	.098
Q.69e In general, would you say that most blacks are - Generous, or not? racediff8	-.041	.862	-.004
Q.69f In general, would you say that most blacks are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff9	-.146	.815	-.219
Q.70d In general, would you say that most whites are - Honest, or not? racediff10	.490	.134	-.481
Q.70e In general, would you say that most whites are - Generous, or not? racediff11	-.052	.050	-.946
Q.70f In general, would you say that most whites are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff12	.503	.408	.014

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 11 iterations.

Structure Matrix

	Component		
	1	2	3
Q.69a In general, would you say that most blacks are - Hard-working, or not? racediff3	.434	.802	-.387
Q.69b In general, would you say that most blacks are - Intelligent, or not? racediff4	.880	.366	-.286
Q.70a In general, would you say that most whites are - Hard-working, or not? racediff5	.483	.511	-.923
Q.70b In general, would you say that most whites are - Intelligent, or not? racediff6	.878	.250	-.581
Q.69d In general, would you say that most blacks are - Honest, or not? racediff7	.603	.622	-.244
Q.69e In general, would you say that most blacks are - Generous, or not? racediff8	.299	.848	-.307
Q.69f In general, would you say that most blacks are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff9	.254	.838	-.466
Q.70d In general, would you say that most whites are - Honest, or not? racediff10	.719	.504	-.710
Q.70e In general, would you say that most whites are - Generous, or not? racediff11	.313	.378	-.945
Q.70f In general, would you say that most whites are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff12	.657	.600	-.320

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Component Correlation Matrix

Component	1	2	3
1	1.000	.392	-.366
2	.392	1.000	-.369
3	-.366	-.369	1.000

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

The issue with the items is that different thetas could be focused on different aspects of character such as intelligence, or more specifically race since many of the items were duplicates just with a change in white or black. In order to deal with this issue Black character items were chosen specifically since Blacks are the primary targets of the civil rights movement.

Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.808
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	75.173
	df	10
	Sig.	.000

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
Q.69a In general, would you say that most blacks are - Hard-working, or not? racediff3	1.000	.669
Q.69b In general, would you say that most blacks are - Intelligent, or not? racediff4	1.000	.404
Q.69d In general, would you say that most blacks are - Honest, or not? racediff7	1.000	.535
Q.69e In general, would you say that most blacks are - Generous, or not? racediff8	1.000	.644
Q.69f In general, would you say that most blacks are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff9	1.000	.600

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2.851	57.025	57.025	2.851	57.025	57.025
2	.812	16.247	73.272			
3	.538	10.761	84.033			
4	.401	8.030	92.063			
5	.397	7.937	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix^a

	Component
	1
Q.69a In general, would you say that most blacks are - Hard-working, or not? racediff3	.818
Q.69b In general, would you say that most blacks are - Intelligent, or not? racediff4	.635
Q.69d In general, would you say that most blacks are - Honest, or not? racediff7	.731
Q.69e In general, would you say that most blacks are - Generous, or not? racediff8	.803
Q.69f In general, would you say that most blacks are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff9	.775

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Reliability

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	50	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	50	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.807	5

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Q.69a In general, would you say that most blacks are - Hard-working, or not? racediff3	7.31796	.065	.680	.748
Q.69b In general, would you say that most blacks are - Intelligent, or not? racediff4	7.24729	.072	.464	.806
Q.69d In general, would you say that most blacks are - Honest, or not? racediff7	7.31724	.066	.573	.776
Q.69e In general, would you say that most blacks are - Generous, or not? racediff8	7.36522	.059	.656	.750
Q.69f In general, would you say that most blacks are - Law-abiding, or not? racediff9	7.36650	.059	.616	.765

This scale resulted in the racediffchar scale

Affect scales creation

Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.	.607
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square
	df
	Sig.
	37.270
	21
	.016

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
How Much of a Role Should Govt Have in Trying to Improve Social and Economic Position of Blacks and Other Minority Groups affact1	1.000	.694
QC127. In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing? affact2	1.000	.634
Do you approve or disapprove of affirmative action admissions programs at colleges and law schools that give racial preferences to minority applicants? affact3	1.000	.767
Do you think affirmative action programs in hiring, promoting, and college admissions should be continued, or do you think these affirmative action programs should be abolished? affact4	1.000	.534
A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities affact5	1.000	.638
Q1. In order to make up for past discrimination, do you favor or oppose programs which make special efforts to help blacks and other minorities get ahead? affact6	1.000	.606
Q2. Do you think blacks and other minorities should receive preference in college admissions to make up for past inequalities, or not? affact7	1.000	.611

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings ^a
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total
1	1.999	28.553	28.553	1.999	28.553	28.553	1.917
2	1.369	19.561	48.114	1.369	19.561	48.114	1.507
3	1.116	15.940	64.054	1.116	15.940	64.054	1.135
4	.815	11.649	75.703				
5	.667	9.522	85.225				
6	.532	7.605	92.830				
7	.502	7.170	100.000				

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. When components are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.

Component Matrix^a

	Component		
	1	2	3
How Much of a Role Should Govt Have in Trying to Improve Social and Economic Position of Blacks and Other Minority Groups affact1	-.365	.629	.407
QC127. In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing? affact2	-.315	.731	-.040
Do you approve or disapprove of affirmative action admissions programs at colleges and law schools that give racial preferences to minority applicants? affact3	-.270	-.134	.822
Do you think affirmative action programs in hiring, promoting, and college admissions should be continued, or do you think these affirmative action programs should be abolished? affact4	-.372	.410	-.477
A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities affact5	.695	.333	.211
Q1. In order to make up for past discrimination, do you favor or oppose programs which make special efforts to help blacks and other minorities get ahead? affact6	.692	.356	.012
Q2. Do you think blacks and other minorities should receive preference in college admissions to make up for past inequalities, or not? affact7	.770	.128	.032

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 3 components extracted.

Pattern Matrix^a

	Component		
	1	2	3
How Much of a Role Should Govt Have in Trying to Improve Social and Economic Position of Blacks and Other Minority Groups affact1	.034	.802	.289
QC127. In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing? affact2	.051	.774	-.172
Do you approve or disapprove of affirmative action admissions programs at colleges and law schools that give racial preferences to minority applicants? affact3	-.164	.162	.849
Do you think affirmative action programs in hiring, promoting, and college admissions should be continued, or do you think these affirmative action programs should be abolished? affact4	-.220	.397	-.528
A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities affact5	.803	.111	.092
Q1. In order to make up for past discrimination, do you favor or oppose programs which make special efforts to help blacks and other minorities get ahead? affact6	.778	.087	-.107
Q2. Do you think blacks and other minorities should receive preference in college admissions to make up for past inequalities, or not? affact7	.746	-.146	-.045

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 7 iterations.

Structure Matrix

	Component		
	1	2	3
How Much of a Role Should Govt Have in Trying to Improve Social and Economic Position of Blacks and Other Minority Groups affact1	-.084	.781	.245
QC127. In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing? affact2	-.063	.776	-.214
Do you approve or disapprove of affirmative action admissions programs at colleges and law schools that give racial preferences to minority applicants? affact3	-.188	.139	.840
Do you think affirmative action programs in hiring, promoting, and college admissions should be continued, or do you think these affirmative action programs should be abolished? affact4	-.278	.459	-.550
A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities affact5	.787	-.012	.086
Q1. In order to make up for past discrimination, do you favor or oppose programs which make special efforts to help blacks and other minorities get ahead? affact6	.765	-.021	-.112
Q2. Do you think blacks and other minorities should receive preference in college admissions to make up for past inequalities, or not? affact7	.767	-.253	-.037

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Component Correlation Matrix

Component	1	2	3
1	1.000	-.147	.000
2	-.147	1.000	-.055
3	.000	-.055	1.000

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Since component three is being largely carried by affact3 and a negatively loading affact4 so affact4 can be eliminated. What is left is affact1 and affact2 and affact4 loading onto 1 component, and affact5, affact6, and affact7 loading onto another.

First is affact1, affact2, and affact4 dealing with the general idea of affirmative action being needed in society.

Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.558
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	7.987
	df	3
	Sig.	.046

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
How Much of a Role Should Govt Have in Trying to Improve Social and Economic Position of Blacks and Other Minority Groups affact1	1.000	.551
QC127. In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing? affact2	1.000	.614
Do you think affirmative action programs in hiring, promoting, and college admissions should be continued, or do you think these affirmative action programs should be abolished? affact4	1.000	.296

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.460	48.683	48.683	1.460	48.683	48.683
2	.890	29.669	78.352			
3	.649	21.648	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix^a

	Component
	1
How Much of a Role Should Govt Have in Trying to Improve Social and Economic Position of Blacks and Other Minority Groups affact1	.742
QC127. In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing? affact2	.783
Do you think affirmative action programs in hiring, promoting, and college admissions should be continued, or do you think these affirmative action programs should be abolished? affact4	.544

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Reliability

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	50	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	50	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.390	3

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item- Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
How Much of a Role Should Govt Have in Trying to Improve Social and Economic Position of Blacks and Other Minority Groups affact1	3.13690	.029	.258	.276
QC127. In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing? affact2	3.58789	.054	.366	.231
Do you think affirmative action programs in hiring, promoting, and college admissions should be continued, or do you think these affirmative action programs should be abolished? affact4	3.71354	.043	.178	.401

Affact4 can now be eliminated since it slightly increases a weak Cronbach's alpha.

Affactrole Scale Creation

Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.500
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	5.973
	df	1
	Sig.	.015

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
How Much of a Role Should Govt Have in Trying to Improve Social and Economic Position of Blacks and Other Minority Groups affact1	1.000	.672
QC127. In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing? affact2	1.000	.672

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.344	67.187	67.187	1.344	67.187	67.187
2	.656	32.813	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix^a

	Component
	1
How Much of a Role Should Govt Have in Trying to Improve Social and Economic Position of Blacks and Other Minority Groups affect1	.820
QC127. In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing? affect2	.820

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Reliability

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	50	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	50	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.401	2

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item- Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
How Much of a Role Should Govt Have in Trying to Improve Social and Economic Position of Blacks and Other Minority Groups affact1 QC127. In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing? affact2	1.63127	.005	.344	.
	2.08226	.029	.344	.

This scale will be affactrole and the Cronbach's alpha is a weak .401 but since the factor loadings are high it may still be useful when used later in the model.

Affactdisc Scale Creation

Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.663
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	22.018
	df	3
	Sig.	.000

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities affact5	1.000	.640
Q1. In order to make up for past discrimination, do you favor or oppose programs which make special efforts to help blacks and other minorities get ahead? affact6	1.000	.600
Q2. Do you think blacks and other minorities should receive preference in college admissions to make up for past inequalities, or not? affact7	1.000	.586

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.826	60.872	60.872	1.826	60.872	60.872
2	.621	20.689	81.560			
3	.553	18.440	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix^a

	Component
	1
A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities affact5	.800
Q1. In order to make up for past discrimination, do you favor or oppose programs which make special efforts to help blacks and other minorities get ahead? affact6	.775
Q2. Do you think blacks and other minorities should receive preference in college admissions to make up for past inequalities, or not? affact7	.765

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Reliability

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	50	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	50	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.529	3

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
A: Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas B: Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities affact5	2.98770	.042	.517	.549
Q1. In order to make up for past discrimination, do you favor or oppose programs which make special efforts to help blacks and other minorities get ahead? affact6	3.93690	.182	.476	.397
Q2. Do you think blacks and other minorities should receive preference in college admissions to make up for past inequalities, or not? affact7	4.36866	.189	.465	.430

Affact5, Affact6, Affact7 became the affactdisc since the items dealt with affirmative action in terms of discrimination.

Raceprogatt Scale Creation

Civsuccrecode

Civsuce*(-1)=civsuccrecode

Factor Analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.585
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	43.018
	df	3
	Sig.	.000

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
civsuccrecode	1.000	.800
racediff13, racediff15	1.000	.790
affact1, affact2	1.000	.368

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.958	65.261	65.261	1.958	65.261	65.261
2	.779	25.956	91.217			
3	.263	8.783	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Component Matrix^a

	Component
	1
civsuccrecode	.894
racediff13, racediff15	.889
affact1, affact2	.606

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

Reliability

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	50	100.0
	Excluded ^a	0	.0
	Total	50	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.721	3

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
civsuccrecode	.0000000	2.636	.659	.482
racediff13, racediff15	.0000000	2.667	.645	.500
affact1, affact2	.0000000	3.473	.350	.848

Appendix D: Demographic Variables Chosen

In order to reduce multicollinearity the amount of demographic variables were then trimmed in accordance with significant correlations amongst all the scales.

Ages 35-44, 45-54, 75-84, 85+

Black, Hispanic, Asian

Citizen Ideology

High School Graduate

Advanced Degree

Appendix E: Scale Regressions

Civsucc Scale

Figure 1.1 Effect of Covariates on Civil Rights Success Attitudes^a

Model		B	B(se)	β	t	p
1	Demographics and Scales					
	ages 35-44	-8.777	22.645	-.066	-.388	.701
	ages 45-54	1.064	18.932	.010	.056	.955
	ages 75-84	26.436	43.330	.170	.610	.546
	ages 85+	-22.101	80.138	-.088	-.276	.784
	Black	-1.930	1.527	-.185	-1.264	.214
	Hispanic	-.601	1.403	-.061	-.428	.671
	Asian	.742	2.118	.041	.350	.728
	citizen ideology ada/cope	-.034	.013	-.537	-2.724	.010
	high school graduate	-5.718	5.434	-.195	-1.052	.300
	advanced degree	2.694	7.444	.067	.362	.720
	racediffgap	-.366	.163	-.366	-2.245	.031
	affactrole	-.014	.114	-.014	-.119	.906
	Intercept	6.905	6.001		1.150	.257
	R= .843	R ² =.710	R ² (adj.)=.616	F=7.547, df=12		p=.000

a. Dependent Variable: civsucc

Racediffgap Scale

Figure 1.2 Effect of Covariates on Racial Difference Gap Attitudes^a

Model		B	B(se)	β	t	p
1	Demographics and Scales					
	ages 35-44	22.806	21.164	.171	1.078	.288
	ages 45-54	-29.876	17.248	-.281	-1.732	.092
	ages 75-84	-115.004	36.661	-.741	-3.137	.003
	ages 85+	249.643	63.950	.998	3.904	.000
	Black	.939	1.469	.090	.639	.526
	Hispanic	.527	1.330	.053	.396	.694
	Asian	1.205	2.000	.067	.603	.550
	citizen ideology ada/cope	.021	.013	.329	1.670	.103
	high school graduate	.449	5.223	.015	.086	.932
	advanced degree	-2.801	7.049	-.070	-.397	.693
	affactrole	-.042	.108	-.042	-.391	.698
	civsucc	-.328	.146	-.328	-2.245	.031
	Intercept	.481	5.785		.083	.934
	R=.860	R ² =.740	R ² (adj.)=.655	F=8.764, df=12		p=.000

a. Dependent Variable: racediffgap

Affactrole Scale

Figure 1.3 Effect of Covariates on Role of Affirmative Action Attitudes^a

Model	B	B(se)	β	t	p
1	Demographics and Scales				
ages 35-44	40.798	32.018	.306	1.274	.211
ages 45-54	-62.090	25.315	-.583	-2.453	.019
ages 75-84	13.792	62.742	.089	.220	.827
ages 85+	38.979	115.476	.156	.338	.738
Black	1.860	2.227	.178	.835	.409
Hispanic	-2.165	1.997	-.219	-1.084	.285
Asian	.737	3.056	.041	.241	.811
citizen ideology ada/cope	.016	.020	.253	.820	.418
high school graduate	4.674	7.914	.159	.591	.558
advanced degree	16.444	10.406	.408	1.580	.123
civsucc	-.028	.237	-.028	-.119	.906
racediffgap	-.098	.250	-.098	-.391	.698
Intercept	-3.910	8.782		-.445	.659
R=.630	R ² =.397	R ² (adj.)=.202	F=2.031, df=12		p=.049

a. Dependent Variable: affactrole

RaceProgatt Scale

Figure 1.4 Effect of Covariates on Racial Progress Attitudes^a

Model		B	B(se)	β	t	p
1	Age Demographics					
	ages 35-44	66.127	16.320	.496	4.052	.000
	ages 45-54	-5.892	13.156	-.055	-.448	.656
	ages 75-84	-140.933	32.157	-.908	-4.383	.000
	ages 85+	325.649	55.146	1.302	5.905	.000
	Intercept	-7.540	2.376		-3.174	.003
	R=.729	R ² =.531	R ² (adj.)=.490	F=12.752, df=4		p=.000
2	Age & Race Demographics					
	ages 35-44	32.749	20.285	.246	1.614	.114
	ages 45-54	8.185	14.371	.077	.570	.572
	ages 75-84	-144.629	32.900	-.932	-4.396	.000
	ages 85+	315.710	57.724	1.262	5.469	.000
	Black	2.393	1.277	.229	1.873	.068
	Hispanic	1.122	1.196	.114	.938	.353
	Asian	4.547	1.986	.251	2.290	.027
	Intercept	-5.522	2.399		-2.302	.026
	R=.778	R ² =.606	R ² (adj.)=.540	F=9.213, df=7		p=.000
3	Age, Race, and Ideology					
	ages 35-44	29.264	15.975	.220	1.832	.074
	ages 45-54	-33.542	13.882	-.315	-2.416	.020
	ages 75-84	-116.801	26.437	-.753	-4.418	.000
	ages 85+	231.565	48.234	.926	4.801	.000
	Black	1.701	1.014	.163	1.678	.101
	Hispanic	-.424	.987	-.043	-.430	.670
	Asian	.883	1.715	.049	.515	.609
	citizen ideology ada/cope	.042	.008	.664	5.181	.000
	Intercept	-.323	2.138		-.151	.881
R=.873	R ² =.762	R ² (adj.)=.715	F=16.377, df=8		p=.000	

Model		B	B(se)	β	t	p
4	Age, Race, Ideology, and Education					
	ages 35-44	33.318	18.625	.250	1.789	.081
	ages 45-54	-38.990	14.402	-.366	-2.707	.010
	ages 75-84	-91.980	31.487	-.593	-2.921	.006
	ages 85+	195.448	55.368	.781	3.530	.001
	Black	2.502	1.275	.240	1.962	.057
	Hispanic	.141	1.179	.014	.119	.906
	Asian	.520	1.811	.029	.287	.776
	citizen ideology ada/cope	.043	.009	.665	4.514	.000
	high school graduate	5.591	4.628	.191	1.208	.234
	advanced degree	1.032	6.148	.026	.168	.868
	Intercept	-5.554	5.129		-1.083	.286
	R=.880	R ² =.775	R ² (adj.)=.717	F=13.413, df=10		p=.000

a. Dependent Variable: raceprogatt

Appendix F: Formulas used

R^2 increment test of significance

$$F = \frac{(R^2_{larger} - R^2_{smaller}) / (k_L - k_S)}{(1 - R^2_{smaller}) / (N - k_S - 1)}$$

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