

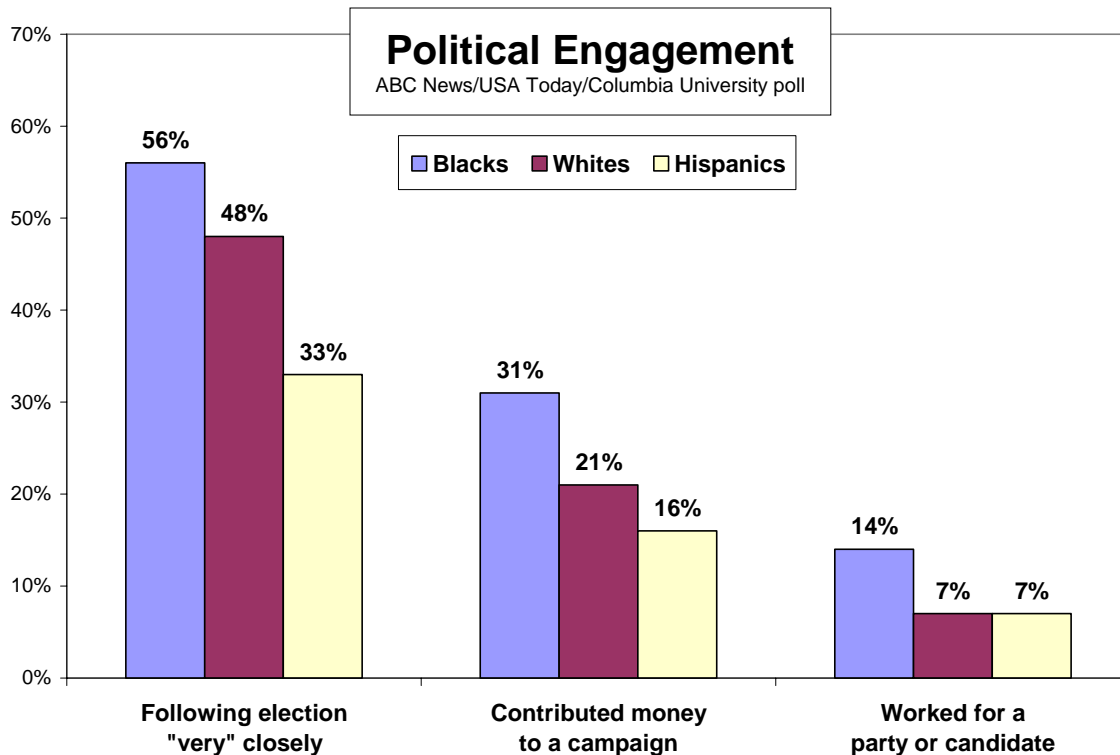
**ABC NEWS/USA TODAY/COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY POLL:
BLACKS, POLITICS AND SOCIETY**

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE AFTER 12:01 a.m., Tuesday, Sept. 23, 2008

Blacks' Political Engagement Spikes, Though Racial Divisions Remain Deep

Barack Obama's candidacy for president both underscores sharp racial divides in this country and offers avenues for progress: Political engagement by blacks is up sharply, Americans across racial lines think the 2008 campaign will change blacks' self-image for the better and most see Obama's nomination as a sign of broader racial progress.

It's already fostered pride and involvement alike. Blacks are following the election more intensely than other Americans, at a level unseen in the last three presidential elections. They're more apt than Americans of other races to have contributed money or time to a political campaign this year. And voter registration by blacks is higher than in pre-election polls since 1984.



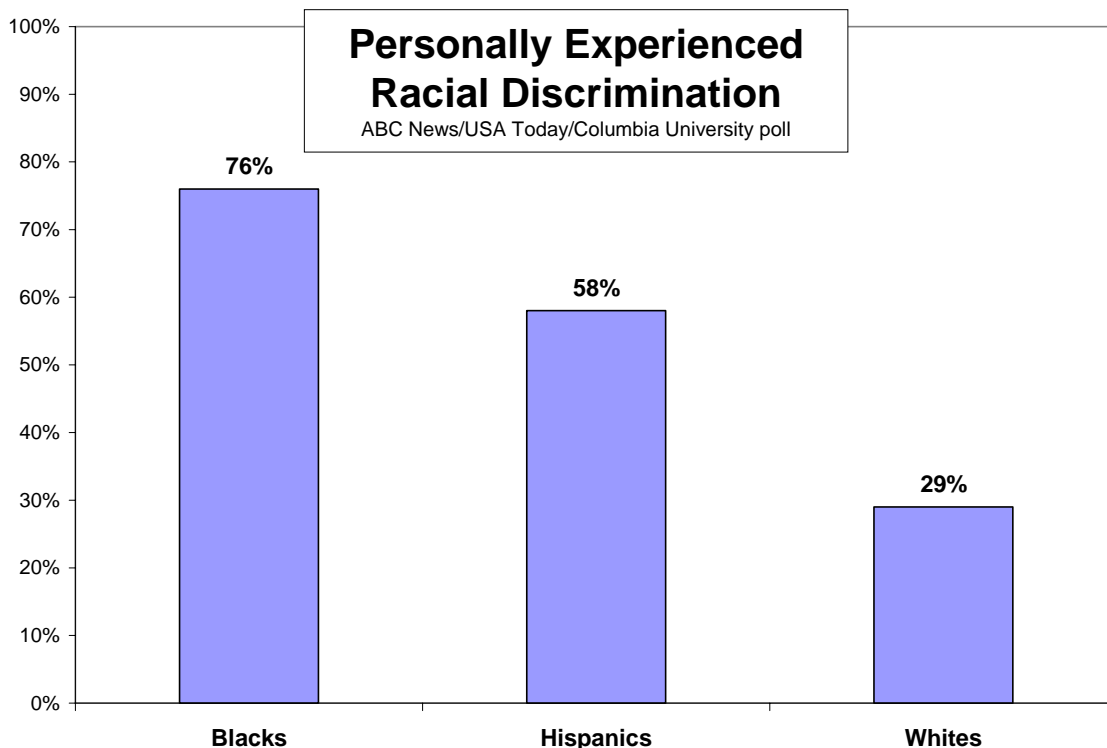
Regardless of their candidate preference, 61 percent of Americans – 70 percent of blacks, and about six in 10 whites and Hispanics alike – think Obama's candidacy will change the way blacks think about themselves, and nearly all who feel that way say it'll be for

the better. Seven in 10 Americans, similarly, think his candidacy represents broader progress for all blacks, not a single case of individual advancement.

But beyond that agreement this ABC News/USA Today/Columbia University poll also finds broad divides among the races, in vote choices, issue concerns, life experiences and identity. And there are further divides among blacks themselves, on fundamental questions of racial identity, individual initiative and the root causes of social problems.

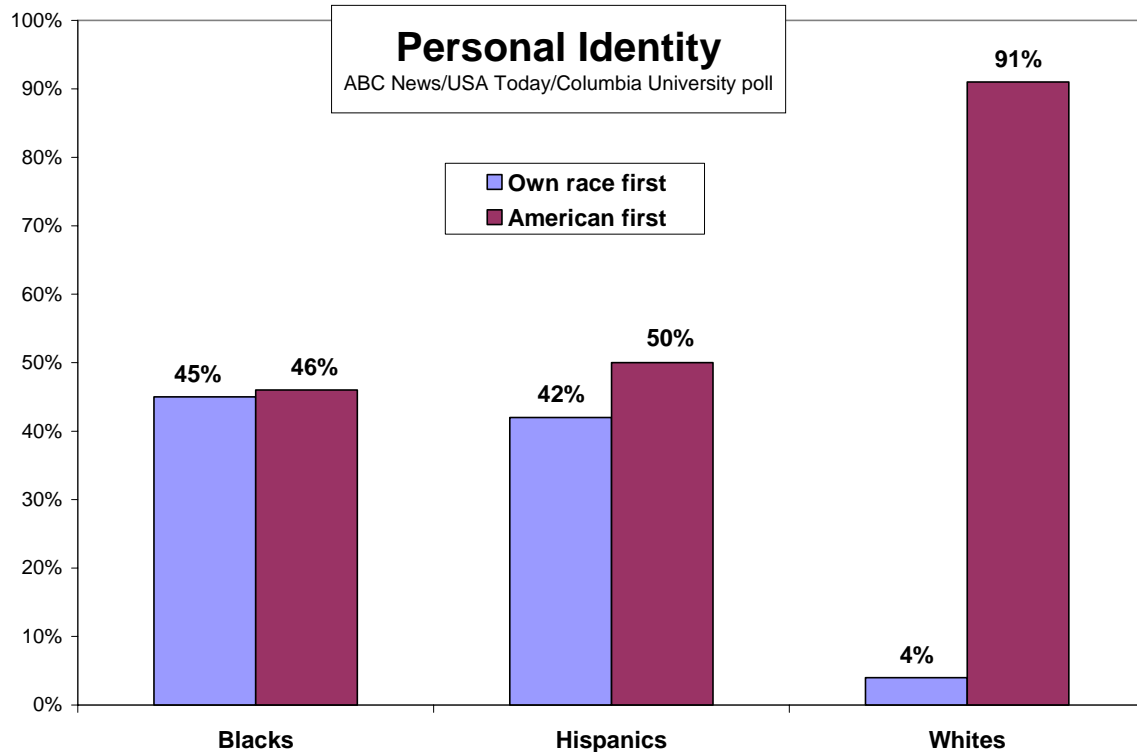
This extensive poll on race, politics and society was conducted with the participation of Columbia University's Center on African-American Politics and Society, part of its Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy. Interviews were done among random national samples of 1,941 adults, including 1,032 blacks and 315 Hispanics (the latter interviewed in English or Spanish, as preferred).

It finds, strikingly, that 76 percent of blacks say they personally have encountered racial discrimination, as do 58 percent of Hispanics; that falls very steeply among whites, to 29 percent. The experience of discrimination resonates across a range of other attitudes: Blacks who've experienced it, are, for instance, far less likely to see racial equality as achievable in their lifetimes, more likely to think they need to play down their racial identity in order to succeed, more apt to see racism as the root of blacks' challenges and more likely to favor race-based affirmative action.



Identity is another basic point of division. Blacks split evenly, 45-46 percent, on whether they think of themselves first as blacks or as Americans (with black identity higher

among blacks who've experienced discrimination). Hispanics divide similarly on the question – 42 percent think of themselves as Hispanics first, 50 percent as Americans. Whites are different: Ninety-one percent see themselves first as Americans, while just 4 percent profess greater racial than national identity.



At the same time, in a finding with broad potential ramifications, class identity trumps racial identity: Sixty percent of blacks, and about as many Hispanics as well, say they have more in common with members of their social class (e.g., working-class or middle-class) than with members of their race. And even with their enthusiasm for Obama, blacks by a wide margin, 60-23 percent, say it's more important for African-Americans to build economic rather than political power.

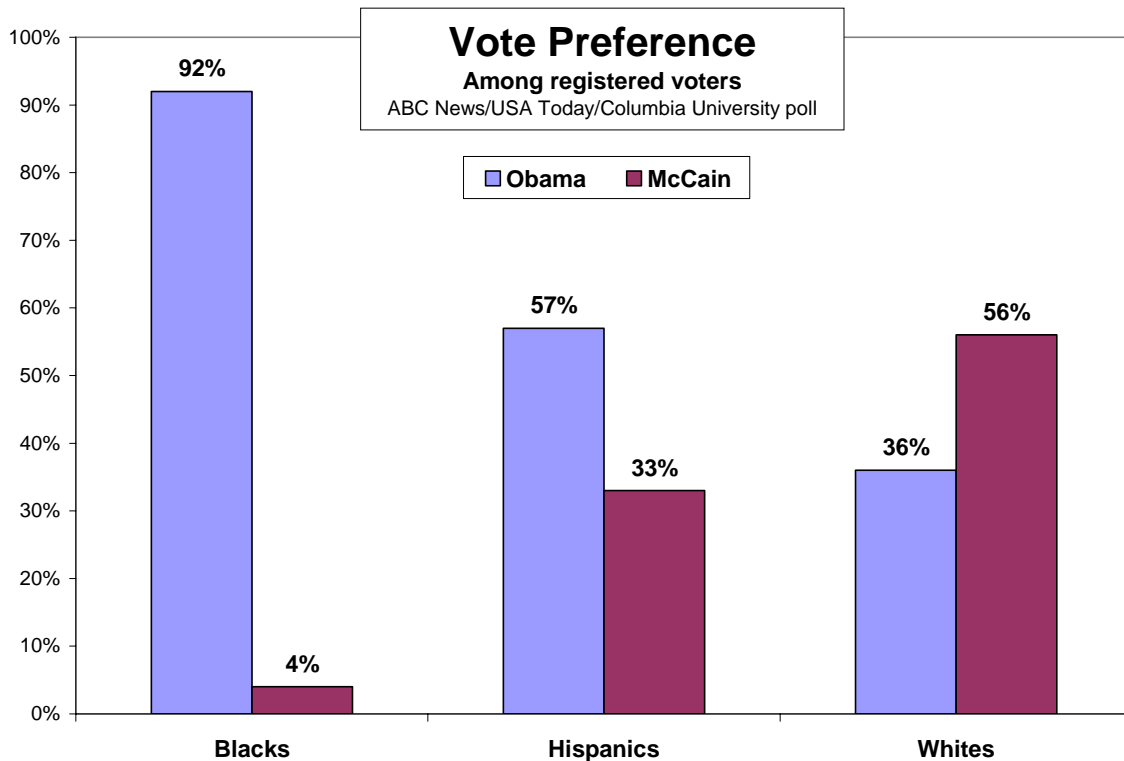
Another key finding, perhaps surprising given personal experience, is that blacks do not broadly blame racism as the chief barrier African-Americans face in improving their situation. While 37 percent say racism is the more important factor, slightly more, 44 percent, say it's lack of initiative among blacks themselves. (Half of Hispanics, and 56 percent of whites, share that view.) Life experience again is a factor: Blacks who've often experienced discrimination are 20 points more apt than those who haven't experienced it at all to call racism the main barrier facing blacks.

ELECTION – Changes in political engagement among blacks are remarkable: Eighty-four percent report being registered to vote, up from 78 percent in the 2004 ABC News/Washington Post pre-election tracking poll, and likewise more than in ABC pre-election polls dating to 1984. (Fewer Hispanics, 69 percent, report being registered.)

Fifty-six percent of blacks also say they're following the election very closely, compared with 48 percent of whites and 33 percent of Hispanics; that's the highest level of engagement among blacks since 1992 – 9 points higher than in pre-election 2004, 21 points higher than in 2000 and 24 points higher than in 1996.

Nearly a third of blacks, 31 percent, say they've donated money to a political campaign, compared with 21 percent of whites and 16 percent of Hispanics. Fourteen percent of blacks say they've worked for a political party or candidate in the past year, twice the rate among whites and Hispanics. And, locally, blacks are more apt than whites and Hispanics, by 9 and 12 points, to report having attended a town or school meeting.

Blacks broadly reject the suggestion that Obama has avoided issues of special concern to African-Americans in order to sharpen his appeal to whites. At the same time, race is a vast differentiator: Among registered voters, 92 percent of blacks support Obama over John McCain, as do 57 percent of Hispanics but just 36 percent of whites.



Still, support among whites for McCain over Obama, 56-36 percent, can't easily be seen as based on the candidates' races, since whites divided by a similar 58-41 percent for George W. Bush over John Kerry, and by as wide or wider margins for George H.W. Bush in 1988 and for Ronald Reagan in both of his elections. Similarly, Obama's 92 percent support from blacks is much like Kerry's 88 percent and Al Gore's 90 percent; blacks are the single most reliable Democratic voting group.

Nonetheless, Obama's candidacy clearly has struck a chord with blacks. Fifty-one percent say his nomination makes them more proud to be Americans – down from its peak, 64 percent, during his nominating convention, but still a substantial number.

Notably, there are some whites who are particularly in tune with African-American concerns, and more apt than their counterparts to support Obama. Nearly a third of whites, 32 percent, say blacks have too little influence over government policies; they support Obama by 58-39 percent. Whites who instead say blacks have the right amount of influence, or the few who say they have too much, back McCain by 66-27 percent.

Similarly, Obama leads McCain by nearly 2-1 among whites who support race-based affirmative action; McCain leads by nearly 3-1 among whites who oppose it.

Seventy percent of blacks say there's such a thing as a "black experience." Among them, 89 percent say Obama's in touch with it. Seventy-one percent of blacks say Obama's mainly addressing concerns of special interest to blacks; just 16 percent say he's avoiding them. And few blacks – just 12 percent – think Obama is playing to whites when he urges that blacks take greater responsibility for their actions.

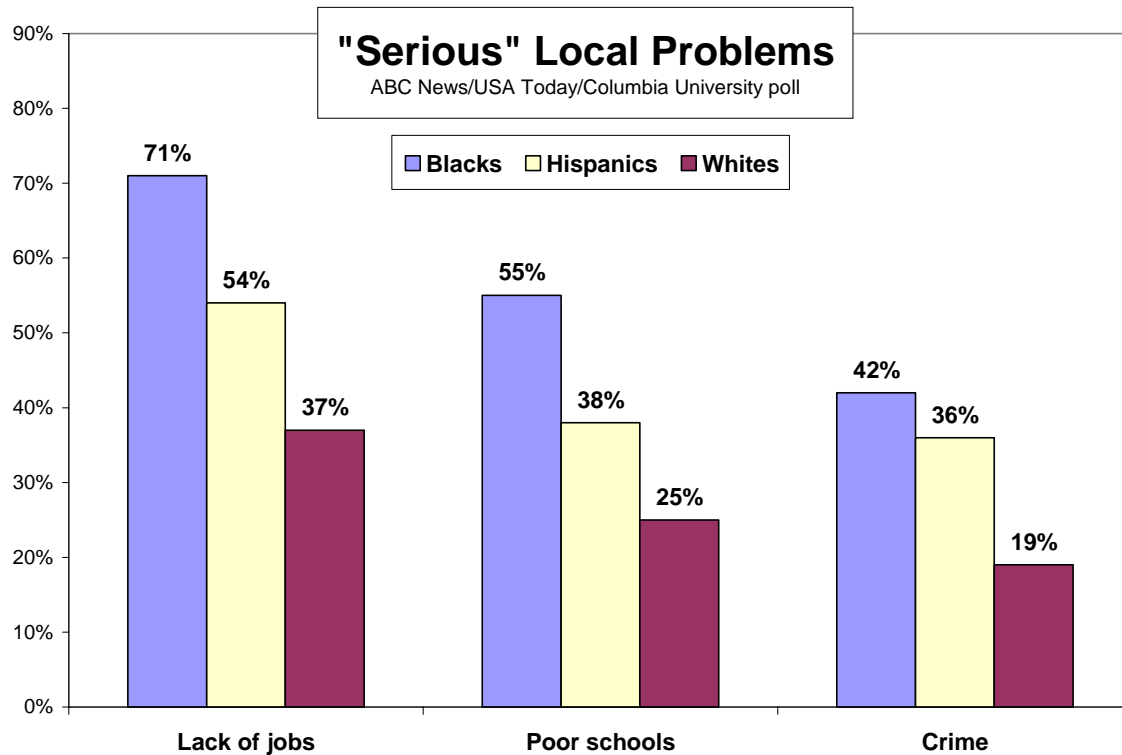
Most Americans across the board reject the notion that if Obama were elected blacks would gain too much influence in government: Just five percent of blacks, 10 percent of whites and 13 percent of Hispanic say so.

EXPECTATIONS – Some blacks are keeping their expectations muted; while nine in 10 support Obama, fewer, albeit a still-high 72 percent, expect him to win.

Just 13 percent of blacks expect McCain to win. Asked why, the most prevalent answer by far is racism or an unwillingness among whites to vote for Obama, volunteered by 40 percent in this group. Still, that means that overall just 5 percent of blacks expect McCain to win and racism to be the reason. (Whites and Hispanics who expect McCain to win attribute that more to his experience than to any other cause; very few cite racism.)

The view that Obama's candidacy will change blacks' self-image peaks among his supporters, but remains prevalent among others. Seventy-four percent of Obama supporters think his candidacy will cause a change for the better in the way blacks think about themselves; this declines to 49 percent of McCain supporters. Even among blacks who think McCain will win, a still-majority 54 percent think Obama's candidacy will change blacks' self-image for the better.

ISSUES/LOCAL – There are great differences by race in local issues and national political priorities alike. A vast 71 percent of blacks identify a lack of jobs and other economic opportunities as a serious problem in their own community; just 37 percent of whites report the same concern. Fifty-five percent of blacks say their community suffers from poor schools; among whites, it's just 25 percent. On these, most blacks and whites alike say they blame not individuals, but conditions in society more broadly.



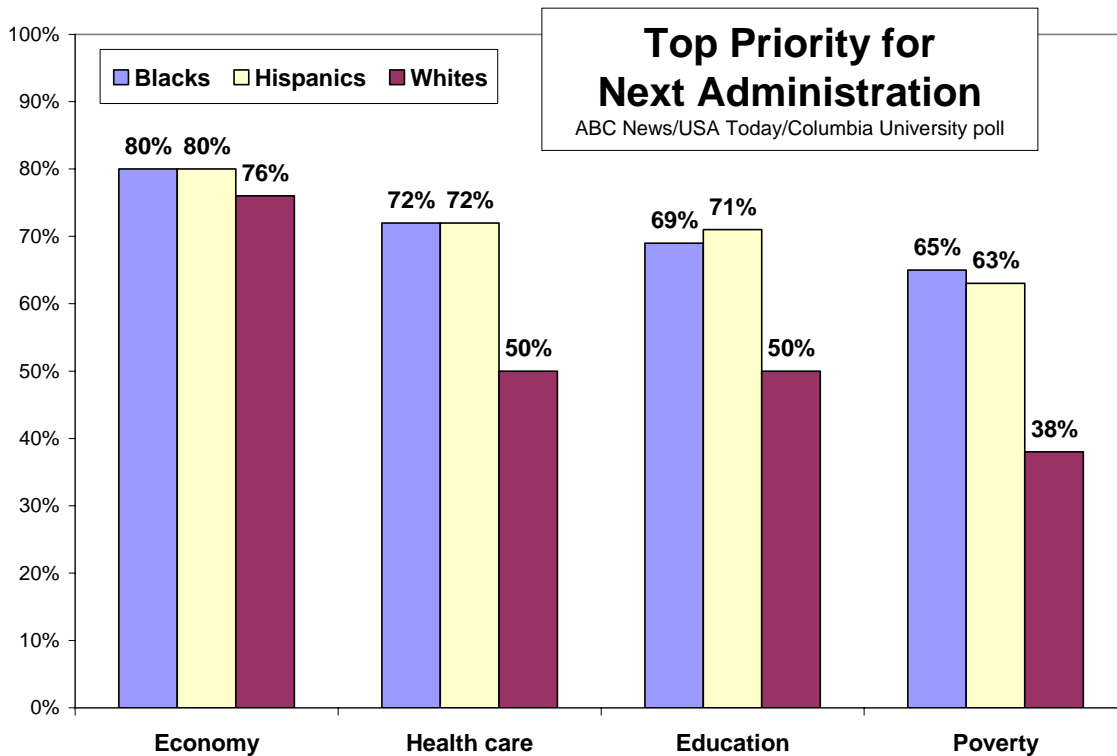
There are other issue differences, some seen as individual in cause, others social. Forty-two percent of blacks call crime a serious problem in their community, and nearly as many Hispanics agree, while this drops sharply to 19 percent among whites.

Blacks and Hispanics alike also are at least twice as likely as whites to identify domestic violence, teen pregnancy and lack of volunteerism as serious community problems, and also more apt to report serious problems with the prevalence of unwed mothers and an absence of high moral and ethical standards.

Blacks are particularly attuned to another issue, the treatment of African-Americans in the criminal justice system: Sixty-eight percent call it a serious problem in their community, essentially matching lack of economic opportunity as the No. 1 local concern. Concern about this issue drops sharply to a third of Hispanics and just 17 percent among whites.

There are some differences on local issues within black groups; among them lower-income blacks are much more likely than those with middle or higher incomes to rate crime, drugs, teen pregnancy, single mothers and domestic violence as serious problems in their area.

ISSUES/NATIONAL – On the national front, there are several issues on which blacks and Hispanics are far more likely than whites to desire top priority attention from the next administration. Those include poverty programs, the minimum wage, affirmative action, health care, education and criminal justice.



Some of these differences, again, are particularly striking. Fifty percent of whites say the next administration should give its highest priority to health care issues; that jumps to 72 percent of blacks and Hispanics alike.

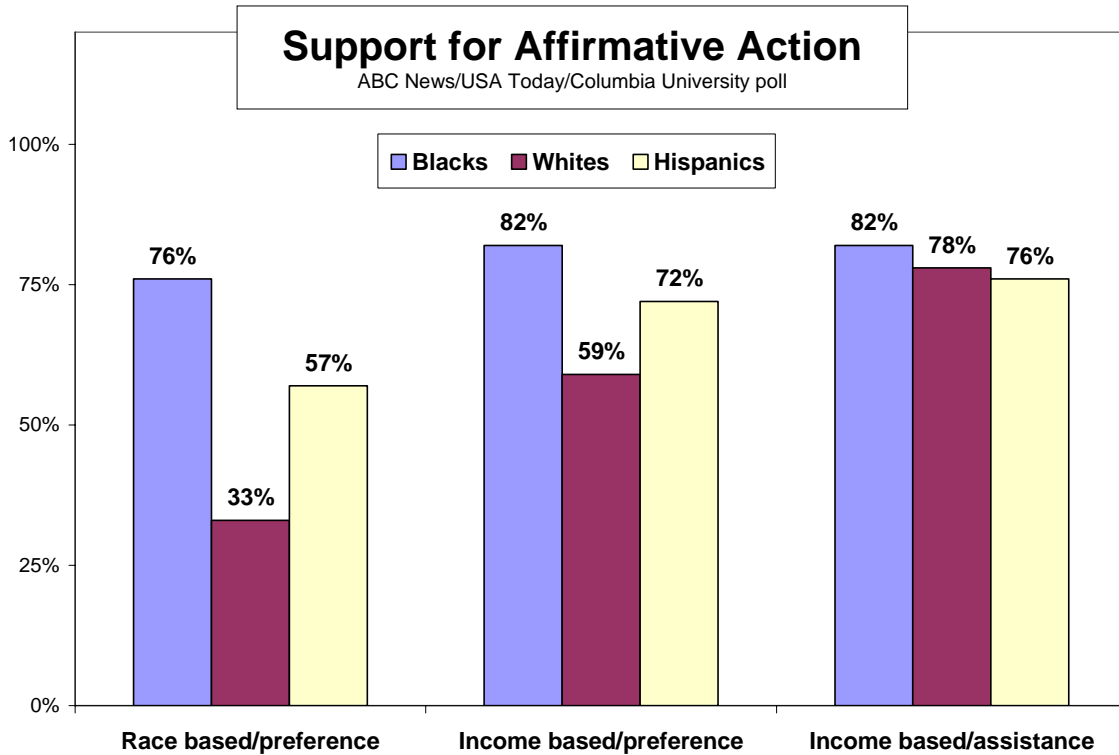
Education is similar – 50 percent of whites give it top priority, rising to seven in 10 blacks and Hispanics. And just 38 percent of whites give highest priority to poverty programs; that jumps to nearly two-thirds of blacks and Hispanics.

Hispanics, for their part, are much more apt than whites or blacks to cite immigration as a top priority. Nonetheless the agreement of most blacks and Hispanics on many of these issues may serve to diminish the notion of a so-called black-brown divide; the two groups have much in common on a range of issue concerns and priorities, if not all.

Indeed among all groups – blacks, whites and Hispanics alike – there’s agreement on the single top issue, the economy. Seventy-six percent of whites, and 80 percent of blacks and Hispanics, say it should get the government’s highest priority.

In another measure, the economy is by far the single most important issue in the presidential race, cited by just under four in 10 whites and Hispanics, and even more blacks, 50 percent. And in a gauge strongly influenced by economic discontent, three-quarters of whites and Hispanics, rising to 91 percent of blacks, say the country’s “seriously off on the wrong track.”

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION – There are big racial differences on race-based affirmative action programs; support ranges from 76 percent of blacks to 57 percent of Hispanics and down to a third of whites. But there’s a way to reduce this divide: Majorities of all races support such programs if they’re poverty-based rather than race-based. And majorities support either race- or poverty-based programs that give assistance, rather than preference, to their targeted constituencies.



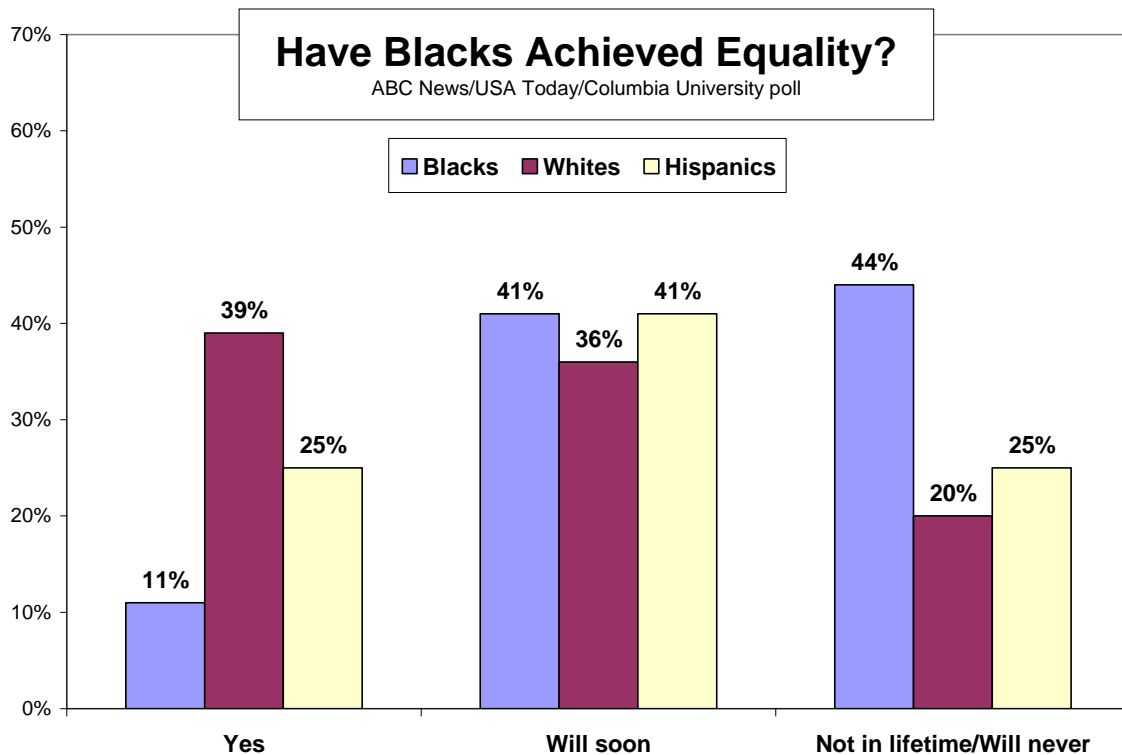
Anywhere from 76 to 82 percent of blacks support any of these approaches to affirmative action. But among Hispanics, support swells from 57 percent to more than seven in 10 if the approach moves away from race-based preference. And among whites the change is most dramatic: While just 33 percent support race-based preference programs, six in 10 favor poverty-based preference programs or race-based assistance programs, and more still favor poverty-based assistance programs.

Support for affirmative action peaks among blacks who’ve personally experienced racial discrimination; in this group 81 percent support race-based preference programs, compared with 62 percent of those who haven’t experienced discrimination.

All the same, affirmative action is not a top-tier issue. It was given highest priority by about three in 10 blacks and Hispanics and just 9 percent of whites – in all cases, far below other, more pressing concerns.

One issue rates lower still, the idea of government reparations for slavery. Twenty-four percent of blacks assign it a top priority, last on the list even for blacks. Reparations are of greater interest to low-education blacks (30 percent give it a top priority) than to those with college degrees (just 5 percent).

EQUALITY/IDENTITY – There’s general agreement across groups that blacks have not yet achieved racial equality, though with still-wide differences: Just under four in 10 whites think so, declining to a quarter of Hispanics and just 11 percent of blacks themselves. Most think that, if not yet, they will soon; but a substantial number of blacks, 44 percent, think racial equality will not come in their lifetime, or will never come.



There are differences among groups. Pessimism, as noted, peaks among blacks who’ve personally experienced racial discrimination – 50 percent in this group say equality will not come in their lifetime, or won’t ever come; among those who haven’t experienced discrimination just 26 percent say so.

Blacks divide, 49-46 percent, on whether they need to play down their racial identity in order to get ahead (most whites and Hispanics think not). As noted, blacks who’ve personally experienced discrimination are more apt to think it’s necessary for blacks to play down their racial identity. And this view peaks among higher-income blacks; among those with \$100,000 incomes, 63 percent think they have to play down their racial identity. That drops to 48 percent among those with lower incomes.

In another measure, slightly more blacks say the history of slavery has too much rather than too little influence in how blacks think about themselves today, 31 percent vs. 26 percent, with the rest saying it's about right. (Whites and Hispanics say it has too much influence, by much wider margins.)

Blacks are inclined to reach out: Eighty-six percent say they're better off building coalitions with other ethnic and racial groups than working alone to solve community problems. But they also display group cohesion; 64 percent of blacks think that what happens to blacks generally impacts them personally.

Some of that, as with many views among blacks, is influenced by racial discrimination. Among blacks who've experienced discrimination, 70 percent say they're impacted by what happens to others of their race. Among blacks who haven't felt discrimination, far fewer, 48 percent, share that view.

METHODOLOGY – This ABC News/USA Today/Columbia University poll was conducted by telephone Sept. 11-14, 2008, among a random national sample of 1,941 adults, including oversamples of African-Americans (for a total of 1,032) and Hispanics (315). Groups were weighted to their correct share of the national population. Results for the full sample have a 2-point error margin; for blacks, 3 points; for whites, 4 points; and for Hispanics, 5.5 points. Columbia's University's participation in the survey was supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Sampling, data collection and tabulation by Social Science Research Solutions at ICR-International Communications Research of Media, Pa.

ABC News polls can be found at ABCNEWS.com at <http://abcnews.com/pollingunit>

Media contact: Cathie Levine, (212) 456-4934.

Full results follow (*= less than 0.5 percent).

1. How closely are you following the presidential race: very closely, somewhat closely, not too closely, or not closely at all?

		---- Closely ----			---- Not closely ----			No
		NET	Very	Smwt.	NET	Not too	At all	opinion
9/14/08	All	87	47	39	13	7	6	*
	Blacks	86	56	30	13	9	5	*
	Whites	90	48	42	10	5	5	*
	Hisps	71	33	38	28	16	12	1

2. (ASKED OF REGISTERED VOTERS) I'd like you to rate the chances that you will vote in the presidential election in November: Are you absolutely certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or less than that?

		Certain	Probably	Chances	Less than	Don't think	No
		to vote	vote	50/50	that	will vote	opin.
						(vol.)	
9/14/08	All	87	7	3	2	*	1
	Blacks	87	7	4	2	1	*
	Whites	89	7	2	1	*	1

Hisps 75 11 9 4 1 0

3. (ASKED OF REGISTERED VOTERS) If the 2008 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were (Barack Obama and Joe Biden, the Democrats) and (John McCain and Sarah Palin, the Republicans), for whom would you vote?

NET LEANED VOTE - REGISTERED VOTERS

	Obama	McCain	Other (vol.)	Neither (vol.)	Would not vote (vol.)	No opinion
9/14/08 All	47	45	1	2	1	4
Blacks	92	4	0	1	*	3
Whites	36	56	1	2	1	3
Hisps	57	33	0	1	*	7

4. Do you think things in this country (are generally going in the right direction) or do you feel things (have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track)?

	Right direction	Wrong track	No opinion
9/14/08 All	17	78	5
Blacks	6	91	3
Whites	18	77	5
Hisps	18	74	7

5. (ASKED OF REGISTERED VOTERS) Thinking ahead to the November presidential election, what is the single most important issue in your choice for president?

	9/14/08			
	All	Blacks	Whites	Hispanics
Economy/Jobs	41	50	39	38
Iraq/War in Iraq	11	9	12	10
Health care	7	10	6	5
Terrorism/National security	6	1	8	2
Gas/Oil Prices/Energy/Ethanol	4	3	4	2
Ethics/Honesty/Corruption in government	3	2	4	1
Abortion	3	1	4	1
Education	2	3	1	8
Immigration/Illegal immigration	2	*	1	10
Morals/Family values	2	1	2	1
Taxes	2	2	2	3
Other domestic issues mentions	2	1	3	1
Environment	1	2	*	1
Foreign policy	1	1	2	1
Social Security	1	1	1	1
Change	1	1	*	1
War/soldier abroad	1	1	1	*
Supreme court appointments	1	0	1	0
Race (want to see a black man/don't want to see a black man)	1	1	1	0
Federal budget deficit	*	*	1	1

Housing/Mortgages	*	*	0	1
Fairness for all people/ for average Americans not selected groups	*	1	*	0
Focusing on/taking care of America	*	*	*	1
Good leader/strong leader	*	0	*	1
Experienced/qualified	*	*	1	1
Will do a good job (make the right choices/get things done)	*	*	*	1
Party affiliation	*	*	0	2
Other candidate qualities mentions	*	*	1	*
Other	1	1	1	1
No opinion	5	7	4	7

6. Regardless of who you support, who do you think will win the election:
(Obama) or (McCain)?

	Obama	McCain	Other (vol.)	No opinion
9/14/08 All	41	41	1	17
Blacks	72	13	1	15
Whites	33	50	1	16
Hisp	48	33	*	18

7. (IF THINKS MCCAIN WILL WIN) What's the main reason you think McCain will win?

	----- 9/14/08 -----			
	All	Blacks	Whites	Hispanics
Experienced/Qualified/ Long service in Senate (McCain has/Obama lacks)	30	5	31	26
Palin/the V.P. pick	12	13	12	11
Whites won't vote for Obama/Racism	7	40	5	12
Stronger on issues	7	3	8	5
Honesty/Integrity	5	*	5	1
Strong beliefs/Stand up for what he believes in	4	5	4	3
Charismatic/Good speaker/ Relates well to people/ Understands problems	4	1	4	4
Good leader/Strong leader	3	1	3	8
Knowledgeable/Intelligent	2	2	2	1
Loyal to Republican Party/ George W. Bush	2	3	2	1
Military background/Veteran	2	1	2	*
Stronger on national security/war issues	2	3	2	1
McCain now has momentum	2	1	1	3
More well connected (good 'ole boy network, Republican network, big lobbyists, etc)	2	5	2	4
General distrust/fear of Obama/of what Obama has said/will do	2	2	2	3
Moderate/Independent-minded	1	0	1	0
Conservative views/values	1	0	1	1

Other personal attributes/ beliefs mentions	1	2	1	3
Religious influence/support	1	0	1	1
Obama too liberal/too far Left in views	1	1	1	0
Everything is rigged/election will be fixed	*	3	0	*
Other outside influences mentions	*	1	*	0
Caring/Compassionate	*	0	0	2
Other	3	7	3	1
No opinion	6	3	6	8

8. Regardless of how you might vote, do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of (INSERT)? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

9/14/08 - Summary Table

	----- Favorable -----			----- Unfavorable -----			No
	NET	Strongly	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Strongly	opin.
a. Barack Obama							
All	64	35	29	29	12	17	7
Blacks	87	71	16	5	3	2	8
Whites	59	28	31	35	14	21	6
Hisp	70	34	36	18	10	9	12
b. John McCain							
All	57	25	32	36	17	19	7
Blacks	19	4	15	68	24	44	13
Whites	67	32	35	28	14	15	5
Hisp	45	14	31	42	23	19	13

9. Do you think that as a candidate Obama has been mostly (addressing) issues of special concern to African-Americans, or mostly (avoiding) those issues?

	Mostly addressing	Mostly avoiding	No opinion
9/14/08 All	38	35	28
Blacks	71	16	12
Whites	32	39	29
Hisp	43	31	26

10. (IF AVOIDING) Do you think that's because (he's not concerned about black issues), because (he thinks that addressing black issues would be unpopular with white voters), or because he's trying to transcend or reach beyond black issues?

	Not concerned	Unpopular with white voters	Transcend black issues	No opinion
9/14/08 All	4	32	56	8
Blacks	4	28	62	6
Whites	3	31	58	8
Hisp	16	32	44	8

9/10 NET

	Mostly Addressing	----- NET -----	Mostly avoiding Not concerned	----- Unpopular -----	----- Transcend -----	No opin.
9/14/08 All	38	35	1	11	19	28
Blacks	71	16	1	5	10	12
Whites	32	39	1	12	22	29
Hisp	43	31	5	10	13	26

11. Obama has made some speeches calling on black Americans to take responsibility for their actions and pull themselves up in society. Do you think he's made those comments more to appeal to (blacks), or more to appeal to (whites)?

		Appeal to blacks	Appeal to whites	Both (vol.)	No opinion
9/14/08	All	40	28	16	15
	Blacks	52	12	25	12
	Whites	37	34	14	15
	Hisp	40	19	21	20

12. (ASKED OF BLACKS) Do you think there is such a thing as a black experience in America, or do you think the experiences of blacks are individual enough that there's no general black experience?

	Is	Is not	No opinion
9/14/08	70	21	8

12a. (IF THINKS THERE IS A BLACK EXPERIENCE) Do you think Obama is in touch with the black experience in America, or not?

	In touch	Not in touch	No opinion
9/14/08	89	8	4

12/12a NET

	NET	Is a black experience Obama's in touch	Is not a black experience Obama's not in touch	No op.
9/14/08	70	62	5	21

13. Do you think Obama's nomination for president (represents progress for all blacks in America more generally), or do you think it (is only a single case that does not reflect broader progress for blacks overall)?

		Progress for all blacks	Only a single case	No opinion
9/14/08	All	71	19	10
	Blacks	79	12	9
	Whites	71	19	10
	Hisp	68	22	10
8/22/08	All	71	21	8
	Blacks	76	19	5
	Whites	71	21	8

14. Does Obama's nomination as the first black presidential candidate make you more proud to be an American, less proud, or does it not affect your feelings about being an American?

		More proud	Less proud	Does not effect	No opinion
9/14/08	All	39	2	58	1
	Blacks	51	*	47	1
	Whites	36	2	61	1
	Hisp	34	4	57	4
8/22/08	All	36	2	60	1
	Blacks	64	4	32	*
	Whites	32	2	64	1

15. Do you think Obama's candidacy will or will not change the way black people think about themselves?

	Will	Will not	Depends if he wins (vol.)	No opinion
9/14/08 All	61	27	2	10
Blacks	70	23	1	6
Whites	59	29	2	10
Hisp	63	24	3	10

15a. (IF WILL CHANGE) Will that be a change for the better or for the worse?

	Better	Worse	Depends if he wins (vol.)	No opinion
9/14/08 All	94	4	*	2
Blacks	98	1	0	1
Whites	94	3	1	2
Hisp	90	4	0	6

15/15a NET

	NET	Better	Worse	Depends (vol.)	Will not	Depends (vol.)	No op.
9/14/08 All	61	57	2	*	27	2	10
Blacks	70	68	1	0	23	1	6
Whites	59	56	2	*	29	2	10
Hisp	63	57	2	0	24	3	10

16. Compared with other groups in this country, do you think (INSERT) at this time have too (little) influence over government policies, too (much) influence or about the right amount? (IF TOO LITTLE OR TOO MUCH) Is that a big concern to you, or not a big concern?

9/14/08 - Summary Table

	NET	Too much Big concern	Too much Not big concern	NET	Too little Not big concern	Too little Big concern	About the right amt	No op.
a. Whites								
All	42	23	18	8	4	4	44	6
Blacks	76	59	16	4	2	2	16	4
Whites	31	14	17	9	4	6	52	7
Hisp	57	35	22	6	5	1	32	5
b. Blacks								
All	11	5	6	41	21	20	42	7
Blacks	5	3	2	74	18	56	18	3
Whites	11	6	5	32	19	13	49	8
Hisp	12	2	10	47	28	19	36	6
c. Hispanics								
All	18	13	5	38	22	16	36	9
Blacks	12	8	4	50	23	27	29	9
Whites	19	15	4	33	23	10	38	10
Hisp	11	6	4	50	15	35	34	6

17. If Obama were president, do you think blacks would have too (little) influence over government policies, too (much) influence or about the right amount? (IF TOO LITTLE OR TOO MUCH) Is that a big concern to you, or not a big concern?

		----- Too much -----			----- Too little -----		About the right amt	No op.	
		Big concern	Not big concern	NET	Not big concern	Big concern			
9/14/08	All	11	7	3	14	7	6	68	8
	Blacks	5	3	2	23	7	17	67	5
	Whites	10	8	2	10	6	4	71	9
	Hisp	13	9	5	17	9	8	61	9

18. For each item I name, please tell me what kind of priority it should receive in the next administration in Washington - the highest priority, a high priority but not the highest, or a lower priority than that?

9/14/08 - Summary Table*

		----- High -----			No opinion	
		NET	Highest	High	Lower	
a. The economy						
	All	98	76	22	2	*
	Blacks	95	80	15	2	3
	Whites	98	76	22	2	0
	Hisp	99	80	20	1	0
b. Terrorism						
	All	93	59	34	6	1
	Blacks	86	50	36	11	3
	Whites	97	60	36	3	*
	Hisp	87	57	30	11	2
c. Education						
	All	97	56	41	3	*
	Blacks	98	69	29	1	1
	Whites	96	50	46	4	*
	Hisp	98	71	28	2	*
d. Health care						
	All	94	56	37	6	*
	Blacks	97	72	25	3	1
	Whites	92	50	41	8	*
	Hisp	98	72	27	2	0
e. Reparations for slavery						
	All	29	11	18	63	8
	Blacks	54	24	30	38	8
	Whites	22	8	14	70	8
	Hisp	39	19	20	53	8
f. Immigration						
	All	77	28	49	21	1
	Blacks	76	27	49	22	2
	Whites	77	27	50	21	1
	Hisp	76	42	34	23	1
g. Mortgage foreclosures						
	All	72	33	39	24	4
	Blacks	82	43	38	14	4
	Whites	69	28	42	28	2
	Hisp	73	37	36	18	9
h. The minimum wage						
	All	70	35	35	27	3
	Blacks	90	52	38	8	1
	Whites	65	26	39	32	3

	Hispanic	79	57	22	15	6
i. Affirmative action programs						
	All	56	16	40	39	5
	Blacks	78	30	47	16	7
	Whites	49	9	41	48	3
	Hispanic	69	33	36	19	12
j. Fairness in the criminal justice system						
	All	82	39	44	15	3
	Blacks	89	51	38	8	3
	Whites	81	34	47	18	1
	Hispanic	79	46	33	13	8
k. Poverty						
	All	89	47	42	9	2
	Blacks	94	65	29	5	1
	Whites	87	38	50	11	2
	Hispanic	85	63	22	8	7

*Half sample asked items a-f, other half sample asked items g-k.

19. Do you support or oppose affirmative action programs that give preference to racial minorities in areas such as hiring, promotions and college admissions?

		Support	Oppose	No opinion
9/14/08	All	44	50	6
	Blacks	76	18	6
	Whites	33	61	6
	Hispanic	57	34	9

20. Say such programs were based on income, not race. Would you support or oppose affirmative action programs that give preference to poor people in areas such as hiring, promotions, and college admissions, regardless of race?

		Support	Oppose	No opinion
9/14/08	All	63	32	5
	Blacks	82	14	4
	Whites	59	36	5
	Hispanic	72	24	4

21. What about affirmative action programs that give assistance but not preference to (INSERT) in areas such as hiring, promotions, and college admissions - would you support or oppose that?

9/14/08 - Summary Table

		Support	Oppose	No opinion
a. racial minorities				
	All	67	28	5
	Blacks	79	18	4
	Whites	63	32	5
	Hispanic	74	20	5
b. poor people				
	All	78	18	4
	Blacks	82	15	3
	Whites	78	18	4
	Hispanic	76	19	5

22. Do you think blacks (have achieved racial equality, will soon achieve racial equality, will not achieve racial equality in your lifetime, or will never achieve racial equality)?

		Have achieved	Will soon	Not in lifetime	Will never	No opinion
9/14/08	All	32	37	20	5	6
	Blacks	11	41	30	14	4
	Whites	39	36	18	2	5
	Hisp	25	41	18	7	8

23. (AMONG THOSE WITH BLACKS IN COMMUNITY) Do you think blacks who live in your community experience racial discrimination, or not? (IF YES) Do you think it happens often, occasionally, or rarely?

		----- Yes -----				No	
		NET	Often	Occas.	Rarely	No	opinion
9/14/08	All	49	18	23	7	48	3
	Blacks	73	35	32	6	25	2
	Whites	46	13	24	8	51	3
	Hisp	45	20	17	8	52	3
6/15/08	All	51	16	20	9	47	3
	Blacks	54	15	26	12	44	3
	Whites	48	13	27	8	49	3
1/20/03	All	45	12	27	6	52	3
	Blacks	59	23	28	7	40	1
	Whites	43	10	26	7	55	3

24. Have you personally ever felt that you were being discriminated against because of your race? (IF YES) Has that happened often, occasionally or rarely?

		----- Yes -----				No	
		NET	Often	Occas.	Rarely	No	opinion
9/14/08	All	41	9	17	15	59	1
	Blacks	76	21	38	17	23	1
	Whites	29	3	11	15	71	0
	Hisp	58	17	24	17	41	1
6/12/05	All	26	5	10	11	73	*
	Blacks	54	13	25	17	45	1
	Whites	19	2	7	10	81	0
1/20/03	All	32	6	13	13	68	*
	Blacks	64	20	32	12	36	0
	Whites	22	3	8	11	78	*

25. Which of these do you think is the more important factor in the difficulty blacks face in improving their situation: (lack of initiative among blacks themselves), or (racism)?

		Lack of initiative	Racism	Neither (vol.)	Both (vol.)	No opinion
9/14/08	All	53	31	2	7	7
	Blacks	44	37	1	13	4
	Whites	56	29	2	6	7
	Hisp	50	37	1	5	7

25a. (ASK IF LACK OF INITIATIVE OR RACISM) Do you think (INSERT OTHER FACTOR: LACK OF INITIATIVE OR RACISM) also is a factor, or is that not a factor?

		-- Lack of initiative --		----- Racism -----		No
		Also factor	Not factor	Also factor	Not factor	opinion
9/14/08	All	24	11	36	27	3
	Blacks	33	11	44	11	2
	Whites	21	10	33	32	4
	Hisp	30	12	39	17	2

25/25a NET

		--- Lack of initiative ---			----- Racism -----					
		----- Factor -----			----- Factor -----					
		More	Also	Not	More	Also	Not	No		
		NET	impt.	factor	NET	impt.	factor	op.		
9/14/08	All	83	53	20	9	83	31	30	22	7
	Blacks	80	44	27	9	81	37	35	9	4
	Whites	83	56	18	9	84	29	28	27	7
	Hisp	86	50	26	11	86	37	34	15	7

26. Do you think blacks (have to play down their racial identity to get ahead) in American society, or do you think blacks (can express their racial identity and still get ahead)?

		Play down	Can express	No opinion
9/14/08	All	30	63	7
	Blacks	49	46	5
	Whites	25	68	7
	Hisp	29	65	6

27. Do you think the history of slavery has (too much) influence in how blacks think about themselves today, (too little), or about the right amount?

		Too much	Too little	About the right amount	No opinion
9/14/08	All	46	11	37	7
	Blacks	31	26	37	5
	Whites	49	7	36	7
	Hisp	46	14	35	5

28. In your own personal identity do you think of yourself as (RESPONDENT'S RACE) first, as (an American) first, or what?

		Own race first	American first	Both (vol.)	Other (vol.)	No opinion
9/14/08	All	15	79	2	3	1
	Blacks	45	46	5	3	1
	Whites	4	91	*	4	1
	Hisp	42	50	4	3	2

29. Thinking about your income, education and lifestyle, would you describe yourself as working class, middle class, or more in the upper range?

		Working class	Middle class	Upper range	No opinion
9/14/08	All	39	51	8	1
	Blacks	44	47	6	3

Whites	39	52	8	*
Hisp	41	50	7	1

30. Do you feel you have more in common with other ([RESPONDENT'S CLASS] people, no matter what their race), or more in common with other ([RESPONDENT'S RACE] no matter what their social class)?

	More in common with own class	More in common with own race	No opinion
9/14/08 All	74	20	6
Blacks	60	36	4
Whites	79	15	6
Hisp	61	32	8

31. Would you describe the community where you live as mostly black, mostly white, mostly Hispanic, mostly Asian, or mixed?

		----- One group -----					No opinion
		NET	Mostly black	Mostly white	Mostly Hisp	Mostly Asian	Mixed
9/14/08 All		52	5	41	5	1	47
Blacks		48	28	16	3	1	52
Whites		57	2	51	3	1	43
Hisp		42	2	21	18	1	58

31a. (IF MOSTLY WHITE) Is it almost entirely white, or mostly white but not almost entirely?

		Almost entirely	Not entirely	No opinion
9/14/08 All		46	53	1
Blacks		44	56	0
Whites		46	53	*

31/31a NET

		--- White community ---							
		NET	Almost entirely	Not entirely	Black	Hisp	Asian	Mixed	No op.
9/14/08 All		41	19	22	5	5	1	47	1
Blacks		16	7	9	28	3	1	52	*
Whites		51	24	27	2	3	1	43	*

32. (ASKED OF BLACKS AND HISPANICS) To solve community problems, do you think (RESPONDENT'S RACE) are better off (building coalitions with other racial and ethnic groups) or (working alone as a group)?

		Building coalitions	Working alone	No opinion
9/14/08 Blacks		86	12	3
Hisp		81	16	3

33. Do you think what happens generally to (RESPONDENT'S RACE) people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

		Yes	No	No opinion
9/14/08 All		54	35	11
Blacks		64	32	4
Whites		54	33	13
Hisp		56	41	4

33a. (IF SOMETHING TO DO WITH YOUR LIFE) Will it affect you a lot, some or not very much?

		A lot	Some	Not very much	No opinion
9/14/08	All	21	52	26	2
	Blacks	31	49	17	3
	Whites	18	55	25	2
	Hisp	26	39	34	1

33/33a NET

		- What happens affects your life -					
		NET	A lot	Some	Not very much	No	No opinion
9/14/08	All	54	11	28	14	35	11
	Blacks	64	20	32	11	32	4
	Whites	54	10	29	13	33	13
	Hisp	56	15	22	19	41	4

34. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Black people would improve their position if they spent less time protesting and more time working within the system.

		Agree	Disagree	No opinion
9/14/08	All	61	34	5
	Blacks	51	43	6
	Whites	63	33	4
	Hisp	70	24	7

35. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Blacks should stop thinking of themselves as a group and think more of themselves as individuals.

		Agree	Disagree	No opinion
9/14/08	All	74	21	5
	Blacks	49	48	3
	Whites	78	16	6
	Hisp	75	22	3

36. (ASKED OF BLACKS) What is the best way for blacks to improve their situation as a group in the United States - should they concentrate on (gaining political power) or should they devote their efforts toward (building economic power)?

	Political power	Economic power	Both (vol.)	Neither (vol.)	No opinion
9/14/08	23	60	13	2	2

37. For each item I name, please tell me how much of a problem it is in your community - extremely serious, very serious, somewhat serious, or less serious than that.

9/14/08 - Summary Table*

	NET	----- Serious Extremely	----- Very	--- Less serious NET Somewhat	---- Less	No opinion		
a. Crime								
	All	24	11	13	74	37	37	2
	Blacks	42	22	19	57	30	27	2

Whites	19	7	12	80	41	39	1
Hispanic	36	14	22	62	30	32	3
b. Use of illegal drugs							
All	39	17	21	56	38	18	5
Blacks	48	25	23	48	26	22	4
Whites	37	14	22	58	43	15	5
Hispanic	41	22	19	57	31	27	2
c. Teen pregnancy							
All	29	12	17	66	37	29	5
Blacks	44	25	19	53	28	25	3
Whites	23	10	14	71	42	29	6
Hispanic	51	20	31	47	23	24	3
d. Number of single mothers							
All	34	14	20	60	35	25	6
Blacks	52	28	25	44	21	23	3
Whites	31	12	19	63	37	26	6
Hispanic	45	18	27	52	29	23	3
e. Domestic violence							
All	21	9	12	73	37	37	6
Blacks	32	17	14	63	27	37	5
Whites	15	5	10	78	42	36	7
Hispanic	33	16	17	64	31	33	3
f. Lack of jobs and other economic opportunities							
All	45	17	28	53	30	23	2
Blacks	71	35	35	28	18	10	1
Whites	37	10	26	60	35	26	3
Hispanic	54	27	27	46	29	17	*
g. Poor schools							
All	31	14	17	66	20	46	2
Blacks	55	29	26	43	24	20	2
Whites	25	9	16	72	19	53	3
Hispanic	38	19	19	61	28	33	1
h. Unequal treatment of blacks in the criminal justice system							
All	28	11	17	67	25	42	5
Blacks	68	39	30	29	21	8	3
Whites	17	4	13	77	25	52	6
Hispanic	33	15	18	63	29	33	4
i. Lack of volunteerism and community involvement							
All	22	7	15	75	30	45	3
Blacks	42	17	25	55	33	22	3
Whites	14	3	11	83	28	55	3
Hispanic	30	15	14	70	40	30	1
j. Lack of high moral and ethical standards							
All	28	13	16	68	35	33	3
Blacks	44	20	24	54	34	20	2
Whites	22	9	12	75	38	37	3
Hispanic	31	15	16	65	35	30	4

*Half sample asked items a-e, other half sample asked items f-j.

38. To the extent that it exists, what do you mainly blame for (INSERT ITEM) - (the actions of individuals themselves), or (conditions in society more broadly)?

9/14/08 - Summary Table*

	Individuals themselves	Society more broadly	No opinion
a. Crime			
All	66	30	5
Blacks	54	43	3
Whites	70	25	5
Hisp	55	38	7
b. Use of illegal drugs			
All	68	29	4
Blacks	60	37	3
Whites	71	27	2
Hisp	57	35	8
c. Teen pregnancy			
All	68	28	4
Blacks	66	31	3
Whites	67	29	4
Hisp	66	28	6
d. Number of single mothers			
All	64	30	6
Blacks	62	34	4
Whites	66	29	5
Hisp	62	32	6
e. Domestic violence			
All	76	17	6
Blacks	72	24	4
Whites	78	15	7
Hisp	67	28	5
f. Lack of jobs and other economic opportunities			
All	26	70	3
Blacks	26	70	4
Whites	25	71	4
Hisp	35	63	3
g. Poor schools			
All	32	62	6
Blacks	21	73	5
Whites	34	59	7
Hisp	33	63	4
h. Unequal treatment of blacks in the criminal justice system			
All	49	42	9
Blacks	31	64	5
Whites	54	37	9
Hisp	45	51	5
i. Lack of volunteerism and community involvement			
All	66	29	5
Blacks	61	35	4
Whites	69	26	5
Hisp	66	32	2
j. Lack of high moral and ethical standards			
All	60	36	4
Blacks	58	40	2
Whites	61	35	4

Hispanic 66 31 3

*Half sample asked items a-e, other half sample asked items f-j.

39. In the past year, have you (ITEM), or not?

9/14/08 - Summary Table

	Have	Have not	No opinion
a. Worked for a political party or campaigned for a political candidate			
All	8	92	*
Blacks	14	86	*
Whites	7	93	0
Hispanic	7	93	0
b. Tried to persuade someone to vote for or against a political candidate			
All	35	65	*
Blacks	39	60	*
Whites	38	62	0
Hispanic	25	75	*
c. Contributed money to a political campaign			
All	23	77	*
Blacks	31	69	1
Whites	21	79	0
Hispanic	16	84	0
d. Attended a public meeting on town or school affairs			
All	41	59	*
Blacks	49	51	*
Whites	40	60	0
Hispanic	37	63	0

40. All in all, how financially secure do you feel?

		----- Secure -----			----- Insecure -----			No opinion
		NET	Very	Somewhat	NET	Somewhat	Very	
9/14/08	All	64	16	48	35	22	12	1
	Blacks	58	15	43	41	25	16	1
	Whites	66	17	49	33	22	11	1
	Hispanic	62	10	51	36	23	13	2
7/13/08	All	63	21	42	36	21	15	1
	Blacks	58	17	40	42	22	20	0
	Whites	64	20	43	35	22	13	1

END