

**AN INVESTIGATION OF RACIAL ATTITUDES AMONG WHITE PRE-SERVICE  
TEACHERS**

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## Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine White American prospective teachers' racial attitudes about African Americans.

In the age of multiculturalism it is important to address the issue of racism and racial attitudes among educators. Racism continues to influence many aspects of American society, particularly education. Though the face of racism has changed from its blatant forms, it is now manifested in more subtle forms, and has thus been named "new" racism.

This study investigated the level of "new" racism among White American prospective teachers enrolled in a teacher education program. Jacobson's "New" Racism Scale was used to determine the level of "new" racism. The results of the study suggest that there is a need to further investigate racist attitudes among prospective teachers.

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## Chapter I

### Statement of the Problem

#### Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine White American prospective teachers' attitudes about African Americans.

#### Question to be Answered

Do prospective teachers exhibit "new" racism as measured by Jacobson's new racism scale?

#### Need for the Study

Due to the current push for multiculturalism in education, it is important not only to provide teachers with an appropriate knowledge base, but it is equally important to assess their racial attitudes. Research indicates that many teachers are from White middle-class backgrounds have had limited experiences with people from different ethnic, racial and economic backgrounds (Lindsey, 1985; Sleeter, 1992). Additionally, many pre-service teachers are White Americans who are monocultural and hold a distorted understanding about cultural diversity (Ginsberg & Newman, 1985; King, 1991). Such limitations and distortions can lead to the formation of stereotypes. Avis (1989) believes that racist stereotypes can only be successfully attached to people that are different and unfamiliar to White Americans. According to various

theorists who have written about racial inequality, African Americans have been excluded from American society in many ways (Langone, 1993; Katz & Taylor, 1988; Kunjufu, 1984) . African Americans have been systematically locked into a position that prevents the majority of them from achieving the same success as White Americans economically, socially, and educationally. Some theorists have blamed racism as the perpetual cause of racial inequality (DuBois, 1961; Langone, 1993). Though blatant forms of racism have decreased since the 1960's, a more subtle form of racism permeates all aspects of American society (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Löwy, 1991; Sears, 1988).

Some theorists believe that all White Americans, which would include prospective teachers, hold racist attitudes about African Americans and possibly other peoples of color (Akbar, 1989; Aśante, 1986; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Research suggests that most White Americans truly believe that they are egalitarian human beings, but they cannot escape the racism that is inherent in American society (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Those who constitute the educational system, administrators, students, and teachers, are partially responsible for the continuation of racism. Garcia (1989) believes that American schools have failed to acknowledge and effectively address racism. Others contend that teacher education programs also fail to address racial attitudes in their training of prospective teachers (Lindsey, 1985).

## Definition of Terms

New Racism: Recognizes that the dominant group attitudes and perceptions about ethnicity reflect a disparity between individual knowledge, beliefs, and ideology and collective historical, economic, and structural causes of racial inequality. There is little willingness to end structural inequality. It is represented by an increasing belief that African Americans received all that they deserve, and rigid opposition to any programs or actions to address racial inequality (Jacobson, 1985; Lowy, 1991).

Old-fashioned Racism: Attitudes and behaviors which ascribe other characteristics (e.g. psychological, intellectual, personality) to an entire race. These beliefs are then represented by overt and deliberate practices that maintain such beliefs (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Gosset, 1963).

Prejudice: An antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed towards a group or as a whole, or toward an individual because he/she is a member of that group (Collins & Nickel, 1976).



**Racial Discrimination:** Actions that limit or deny a person or group any privileges, roles, or rewards, on the basis of race (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).

**Stereotypes:** A conventional formulaic and usually oversimplified conception, opinion or belief.

### Limitations of the Study

The participants in this study were forty White American teacher education students enrolled in one course at a university in New York State. The small sample size is not robust. The results may have varied if the participating students represented different universities.

The instrument used in this study was developed specifically to measure racist attitude towards African Americans.

### Summary

Many researchers are investigating what is called "new" racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Lowy, 1991; Sears, 1988). Few researchers have actually examined racist attitudes in teachers. Since education is currently pursuing a multicultural approach to teaching and learning, it is important to assess how teachers view members of other cultures. If teachers hold racist attitudes towards African Americans it would be difficult for them to teach in an effective manner, especially in a situation where they are teaching children of color.

## Chapter II

### Review of Literature

#### Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine White American pre-service teachers racial attitudes about African Americans.

Racism has been and continues to be ingrained in American society, but its face has changed. The new racism is much more subtle and White Americans seem to be unaware that they are practicing racism. Inequality among the races continues to hold true despite legislation designed to deter discrimination. Researchers suggest that this disparity continues to exist due to the recent change in the nature of racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Lowy, 1991; Sears, 1988).

Kunjufu (1984) believes that the Educational system is one of the main institutions in American society that perpetuates racism (Kunjufu, 1985). There is racism not only inherent in the curriculum, but in the people who are the transmitters of knowledge and values. White American teachers are also participants, particularly if they are unaware of their own racist attitudes. As the population of educators becomes increasingly White American while the number of students becomes more racially and culturally diverse, it is imperative that negative attitudes about race be examined and thereby challenged (Sleeter, 1992).

A review of literature includes a discussion of the following areas: The New Racism, New Racism and Society, New Racism and Education, New Racism and Teachers.

### Introduction

In the 1990's several "racist" incidents have captured national attention. These incidents range from police brutality as in the Rodney King beating in Los Angeles California, to an increase in the reporting of racist incidents on college campuses (Langone, 1993). Consequently there has been a resurgence of concern for inequality and the differential treatment of people of color in the United States (Murray & Clark, 1990; Stover, 1990). Such incidents go beyond stereotyping and prejudice because the attitudes and beliefs that produce such hatred are deeply rooted in the fabric of American society.

Prejudice and stereotypes are quite different from racism. Prejudice is defined as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed towards a group or as a whole, or toward an individual because he/she is a member of that group (Collins & Nickel, 1976). Stereotypes are a conventional formulaic and usually oversimplified conception, opinion or belief. Prejudice and stereotypes are negative beliefs and attitudes that are held by an individual or a group, whereas racism is the acting upon such beliefs and attitudes (Jones 1981). Jones (1981) asserts that "racism results from the transformation of race prejudice and/or

ethnocentrism through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior, by individuals and institutions with intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture (p.28)". Because of this definition, some theorists believe that people of color cannot be racist (Asante, 1989).

Since the 1960's racism has taken on a new form. The racist incidents that continue to make national headlines are forms of intentional overt racism. Many other racial incidents, however, are more subtle and largely unintentional and do not get national attention. This subtle form of racism has been given various names which include, "yuppie racism", "aversive racism", "new racism", "modern racism" and "symbolic racism" (Lowy, 1991; Jacobson, 1985; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Since racism is manifested in more subtle forms today many believe that racism no longer exists (Lowy, 1991). Gaertner & Dovidio (1986) believe that this new racism among White Americans is more a rule, rather than an exception due to the historically racist American culture and tendency to categorize people by race, culture, and ethnicity.

### "New Racism"

According to research by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986),

...aversive racists in contrast to traditional racist sympathize with the victims of past injustice; support public policies that, in principle, promote racial equality and ameliorate the consequences of racism; identify more generally

with a liberal background; regard themselves as non prejudiced and non-discriminatory, but almost unavoidably possess negative feelings and beliefs about Blacks. Because of the importance of the egalitarian value system to aversive racists' self-concept, these negative feelings and associated beliefs are typically excluded from awareness.

The new racism is, therefore, complex due to the ambivalence that White Americans experience. The liberalism in White Americans is contrasted with the constant bombardment of differential treatment of people of color, particularly African Americans; as seen in the media, the economic situation, and educational disadvantages afforded to people of color. Despite their desire to be egalitarian, White Americans cannot escape the powerful influence of American society which is fundamentally racist. The new racism is present in all aspect of American society, including economics, health care, the media and education.

### New Racism and Society

The new form of racism is represented by the resistance to implement structural changes in a system that perpetuates inequality (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Jacobson, 1985; Sears, 1990:). The new racism is manifested in society in a variety of ways. A few examples include resistance to affirmative action, desegregation, busing, and welfare are illustrative of the new racism in society (Sears, 1990).

Traditional racism has influenced society mainly in forms, such as slavery and legal segregation (Sadker & Sadker, 1990). Since the

signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, in 1863 and the declaration that legal segregation was unconstitutional in 1964, racism against African Americans has been practiced in more subtle ways. African Americans continue to be "segregated" from American society, economically and socially (Langone, 1993; Katz and Taylor, 1988; Pettigrew, 1988).

Long before the child can verbalize, he or she is aware of the fact that something is fundamentally wrong in the American society, that some pervasive, catastrophic, and oppressive force is preventing African American people from achieving their goals and participating in the range of opportunities that America provides for its citizens (Baldwin, 1963).

Although African Americans have progressed considerably, their total wealth is far less than the net wealth of White Americans (Langone, 1993). Economic perspectives on racism suggest that African Americans are victims of discrimination due to their disproportional representation in the lower classes. It has also been suggested that this is a result of class conflict rather than racism (Kessler & Neighbors, 1986).

African Americans are only half as likely to go to college as Whites and those with degrees make one-third less income than do White Americans with the same education (Langone 1993). Jones (1981) believes that due to racist institutional practices, African American experience such oppression. These institutional practices are upheld by

the perpetuation of beliefs in individual and cultural superiority held by White Americans (Jones, 1981).

### New Racism & Education

Proponents of Multiculturalism charge that the educational system does not meet the needs of people of color (Asante, 1991; Banks, 1991; Mattai, 1992). Consequently, this particular institution has undergone many changes over the past years to attempt to remedy this fundamental flaw. Since systems are slow to change, many continue to suffer.

Old-fashioned racism prevented African Americans from receiving any type of education during slavery. Though slavery was officially abolished, African Americans still did not have access to an equal education. Segregated schools maintained the inequality between the races, because African American children did not have the same quality schools and materials as White American children (Sadker, & Sadker, 1990).

Though American schools have been practicing integration for over thirty years, the American educational system is not meeting the needs of African Americans. The new racism pervades the American educational system in way that is not blatant as legal segregation; but it has the same goal, which is to maintain the status quo. The American educational system is very resistant to structural change and African Americans are the one of victims of such resistance (Kunjufu, 1984).

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Educational statistics provide evidence of a disparity between African Americans and White Americans. For example, forty-two percent of all African American children seventeen years old are not able to read beyond a sixth-grade reading level. African American children comprise only 17 percent of the school population, but make up 41 percent of the Educable Mentally Retarded students (EMR). Eighty-five percent of the time African American males are labeled EMR or Behavioral Disorder (Kunjufu, 1984). African American children are also half as likely to be enrolled in programs for gifted students (White & Parham, 1990). African American high school students' drop out rates is 49.6 percent (Gibbs, 1988).

According to developmental research, African American children begin their educational career with cognitive, sensory, and motor skills equal to their White American age classmates, yet their academic achievement levels seem to decrease with the length of time they stay in school (White & Parham, 1990; Wilson, 1983). For example, by the time African American children are in high school they have fallen one to three grade levels behind their White American peers. Kunjufu (1984) believes that this lapse in achievement can partially be attributed to the inability of the educational system to meet the cultural needs of African American children. Kunjufu (1984) further states that the mono-cultural curriculum, teaching styles, and teacher expectations may hinder the achievement of African Americans.

Teacher expectations have been recognized as an important component of student achievement. White and Parham (1990) identify teacher expectations as a factor contributing to the educational failure of African American children. Kunjufu (1984) lists frequent obstacles to high expectations with which lowered academic expectations are associated. "The major obstacles to high expectations are sex, race, economics, test scores, residency, appearance, language, behavior, and tracking. Teachers should reflect on the above and probe themselves to see if these factors affect their perceptions (p. 90)." It is important, therefore, to examine teachers' attitudes about race.

#### New Racism & Teachers

White Americans express the new racism in subtle ways. According to research, the new racism is expressed on an individual level in the form of discomfort, fear, disgust and disaffection for African Americans (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1981; Jacobson, 1985). As unpleasant as it is to imagine that an educator of children would harbor such illegitimate feelings about a group of people, some research suggests that it is fairly common among White Americans (Carter, 1990; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1981; Jacobson, 1985).

In light of the current endeavors to institute a multicultural curriculum, some researchers suggest that resistance to multiculturalism is evidence of the new racism (King, 1991; Ladson-Billings, 1991; Short, 1992). There is little research to substantiate this

claim, though other research supports the fact that teachers do exhibit prejudicial and stereotypical beliefs about African Americans. King's (1991) investigation of "Dyconscious Racism" in a teacher education course, found that White American pre-service teachers perceived African Americans as ignorant or as having "devalued cultural mores." Further, it was noted that most White Americans believed that African Americans are victims of racism due to their lack of motivation and incentive to climb the socioeconomic ladder. According to Stover (1990) most educators are not consciously racist, and they may reflect prejudice in subtle ways in everyday school practices. For example, the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice (1988, cited in Stover), reports that African American students are three times more likely to be disciplined than White American students.

Perceptions that White Americans hold about African Americans can lend insight to racial attitudes. In a study conducted with White American pre-service teachers, Avery and Walker (1993) investigated their perceptions of ethnic and gender differences in academic achievement. The results of the study found that fifty percent of prospective teachers attributed ethnic differences in academic achievement to Ethnic Culture (group specific values or characteristics; socioeconomic status as a group characteristic; role models at home). This finding is interesting because they did not attribute these differences in academic achievement to Society (discrimination, racism,

## Chapter III

### Design of the Study

#### Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine White American pre-service teachers' racial attitudes about African Americans.

#### Questions

1. What is the level of "new" racism in White American pre-service teachers?
2. Is there a difference in the level of "new" racism between White American men and White American women?
3. Is there a difference in the level of "new" racism between the young (Age 21-30) and the middle-aged (Age 31-45)?

#### Materials

Materials for this investigation will include:

New Racism Scale by Jacobson (1985).

#### Methodology

##### Participants

The participants were 40 White American pre-service elementary teachers enrolled in a Central New York public university education course, as a requirement for teacher certification. White students at the university were drawn from rural, suburban, and urban areas

throughout New York State and the Northeast. Approximately 8-9% of the student body are African American students from urban and suburban areas. The participants consisted of 9 men and 31 women rankings of at least junior through graduate status. Participants ranged in age from 21 to 45 years.

### Instrument

The New Racism Scale (Appendix I) This scale was developed by Jacobson (1985) based on previous measures of racism and includes seven items that measure White American's attitudes towards African Americans/Blacks (e.g., "If Blacks moved into my neighborhood, it would personally upset me" "Blacks are more likely to make progress in the future by being patient and not pushing so hard for change. How do you agree with the above?)." Scale scores range from a low of 7 to a high of 26; high scores indicate endorsement of racist attitudes. Jacobson (1985) reported an internal consistency reliability of .70. Participants reported demographic information including age and sex on the New Racism Scale form.

### Procedure

The investigator informed the participants that she was examining "Social Attitudes" and entitled the scale "Social Attitudes Scale" rather than "The New Racism Scale". The instruments were administered to 43 participants during an education class. Three of the

participants were African American students who were instructed prior to the administering of the scale, to complete the scale, though it did not apply to them. The investigator instructed the participants to record the last four digits of his/her social security number on the scale for organizational purposes. This information was collected so that the investigator could subsequently remove the African American participants' data from the pool. Participants completed the scale at their own pace. The scale required no more than five minutes.

#### Summary

Forty White-American pre-service teachers from a public central New York university were administered the New Racism Scale to examine their racial attitudes about African Americans.

## Chapter IV

### Analysis of Data

#### Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine White American pre-service teachers' attitudes about African Americans.

#### Results

The participants (N=40) for this study were White American pre-service teachers.

#### Question #1

1. What is the level of "new" racism in White American pre-service teachers?

The mean level of "new" racism in White American pre-service teachers (N=40) was 13 ( $X = 12.83$ ). The scores ranged from 9.00 to 20.00. The median score was 12.00.

Table 1 : Question 1

Participants	Mean Level of "New" Racism
N = 40	$X = 12.83$

Question #2

2. Is there a difference in the level of "new" racism between White American men and White American women pre-service teachers?

The mean level of "new" racism in White American men (N=9), was 14 ( $\bar{X}$ =13.56). The scores among the men ranged from 12 to 16. The mean level of "new" racism in White American women (N=31), was 13 ( $\bar{X}$ =12.6113). The scores among the women ranged from 9.00 to 20.00.

**Table 2 : Question 2**

GENDER	Mean Level of "New" Racism
Women (N=31)	$\bar{X} = 12.61$
Men (N=9)	$\bar{X} = 13.56$



### Question #3

3. Is there a difference in the level of "new" racism between the young (21-30) and the middle-age (31-45) White American pre-service teachers?

The mean level of "new" racism in the young (N=35), was about 13 ( $\bar{X}=12.99971$ ). The scores ranged from 9.00 to 20.00. The mean level of racism in the middle-age (N=5) was 12(11.80). The scores for the middle-age ranged from 10.00 to 15.00.

Table 3: Question 3

AGE	Mean Level of "New" Racism
Middle-age (N=5)	$\bar{X} = 11.80$
Young (N=35)	$\bar{X} = 12.99$

### Summary

The mean level of "new" racism was about 12, which is fairly low on a scale that ranges from 7 to 25. Due to the low number of participants (N=40), it is not possible for the investigator to examine any statistically significant differences among the groups stated in Questions #2 and #3.

## Chapter V

### Conclusions and Implications

#### Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine White American prospective teachers' racial attitudes about African Americans.

#### Conclusions

The results of this investigation indicated that the level of "new" racism among White American pre-service teachers was average. Overall, few pre-service teachers scored particularly high, which would indicate a high level of racist attitudes and few scored low, which would indicate a low level of racist attitudes. Although the number of participants is not useful for statistical comparisons, the limited data indicate higher levels of "new" racism among the White American young and among White American men. It is also important to note that items # 6 and #7 (See Appendix A), received the highest scores on each participants scales. The main limitation of this study was the number of participants. A replication of this investigation using a larger sample size might lead to more conclusive results.

#### Implications for Research

There is very little research that has examined racism or racial attitudes in White American teachers (pre-service and service). McDiarmid (1992) believes that such research is invariably problematic.

..."Teachers know how they are supposed to answer such questions. Not only do people know how they are supposed to answer, most do not like to think of themselves as people whose attitudes or behavior

towards others would be influenced by appearance, language, or customs (p.85)."

The purpose of the questions on Jacobson's New Racism Scale (Jacobson, 1985) may have been very conspicuous to the participants, resulting in socially acceptable responses. For example, item #5, "If a fully qualified Black whose views were acceptable to you was nominated to run for President, how likely do you think you would be to vote for that candidate?", has only two responses (a) very likely and (b) not at all likely. This particular item clearly asks participants "Are you prejudiced against African Americans?" Due such specificity, it would be difficult to answer the question honestly, if one gives in to social desirability. Further research should explore the development of a racism scale that could measure racial attitudes more accurately despite the presence of social desirability.

It is also possible to improve the accuracy of such measures through correlational studies. Jacobson's investigated the relationship between "new" racism and resistance to affirmative action. Carter (1987) investigated the relationship between racism and racial identity among White Americans, using Jacobson's New Racism Scale. The results of the study indicated that White racial identities were predictive of racism. For example, White men in the Reintegration stage of racial identity (stereotypic thinking, feelings of fear and anger towards Blacks, idealized beliefs about Whites, negative beliefs about Blacks), were more likely to hold racist attitudes. Future research should examine the relationship between racism and attitudes toward

multiculturalism. This type of research may contribute to a greater understanding of racism among White American educators.

Gender differences in racism among White Americans should also be further explored. This study was not able to make statistical comparisons, but this investigator did observe a difference in the range of scores for men and women. The scores among the men were higher. Carter's (1990) research on racial identity attitudes and racism in White Americans showed that there was a significant difference between the racial identity attitudes of men and women. The results indicated that the racial identity development among women was at a higher level than for men. It is suggested that this difference can be attributed to the social status of women and the existence of sexism.

#### Implications for Education

Overall, the results indicate that "new" racism level was fairly moderate, however, the examination of individual scale items, can help to understand exactly what aspects contributed most to the level of "new" racism. Each participant scored the highest on Items #6 and #7, which read, "Whether you agree or not with the idea of affirmative action, do you think Blacks are given special consideration and hired before Whites for jobs?" and "How about in higher education institutions—that is, colleges and universities? Do you think Blacks are given special consideration and admitted before Whites in higher education institutions?". The results of this study indicate that all

participants believe that African Americans are given special consideration for employment and education. This finding implies that African Americans may not have the necessary qualifications and abilities to attain employment and education, but are granted such opportunities due to affirmative action. Jacobson (1985) found that the New Racism Scale was an accurate predictor of resistance to affirmative action. The responses to Items #6 and #7, possibly indicate such resistance. Further research should examine the relationship between racism and the resistance to such programs.

Although, the results of this study indicate that the level of "new" racism among White American prospective teachers is moderate, there were a few teachers who scored relatively high on the scale. Short (1992) suggests that teachers should be tested for racism prior to admission into teacher training programs. After multicultural training, if teachers still hold racist attitudes they should not be allowed to teach. Short is mainly concerned with those who exhibit explicit racism. Although he acknowledges that explicit racism is difficult to define, any type of negative beliefs are detrimental, "...if a teacher has negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities and the development of a culturally plural society then he or she will in our view remain an inadequate teacher of any child in any school in this country (Swann Report, p. 568 in Short, p.179).

Teacher training programs should examine racial attitudes in prospective teachers as a standard. Measures such as Jacobson's New

Racism Scale could serve as a pre-test and possibly post-test measure. Short (1992) suggests Green's Ethnocentrism Scale as a valid measure of racial attitudes and the exclusion of all prospective teachers who score in the category of "highly intolerant".

The moderate level of racism in the pre-service teachers surveyed in this study supports the need for multicultural and anti-racist training for teachers. Research on characteristics of effective teachers has recently added, awareness of their own ethnic behaviors, attitudes and perceptions and the ability to modify their behavior as necessary (Larke, 1991). In order to facilitate in the training of effective teachers, it is imperative for colleges and universities to implement multicultural training in their teacher education programs.

In the school setting, there are several strategies that can be used to address the problem of racism. Stover (1990) suggests the following (1) adopt a firm policy of zero tolerance for racism in any form (2) Consider unintended messages (3) start early (4) expand social contacts between racial groups (5) investigate in-service opportunities for teachers and administrators and (6) consider adding multicultural education programs to the curriculum. Garcia (1989) believes that, due to the history of racism in the United States, and its perpetuation in American homes, the educational system is responsible for educating all students properly. In order to educate the students properly, teachers and administrators must be educated properly. It is therefore

the responsibility of teacher education programs to investigate racism in prospective teachers and facilitate the reduction of racist attitudes.

The limitations of the study notwithstanding, the findings the results suggest that there is a need to further examine racist attitudes in White American pre-service teachers. Programs that allow White American pre-service teachers to actually examine their racial attitudes would greatly benefit the teachers as well as their future students. In order to address racism in our society, particularly in education, it necessary to acknowledge that it exists. Once teacher education programs admit that racism is a legitimate concern, the implementation of multicultural programs in American schools will be facilitated, thereby ending racism on a societal level.

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## "NEW" RACISM SCALE

ID # \_\_\_\_\_  
Gender \_\_\_\_\_  
Age \_\_\_\_\_

Please read each item carefully, and circle the letter that best describes your response.

1. Do you feel Blacks in this country have tried to move  
(a) too fast (b) too slow (c) at about the right pace
  
2. Would it upset you personally  
(a) a lot (b) some but not a lot (c) only a little (d) not at all  
if Blacks moved into your neighborhood?
  
3. It's been said that if Black children all went to school with White children, the education of White children would suffer. The reason given is that the Black children would hold back the White children. Do you believe that or not?  
(a) don't believe (b) not sure (c) believe
  
4. Blacks are more likely to make progress in the future by being patient and not pushing so hard for change.  
(a) disagree (b) not sure (c) agree
  
5. If a fully qualified Black whose views were acceptable to you were nominated to run for President, how likely do you think you would be to vote for that candidate?  
(a) very likely (b) not at all likely
  
6. Whether you agree or not with the idea of affirmative action, do you think Blacks are given special consideration and hired before Whites for jobs?  
(a) frequently (b) occasionally (c) hardly ever (d) never at all
  
7. How about in higher education institutions--that is, colleges and universities? Do you think Blacks are given special consideration and admitted before Whites in higher education institutions?  
(a) frequently (b) occasionally (c) hardly ever (d) never at all