

PAPOR Mini Conference

Race to Understand America: the Minority Experience and Politics

Cailey Muñana

Special thanks to: Tresa Udem, Shakari Bylery, Keith Neuman, Hannah Fingerhut, and Jocelyn Kiley for sharing their research

June 29, 2018



Filling the need for trusted information on national health issues.

The Lives and Voices of Black America On Politics, Race, and Policy.

Tresa Udem, PerryUdem

Shakari, Byerly, UCLA Department of Political Science, Ford Foundation Fellow

73rd Annual Meeting, American Association for Public Opinion Research
Denver, Colorado - May 18, 2018



What we know about Black public opinion and political behavior:

- Long-recognized as having distinctively high rates of political participation, civic engagement, and political consensus, independent of socio-economic status (Nagler and Leighley 2013; Verba and Nie 1972)
- Data is limited, as surveys of the general population do not often include a sufficient number of interviews to provide statistically reliable data
- Often “speak with one voice” due to persistent structural and racialized inequalities, alongside high levels of perceived “linked fate” (Cohen and Dawson 1993; Dawson 1994)
- Their collective voice is often flattened and discounted by political stakeholders and media as being uninteresting or inconsequential
- Coverage that exists is often episodic, following civil unrest, or “backward-looking” in the wake of major political upsets

Methods.

N = 1,003 Black adults 18 and older

July 18 to August 7, 2017

NORC's AmeriSpeak panel

Margin of sampling error: \pm 4.2 percentage points

30-minute questionnaire

We explored...

- Perceptions of the current political environment
- Views on 22 policy issue areas as they relate to President Trump, racism, and Black families
- Experiences around families, children, and decision-making
- Sexual pressure, force, and violence

22 policy areas.

President Trump's policies effect on..

Effects of racism on...

Decision-making in having families...

1. Quality, affordable health care
2. Affordable mental health care
3. Safe neighborhoods
4. Affordable child care
5. Affordable housing
6. Quality public schools
7. Opportunities to move up in the workplace
8. Job opportunities that pay a livable wage
9. Equal pay in the workplace
10. Healthy and affordable food options
11. Safe from mass incarceration
12. Safe from over-policing
13. Neighborhood services
14. Access to higher education
15. Vote in future elections without barriers
16. Treatment for drug and alcohol addiction
17. Domestic violence
18. Ability to raise healthy children
19. Affordable birth control
20. Affordable abortion care
21. Access to clean water
22. Ability to plan for or when to become a parent

Do you think

RACISM

affects the Black community's ability to...

% Yes

80%

Have equal opportunities
to move up in the
workplace

78%

Feel safe in our
neighborhoods

78%

Have job opportunities that
pay a livable wage

76%

Have equal pay in the
workplace

74%

Have access to higher
education

74%

Have access to quality,
affordable health care

73%

Keep children safe from
mass incarceration

73%

Have access to affordable
housing

73%

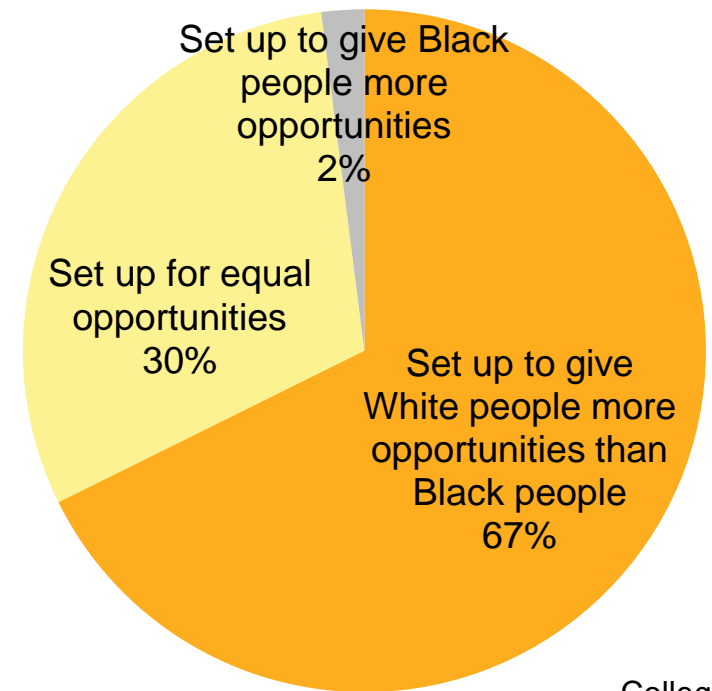
Have access to quality
public schools

Most see inequities at the core of systems in our society.

“Think about the systems in our society, such as school systems, health care, housing, food, banking and the government.

In general, do you think these systems are set up to: give White people more opportunities than Black people, give Black people more opportunities than White people, or give Black and White people equal opportunities?”

Do you think systems in our society are...



College educated (81%)

1 in 3 Black adults has had brown water come out of their taps at home.



55%
YES TO ANY

35%

Has had brown water come out of the taps at home

35%

Has had to boil water at home before drinking it

29%

Has had water that smelled unsafe from the taps at home

50%

Say having access to clean water has been a factor in deciding to become a parent.



Lack of
safety and
control over
their bodies
in the era of
#MeToo.

% of Black mothers of children under 18

Base n = 224

44%

Have been pressured
to have sex when they
did not want to

40%

Have felt pressure to
take part in a sexual
act before they were
ready

39%

Have the feeling, at
least once in awhile,
that other people feel
entitled to their body

32%

Say someone had sex
with them without their
permission or consent

26%

Were made to have
sex without a condom
when they did not
want to

21%

Were made to have
oral or anal sex when
they did not want to

64% have faced at least one of the above situations.

59% have faced sexual pressure or force.



% of Black mothers of children under 18

Base n = 224

92%

Say a woman's ability to control whether and when she has children is important for her and her family's financial security (79% very important)

46%

Could afford \$10 or less for birth control

73%

Feel the President's policies will have a negative effect on the Black community's ability to access birth control

72%

Feel the President's policies will have a negative effect on the Black community's ability to access abortion care

70%

Feel it is "extremely" important to improve access to affordable health care in order to make it a better time to be a Black woman free to raise healthy children if she chooses



Black adults have weighed many factors in deciding whether or not to have a child.

At any time in the past, have any of these things been part of your thinking or decision-making about whether or not to have a child?

% Yes

72%

Having job opportunities that pay a livable wage

69%

The amount of money in your savings

67%

Having access to higher education

65%

The safety of your neighborhood

64%

Having access to quality public schools

63%

Having access to quality, affordable health care

63%

Having equal opportunities to move up in the workplace

63%

Being married

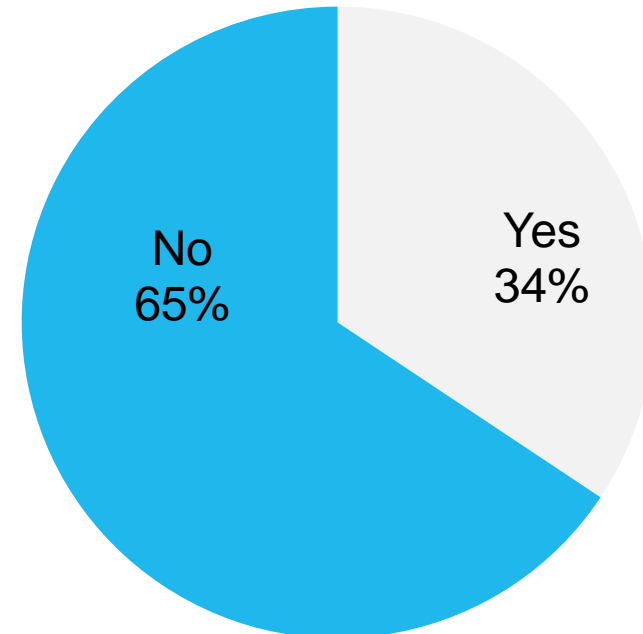
62%

Having access to affordable housing

A majority of Black parents do not want their children to have a life similar to theirs.

Do you want your child(ren) to have a life similar to yours?

Base n = 760 parents



Conclusions.

- Black Americans are on the front-lines of structural and racialized inequality
- While polling reveals high degrees of consensus on key issues, detailed examinations reveal notable differences in opinion across gender and age
- Black Americans see a clear connection between racism, inequality, reproductive justice, and voter suppression
- Heightened visibility of police shootings, white-supremacist groups, and “Starbucks-style” consumer racism may translate in to high degrees of political mobilization and turn-out, particularly among Black women
- Future directions of the research will further explore intersections of class, socio-economic status, and connections to civic engagement and political behavior

Making a difference through community-based research: The Black Experience Project



Keith Neuman
Environics Institute for Survey Research

American Association of Public Opinion Research
73rd Annual Conference
May 18, 2018



Why this study – and why now?

- People of African descent have a long-standing history in Canada and Toronto
- Yet, little is known about the trailblazing achievements and contributions of the Black community
- And this community has experienced ongoing and pervasive discrimination and racism – at an institutional and personal level
- Lived experience has not been adequately legitimized, in part because based on anecdotal versus empirical evidence

Survey implementation

- Target population: GTA residents who self-identify as Black or of African heritage
- Sample set to match GTA Black population to extent possible – based on region, age, gender, household income, and ethnic identification
- Recruitment of survey participants using quota sampling methods – extensive outreach across GTA through events, media, word-of-mouth
- In-person interviews conducted by people from the Black community – mostly youth

Survey themes covered in the survey

1. Black and ethnic identity
2. Experiences with the Black community
3. Personal aspirations and goals
4. Education and learning
5. Experience with institutions
6. Treatment and representation by the broader community
7. Employment and the workplace
8. Health and well-being
9. Neighbourhood
10. Connectedness and belonging to the broader community

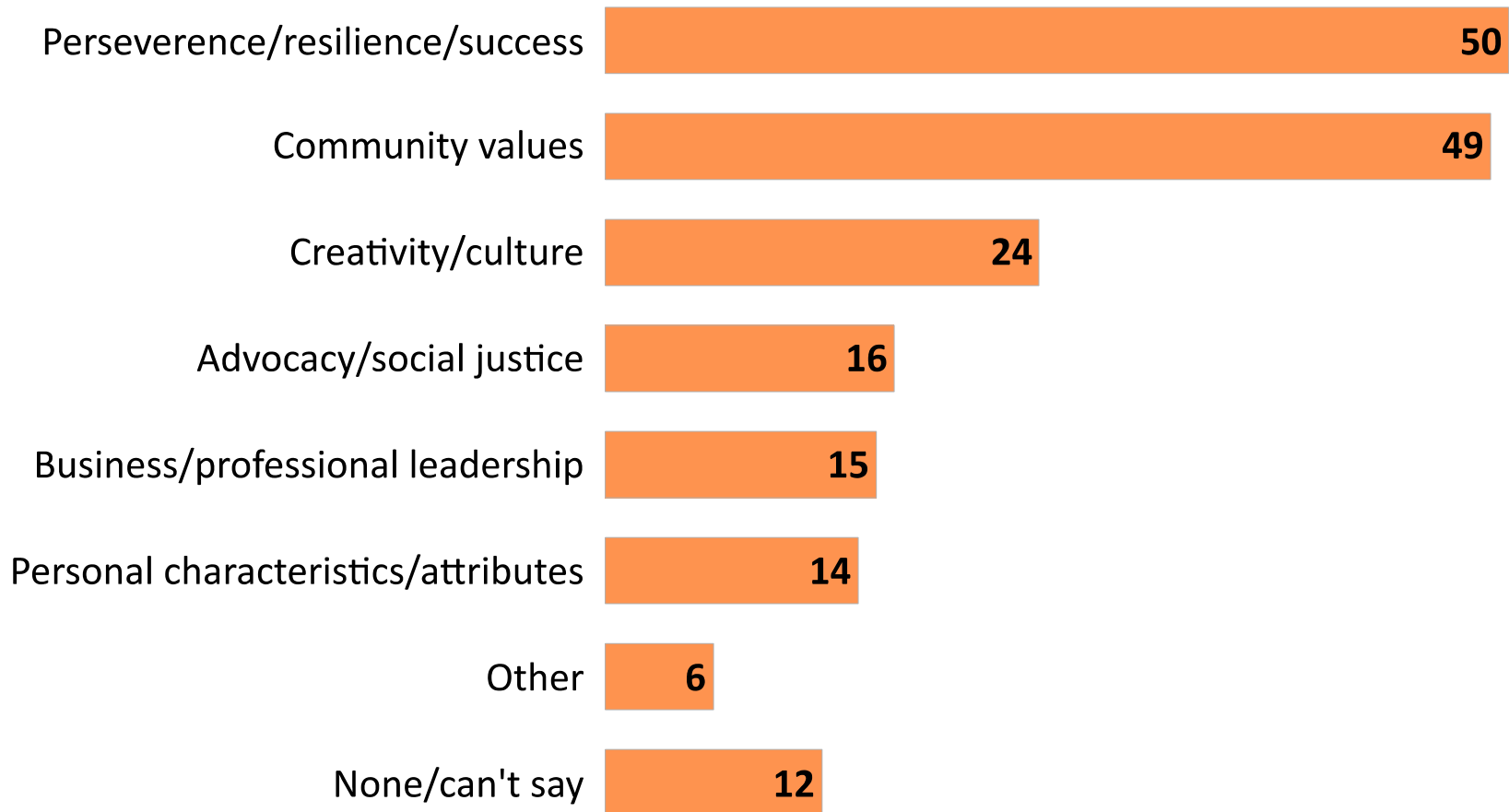
1. Community strength & engagement

To what extent are people involved in their communities?

What are seen as the strengths of the Black community, and its contributions to the GTA?

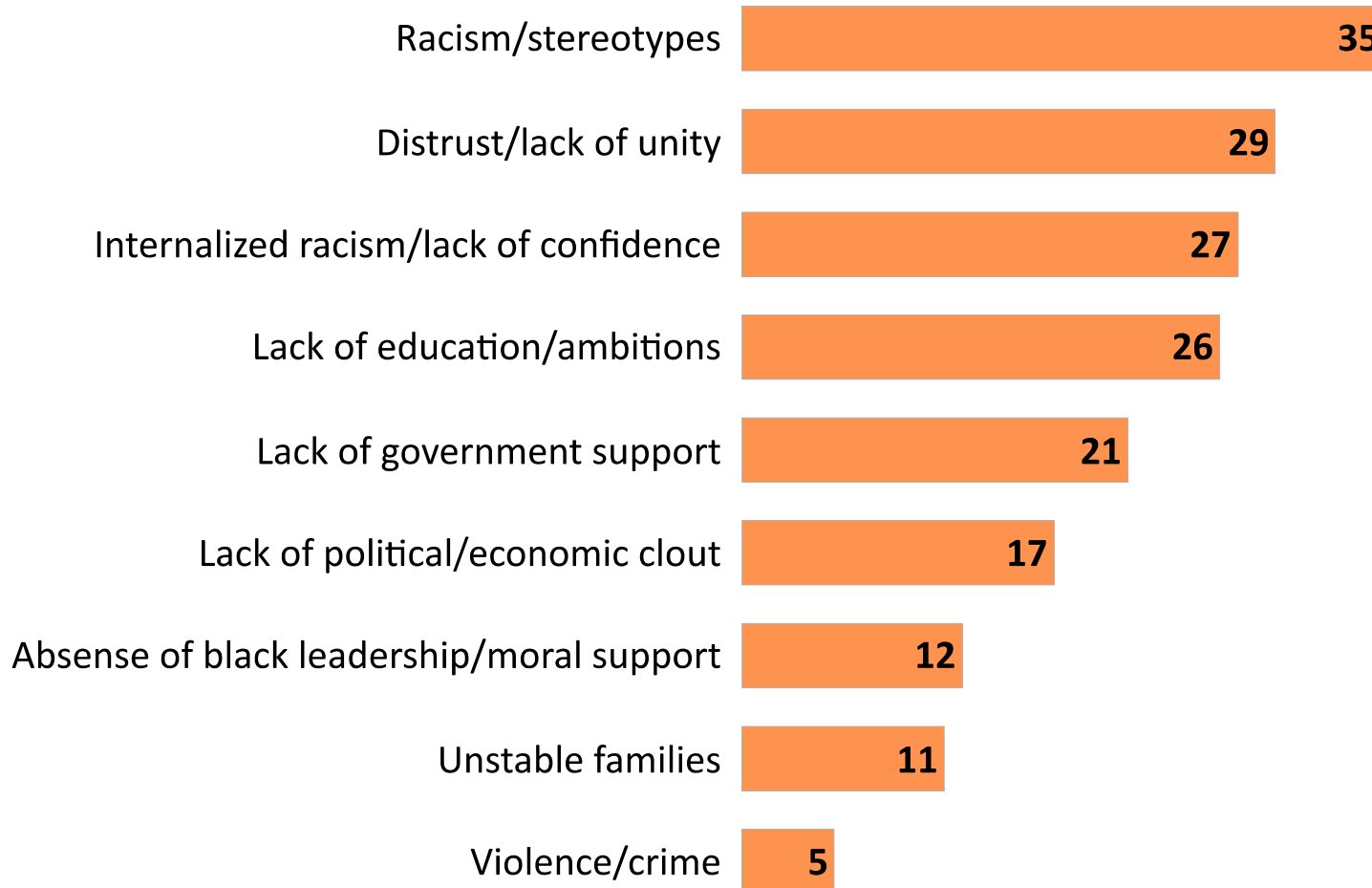
Individuals define the strength of their community in terms of its perseverance in the face of adversity

Strengths of the GTA Black community (*unprompted responses*)



Individuals identify a range of challenges facing their community, with racism at the top of the list

Greatest challenges facing the Black community (*unprompted responses*)



Aspirations for the community are focused on stronger cohesion, advocacy and institution

Hopes for the Black community (*unprompted responses*)

MAJOR THEMES	%
Build a stronger community/culture (unity, support, inclusiveness)	61
More political advocacy/social consciousness (equal opportunity)	35
Stronger education system/success	30
Less crime/violence/better policing	25
Stronger leadership/role models	21
Better media representation	20
Support for youth/future generations	19

2. Institutional & interpersonal racism

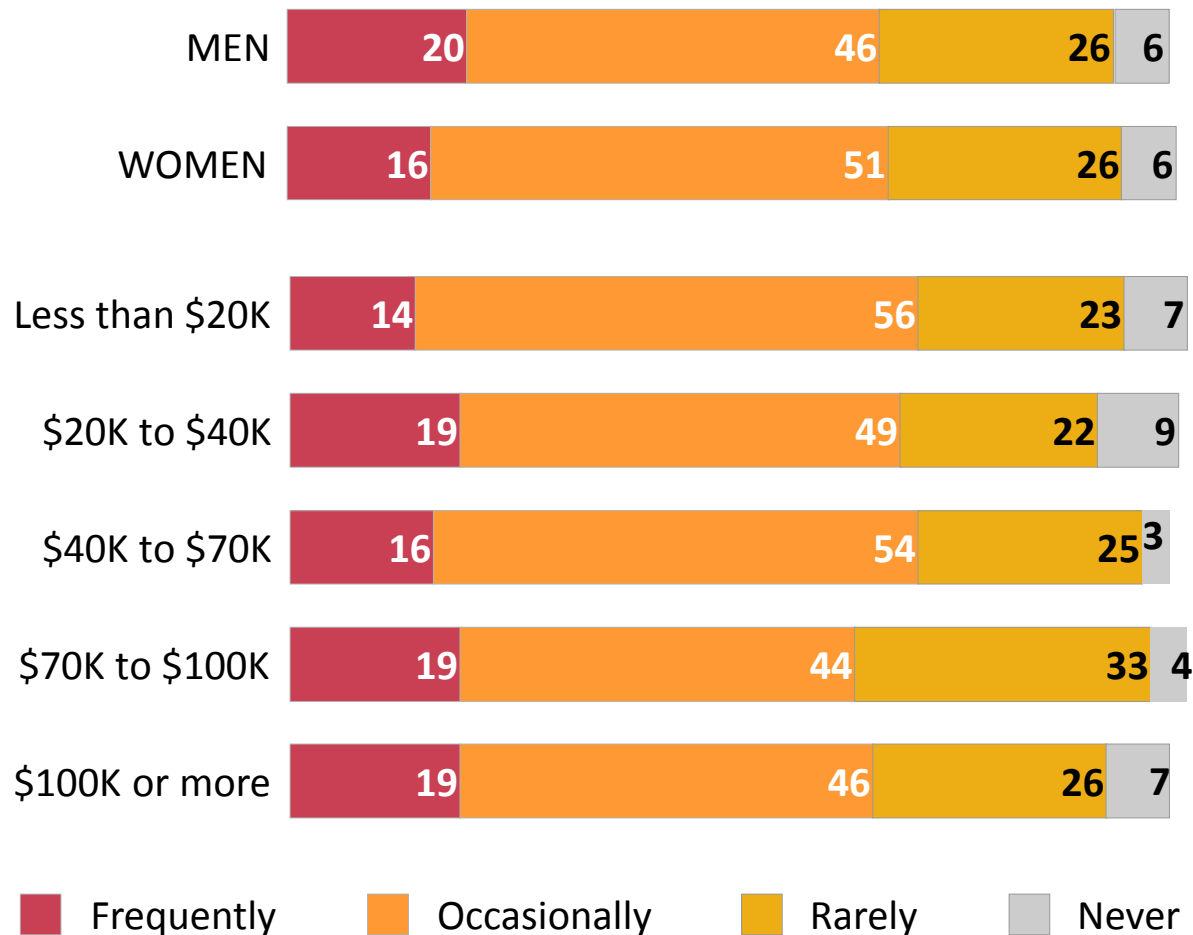
How pervasive is the experience of anti-Black racism in the GTA?

How do these experiences vary across the community?

What impact does such experience have on lived experience?

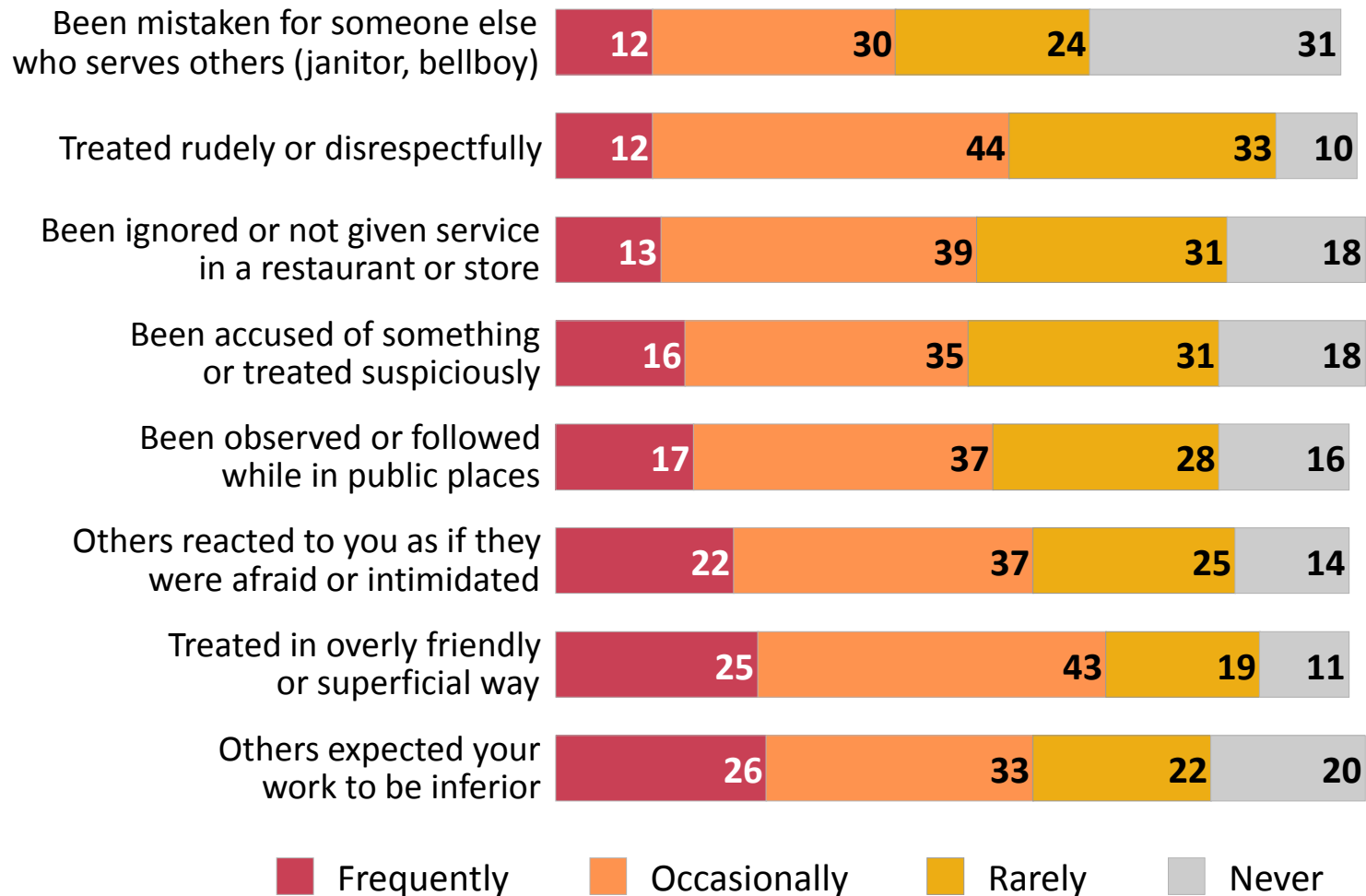
Discrimination and racism is an ongoing experience for Black individuals, regardless of gender and household income

Frequency of unfair treatment due to race, by gender and income



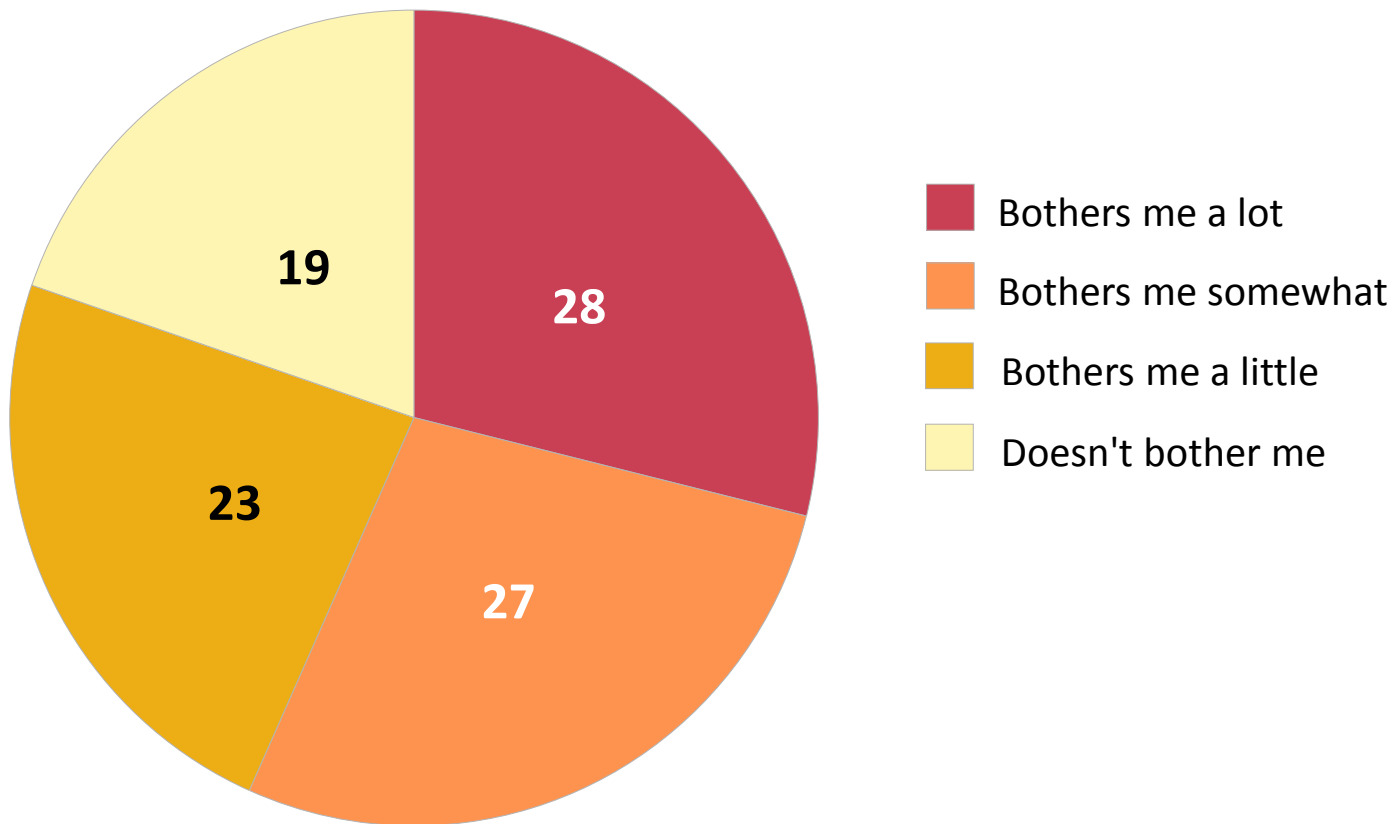
Most confront day-to-day “micro aggressions” on a regular basis, and these take many forms

Frequency of day-to-day personal experiences because of your race



The personal impact of racism varies across people – some are bothered, and others are inspired to rise to the challenge

How your day-to-day experiences of discrimination bother you?



3. Experience with police services & the criminal justice system

What are people's experiences with police services?

What are community perspectives on how the police are performing their role?

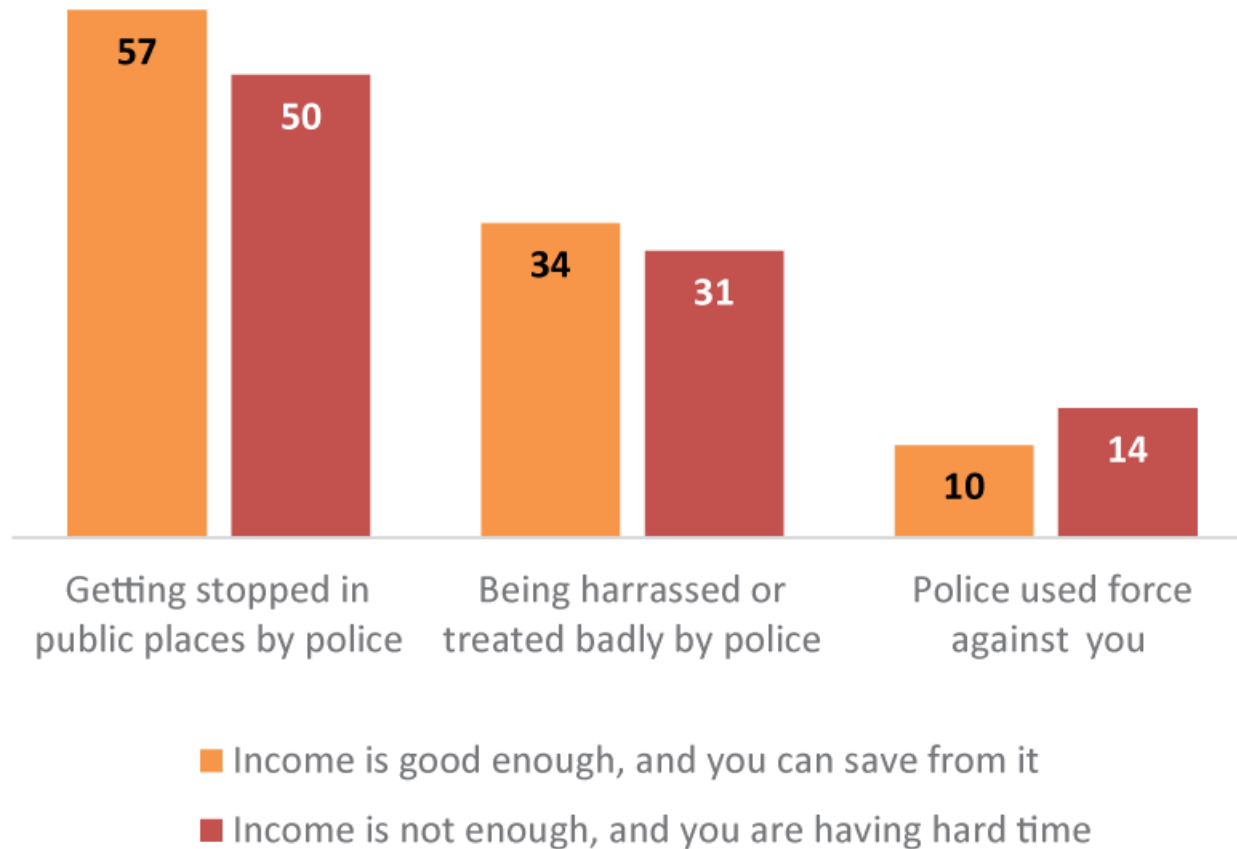
Most black individuals have had varied experiences with police, but more negative than positive – and especially so for men aged 25 to 44

Lifetime personal experience with police in community and GTA

Have you ever had an experience of ... ?	Total %	Men aged 25 to 44 (%)
Getting stopped in public places by police	55	79
Socializing with police at social, cultural or official functions	53	64
Being helped by the police	44	39
Being harassed or treated rudely by police	38	60
Being interviewed by police as a witness to an incident	36	44
Police not responding promptly when you need them	18	23
Being arrested	15	31
Police using force against you	11	24

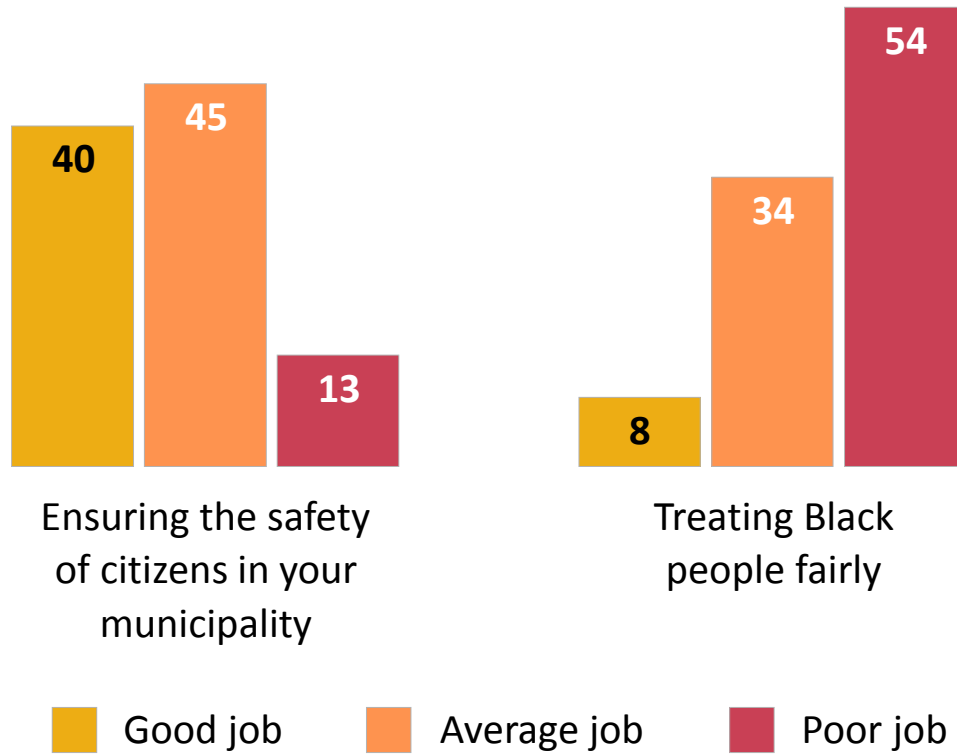
Having a good income provides little insulation against negative experiences with police in the GTA

Personal experiences with police, by adequacy of income



Individuals distinguish between the job police are doing overall, and how they treat the Black community

Performance of local police force

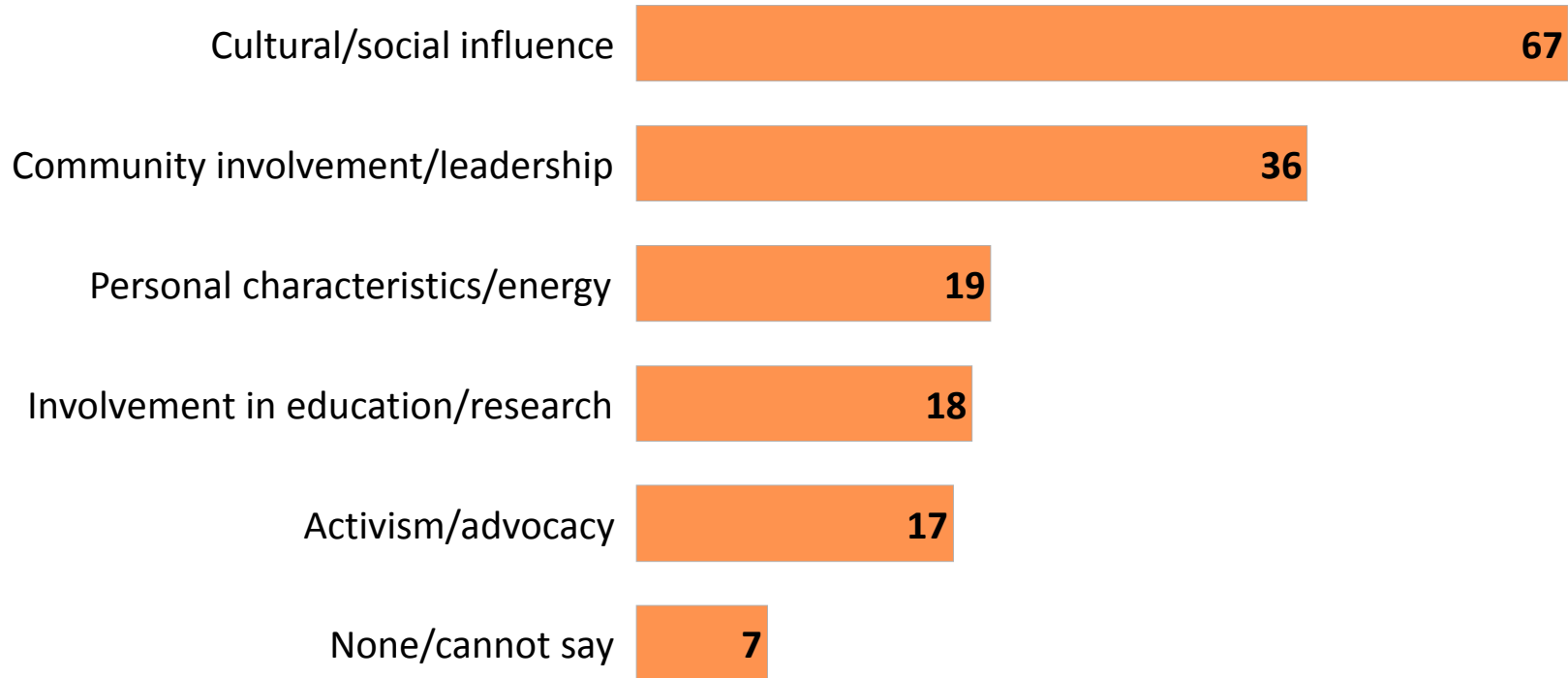


4. Worlds apart: Perceptions of the Black community

What is the gap between how individuals see their community and how they are viewed by others?

Individuals believe their community contributes to the GTA in various ways, most notably in areas of culture and social influence

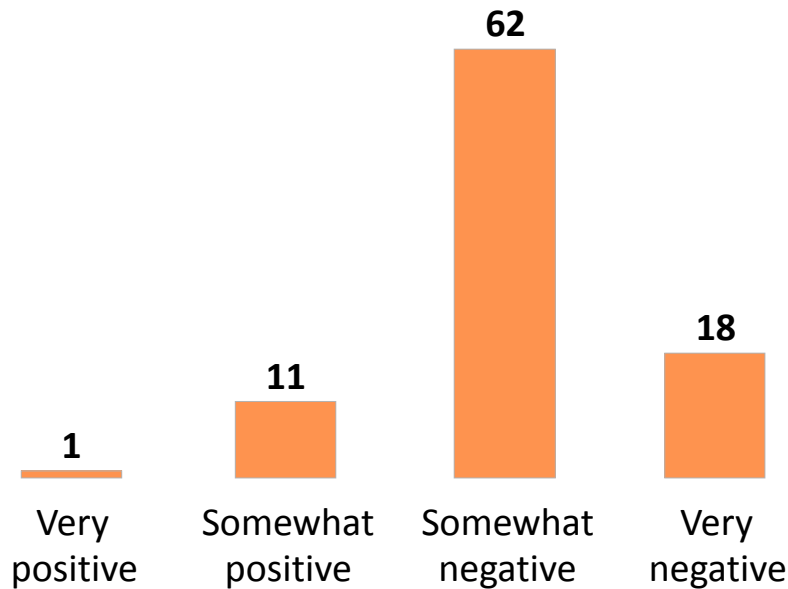
Black community's most important contribution to the GTA
(unprompted responses)



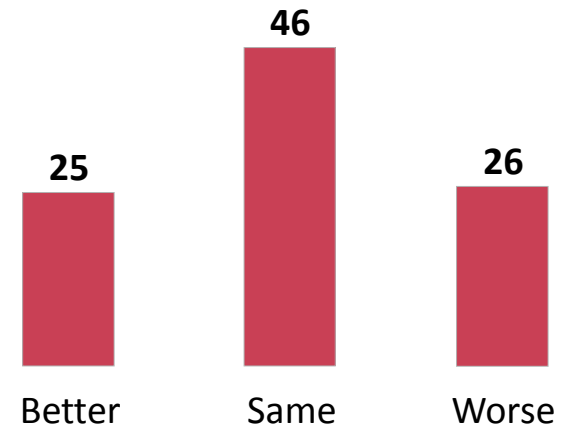
Almost everyone believes non-Black people in the GTA have negative impressions of Black people, and few see clear progress

How non-Black people in the GTA are
believed to view Black people

Non-Black people's
impression of black people

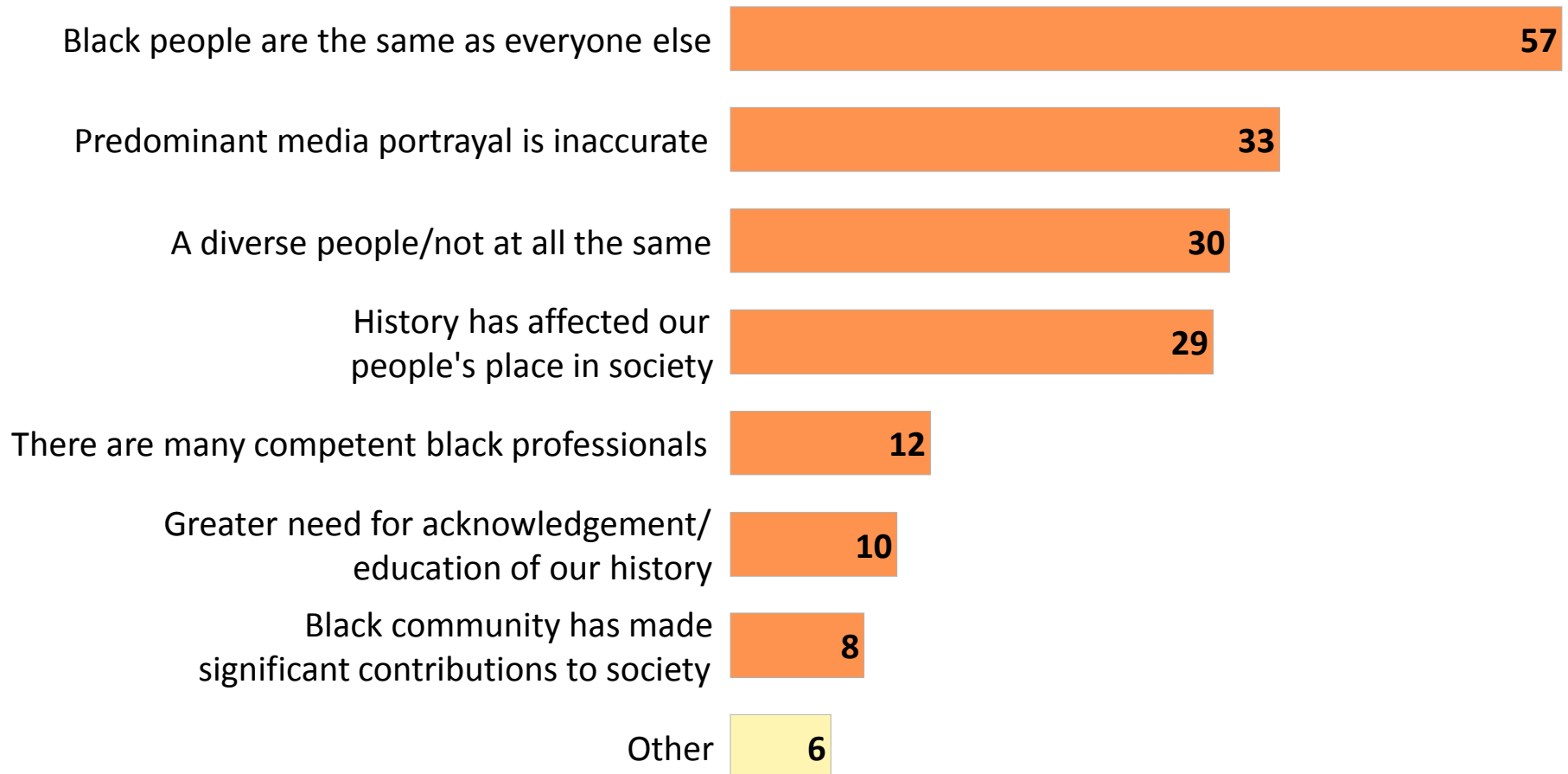


How have these impressions
changed over past decade?



There is a desire for others to see Black people as the same as everyone else, and to recognize their stereotyping and history

What broader society should understand about Black people
(unprompted responses)



Project outcome

- Final report published in July 2017 – major public event and media
- Phase 3 outreach underway – public forums and presentations to organizations in all sectors
- Institutions and community organizations using the results for insight and guidance for policies and programs
- Other cities in Canada exploring their own version of this study

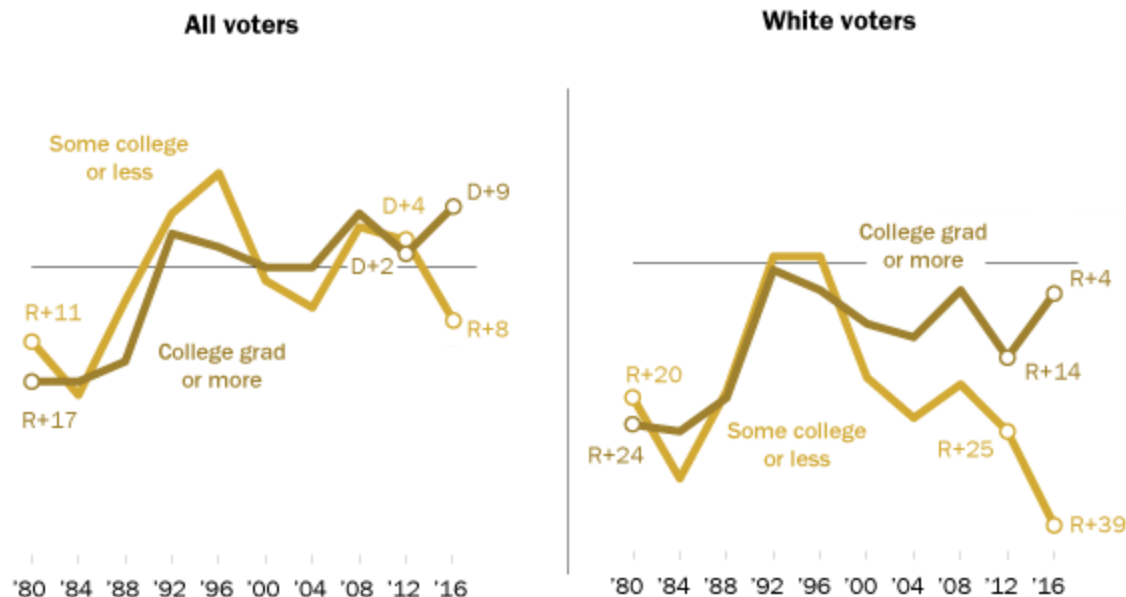
Examining the political education divide across racial groups

Hannah Fingerhut and Jocelyn Kiley

Contemporary fault line in American politics... among whites

Wide education gaps in 2016 preferences, among all voters and among whites

Presidential candidate preference, by educational attainment

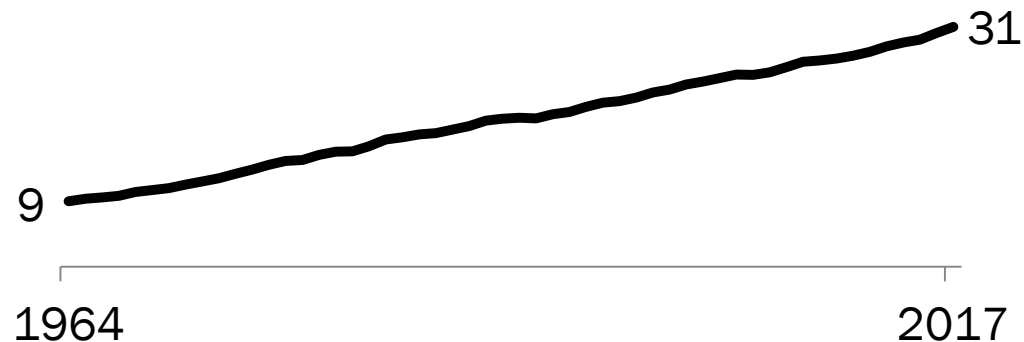


Source: Based on exit polls conducted by Edison Research for the National Election Pool, as reported by CNN. Data from prior years from national exit polls. In 1980, race was coded by the interviewer instead of being asked of the respondent.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

WHO ARE WE TALKING ABOUT?

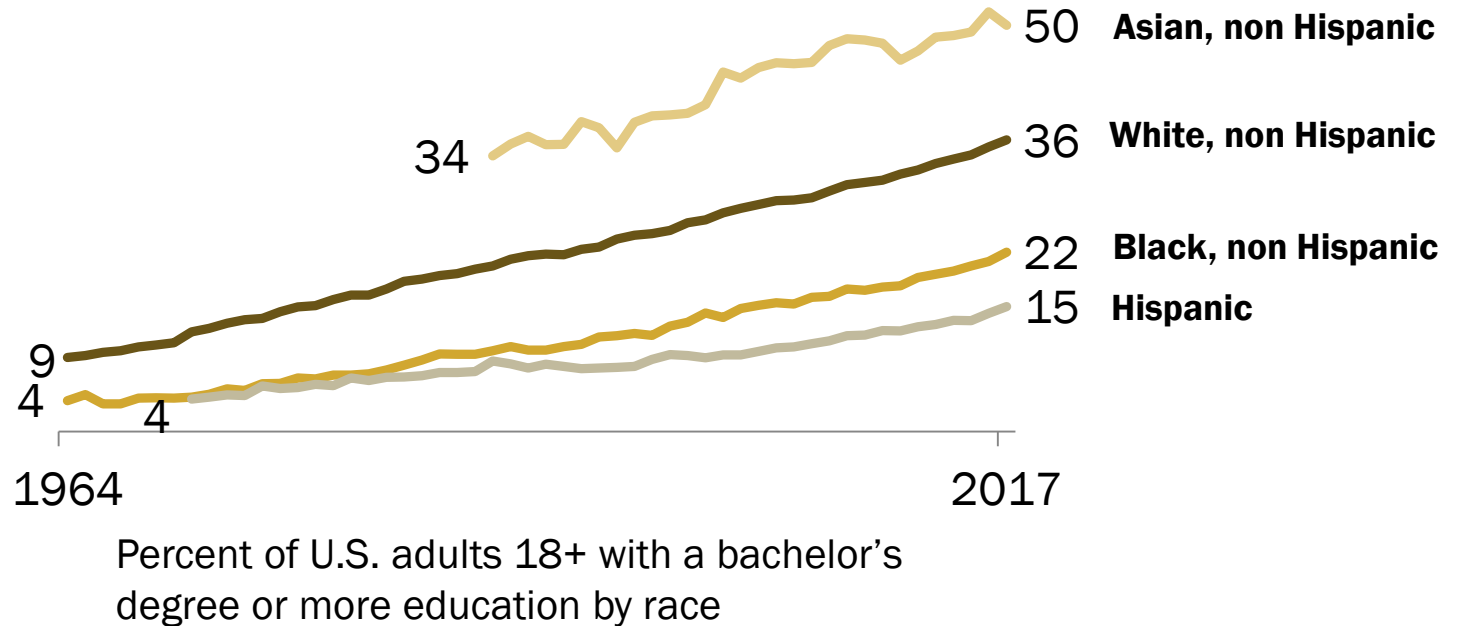
Growing share of college graduates in U.S.



Percent of U.S. adults 18+ with a bachelor's degree or more education

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of the 1962-2017 Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (IPUMS)

Growing share of college graduates in U.S. across racial groups



Source: Pew Research Center analysis of the 1962-2017 Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement (IPUMS)

ANALYZING EDUCATION ACROSS RACIAL GROUPS

- Landscape RDD telephone survey in July 2017 (N=5,000)
- Aggregated annual RDD telephone surveys (N=10,000+/yr)
- American Trends Panel online survey in February 2018 (N=6,000+)

PARTISANSHIP

Differing patterns in party identification by education among whites, blacks

% who are...

— Republican/Lean Republican — Democrat/Lean Democrat

TOTAL

College grad



Non-college grad



AMONG WHITES

College grad



Non-college grad



AMONG BLACKS

College grad

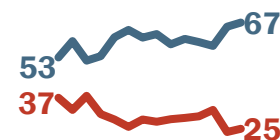


Non-college grad

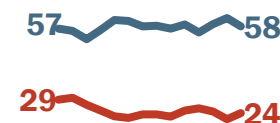


AMONG HISPANICS

College grad



Non-college grad



Source: Annual totals of Pew Research Center survey data (U.S. adults)

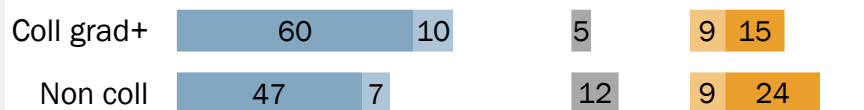


Views of Trump, Obama

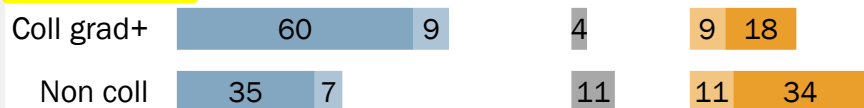
% who rate ___ on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)...

■ Very cold (0-24) ■ Somewhat cold (25-49) ■ Neutral (50) ■ Somewhat warm (51-75) ■ Very warm (76-100)

TRUMP



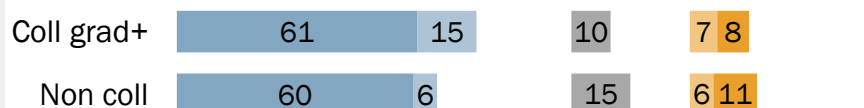
Among whites



Among blacks



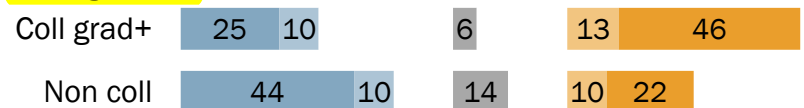
Among Hispanics



OBAMA



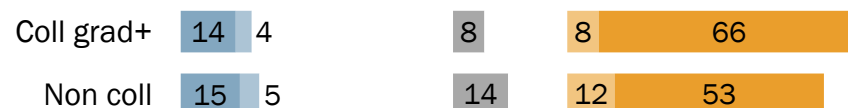
Among whites



Among blacks



Among Hispanics

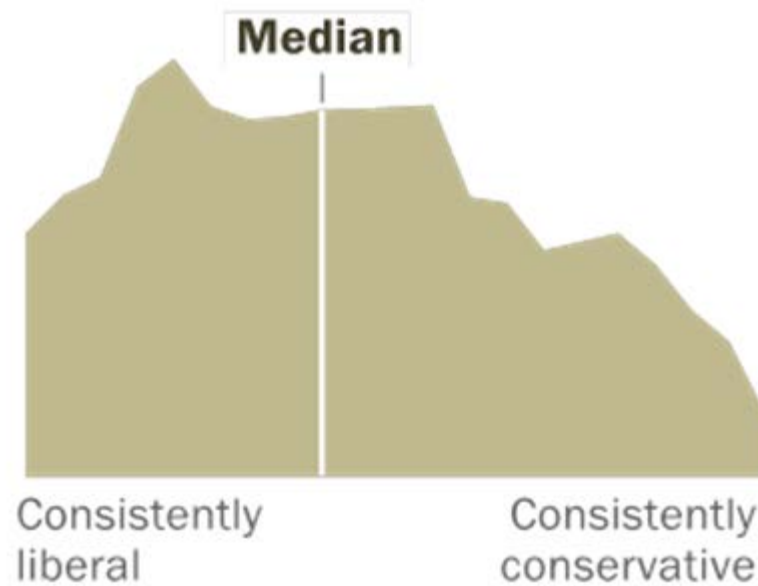


Source: Pew Research Center American Trends Panel, February 2018

IDEOLOGICAL AND ATTITUDINAL DIFFERENCES

Ideological consistency

Distribution of the public on a 10-item scale of political values

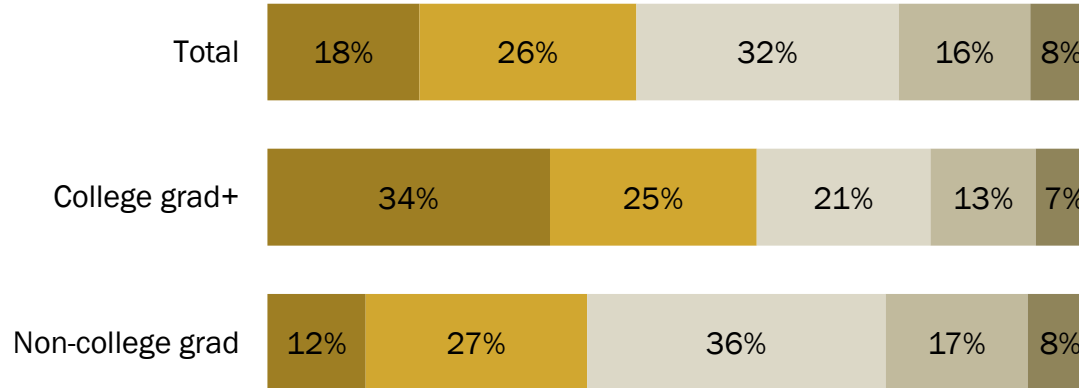


Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted June 8-July 9, 2017

Ideological consistency

Distribution of the public on a 10-item scale of political values
% who are ...

■ Consistently Lib ■ Mostly Lib ■ Mixed ■ Mostly Conserv ■ Consistently Conserv



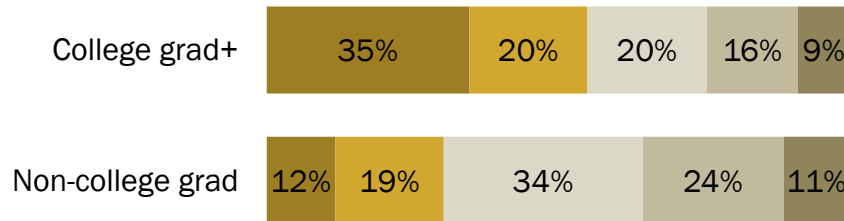
Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted June 8-July 9, 2017

Ideological consistency

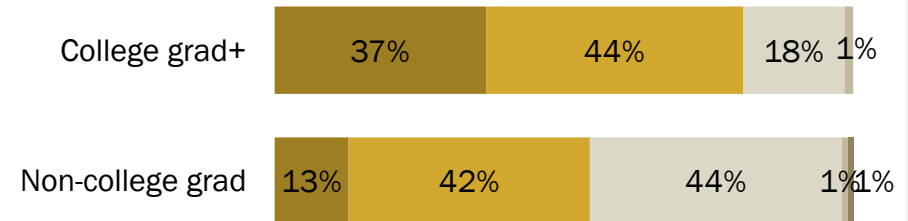
Distribution of the public on a 10-item scale of political values
% who are ...

Consistently Lib Mostly Lib Mixed Mostly Conserv Consistently Conserv

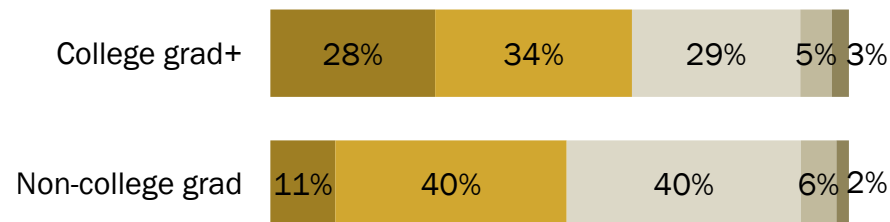
AMONG WHITES



AMONG BLACKS



AMONG HISPANICS

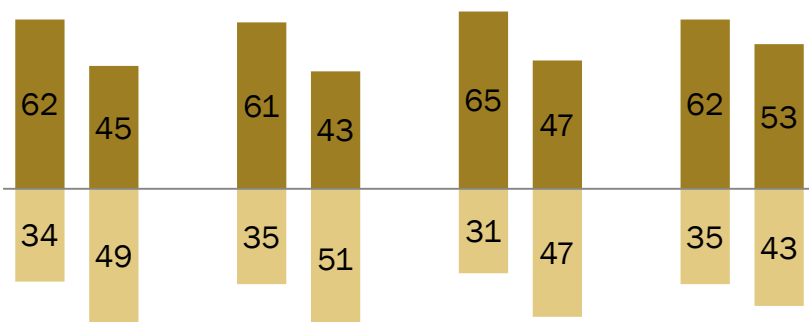


Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted June 8-July 9, 2017

Role of government

% who say ...

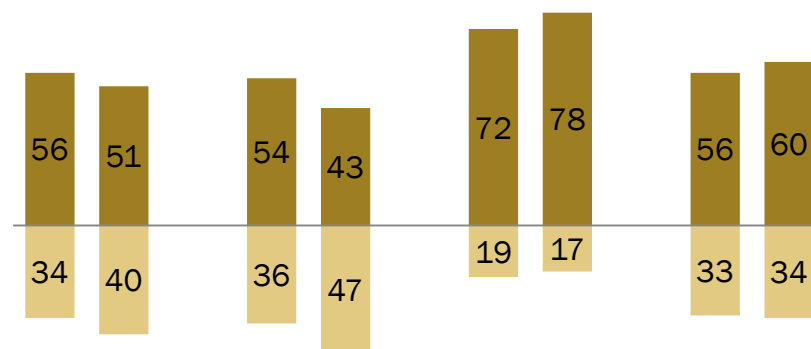
Govt regulation of business is necessary to protect public interest



Govt regulation of business does more harm than good

Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll
Total		White		Black		Hispanic	

Poor people have hard lives because govt benefits don't go far enough



Poor people have it easy because they get govt benefits without doing anything in return

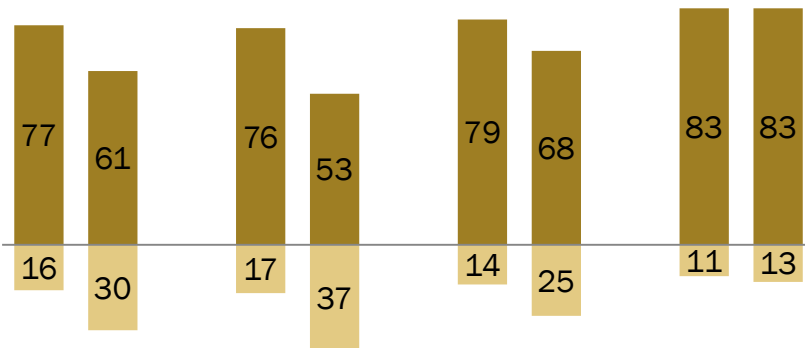
Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll
Total		White		Black		Hispanic	

Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted June 8-July 9, 2017

Immigration

% who say ...

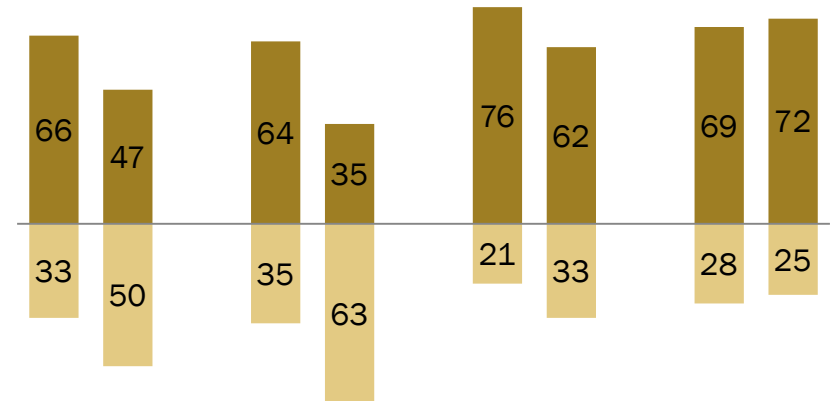
Immigrants strengthen U.S. because of their hard work and talents



Immigrants burden U.S. because they take jobs, housing, health care

Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll
Total		White		Black		Hispanic	

Growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society



Growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs, values

Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll
Total		White		Black		Hispanic	

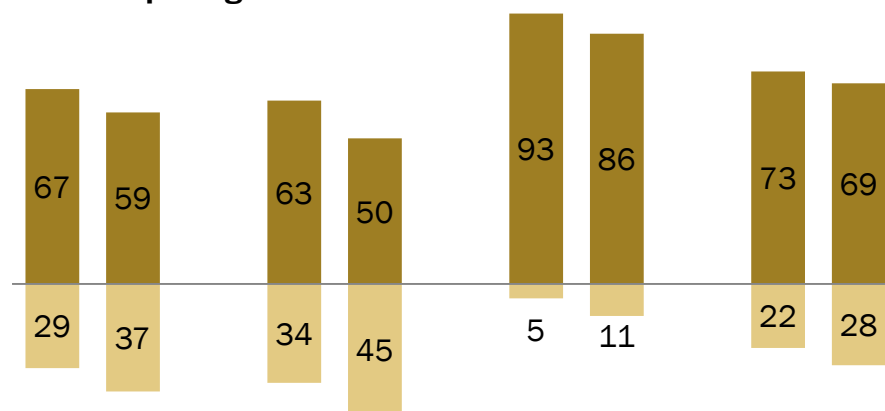
Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted June 8-July 9, 2017

Source: Pew Research Center American Trends Panel, February 2018

U.S. racial equality

% who say ...

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



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

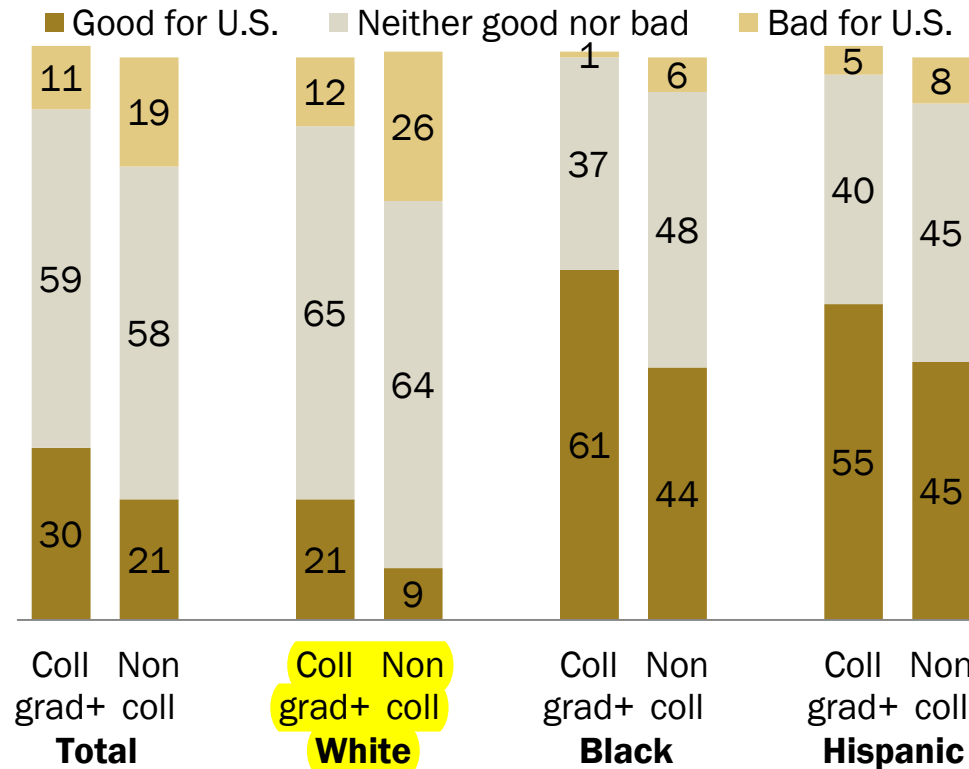
Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll	Coll grad+	Non coll
Total		White		Black		Hispanic	

Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted June 8-July 9, 2017

Diversity in the U.S.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in the next 25 to 30 years African Americans, Latinos, and people of Asian descent will make up a majority of the population.

% who say that this is ...



Source: Pew Research Center American Trends Panel, February 2018

Education divides across racial groups

- Growing educational divide among whites in partisanship and in political values
- But many values divides by education are also seen across racial and ethnic groups
- Blacks and Hispanics are overwhelmingly Democratic groups, but we can see real differences by education in values, ideology
- Take advantage of surveys with large samples to zoom in on education breaks among blacks and Hispanics as well
- Be wary of implying values differences by education among whites are unique to whites

Key Takeaways

- The voices of Black communities are often homogenized and minimized due to limited empirical data and racial inequality
- We may be hearing and seeing Black communities in political demonstrations, but we're not hearing them in survey data due to small sample sizes of this population
- Black adults report that racism is still very prevalent in their day-to-day lives... in various forms
- Black communities feel as though they are misunderstood and misrepresented
- Although adults of the same racial/ethnic group may express similar views on certain issues, opinions differ across socioeconomic and demographic variables like gender, age, and education
- We are seeing a distinct divide in political ideological patterns in Whites as compared to people of other races and ethnicities
- Overall, more data is necessary to examine the nuances in public opinion in the Black and Hispanic communities

An abstract geometric design on the left side of the slide. It features a solid blue vertical rectangle. To its right, a grey trapezoidal shape is partially visible. Overlapping these is a large blue chevron shape pointing to the right. The background of the entire slide is white.

Thank you.