Black Opposition to Progressive Racial Policies and the "Double (Non)Consciousness" Thesis[1]

Byron D'Andra Orey
Jackson State University

Athena M. King
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Leniece Titani-Smith
Jackson State University

Boris E. Ricks
California State University, Northridge

The current research tests Du Bois' "double consciousness" thesis by employing positive and negative measures of black racial attitudes. Most importantly perhaps is that this research employs a variable that has traditionally been used to measure white resentment toward blacks, which the first author has labeled as "black intra-group resentment." We hypothesize that respondents who possess high levels of intra-group resentment will be less likely to support progressive racial-policies. To the contrary, respondents who possess high levels of linked-fate and black affect will be more likely to support progressive racial-policies. The data consist of 379 African American respondents primarily from Historically Black Universities. Using regression analyses, the findings reveal that a strong positive racial-identity among blacks bolsters support for progressive policies. In contrast, black intra-group resentment is found to reduce support for such policies. We conclude that intra-group resentment serves as a constraint for positive racial-identity, and also deem it to be a valid measure of negative racial identity as espoused by some blacks.

INTRODUCTION

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others ... One ever feels this twoness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings (Du Bois, 1903, 45).

The relationship between black racial identity, political behavior and attitudes has been well documented. The racial solidarity demonstrated by many blacks (e.g., blacks voting Democratic) has been found to be a function of their shared history, in tandem with the economic subjugation faced by many of their group members (Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson, 1989; Tate, 1993; and Dawson, 1994). This phenomenon has conventionally become known as "linked" or "common" fate. Just as African Americans share a strong black identity, they also are found to possess a strong allegiance to their country. Therefore, on the one hand African Americans rally in support of group members to fight inequities and discrimination in the United States; on the other hand, blacks subscribe to the creed of individualism, which is a core value of American socioeconomic and political philosophy.

It is argued here that individualism acts as a constraint on collectivism, i.e., the apparent differences associated with being an African American and an American creates a natural ten-

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sion between collectivism and individualism—what Du Bois terms "double-consciousness" - a tension heightened by personal pressures to carve out an independent identity. According to Dawson (2001), such varying attitudes are expected given the contours and dimensions of black attitudes, and the fact that black racial-attitudes are not monolithic. Indeed, Allen, Dawson and Brown (1989) posit that the black mass belief system simultaneously contains positive racial-identity and consciousness, as well as negative stereotypes of blacks. While there has been much focus on the former, the latter has gone almost unrecognized in the race and politics subfield. In this article, we explore both positive and negative racial attitudes of blacks toward themselves and toward other blacks. Specifically, we apply racial resentment, a variable that has traditionally been applied to white racial attitudes, as a measure of negative racial attitudes and linked fate and black autonomy as indicators of positive racial-attitudes. Racial resentment has been defined as "the belief that blacks do not ascribe to the protestant work ethic of hard work in tandem with an anti-black affect" (Kinder and Sanders, 1996). Linked fate, on the other hand, is rooted in collectivism, whereby blacks believe that what happens to the group as a whole will have an impact on their individual life (Dawson, 1994; Tate, 1993; Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson, 1989). We are able to test the validity of this variable by examining its ability to predict attitudes toward progressive racial policies.

The above epigraph's mention of the "two strivings" speaks to the tension that exists regarding blacks' intra-racial attitudes. With the historic election of Barack Obama in 2008 as the first African American to serve as president of the United States, it may seem as though these tensions have at last been reconciled. To investigate Du Bois' (1903) "double consciousness" thesis, we examine black college-students' racial attitudes. Specifically, we apply linked-fate, black affect and intra-group resentment to test the double-consciousness thesis.

Du Bois' (1903, 45) point of "seeing oneself through the eyes of others" has arguably led to intra-group resentment on the part of blacks. Here, we argue that similar to the symbolic racism/racial resentment possessed by whites (Kinder and Sanders, 1996), individualistic attribution of inequality often sits at the center of intra-group resentment. For example, some blacks adopt a conservative position, which espouses the spirit of individualism and belief in "personal responsibility", e.g., blacks who identify as conservative tend to blame other blacks for their failure to get ahead; by doing so, they ignore structural barriers that impede the progress of blacks.

RACIAL IDENTITY AS A MULTIDIMENSIONAL CONSTRUCT

One of the problems addressed here concerns the dearth of research that grapples with individualistic attributions of racial inequality (i.e., blaming blacks for persisting racial inequalities) such as intra-group resentment. Save for the work of Allen, Dawson and Brown (1989), political science research on black political attitudes has focused almost exclusively on racial solidarity within the black community. In the sociological literature, Hunt (1996) argues that blacks, like most Americans, subscribe to individualistic attributions of responsibility. For example, when examining why some blacks do not get ahead in life, Hunt finds that a high percentage of blacks reply that blacks are responsible for their own failures. He also finds, in contrast, that blacks subscribe to a structuralist perspective (i.e., blaming the system) in explaining the poor conditions of some blacks. Hence, in sum, blacks possess a "double-consciousness" consisting of individualistic attributions and structuralist attributions of inequalities.

A misnomer about black nationalists and black conservatives is that the twain meets be-

cause of each groups' denouncement of some blacks' heavy reliance on the government. The black nationalist's perspective asserts that black people should rely less on the government to intercede on their behalf because the government may not deliver. Yet, nationalists do not dismiss the existence of structural barriers. Conversely, some black conservatives reject government interventions by ignoring structural barriers and pointing the finger primarily at blacks for persistent racial inequalities. At one level, our research seeks to understand the racial attitudes of black racial conservatives. Black racial conservatives are simply defined as blacks who express conservative attitudes on racially progressive or redistributive policies. By extension, this research seeks to determine if the intra-racial attitudes, as possessed by this racial-conservatives, are a function of low levels of racial identity and/or negative racial-attitudes expressed toward other blacks. According to Barker, Jones and Tate (1999), the black conservative position "dovetails quite nicely with the longstanding white supremacist notion that the unequal position of [b]lacks is due neither to racism nor to systemic economic conditions but to the inappropriate behavior of [b]lacks themselves" (99).

The internal conflict faced by many blacks in the daily struggle of being both American and African American has gone largely unacknowledged in political science research. Traditionally, the political science literature has measured African American group identification using items asking about feelings of closeness toward blacks (Allen, Dawson and Brown, 1989; Tate, 1993). Racial identification is a multidimensional construct; as such, a variety of labels have been applied to measure these various dimensions. These labels include: "linked" or "common fate" (Tate, 1993; Dawson, 1994), "black consciousness" (Gurin and Epps, 1975; Gurin, Miller and Gurin, 1980; Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson, 1989; Shingles, 1981; Reese and Brown, 1995), and "black nationalism"/"black autonomy"/ "racial solidarity" (Welch et al., 2001; Brown and Shaw, 2002; Davis and Brown, 2002; Dawson, 2001). The common denominator between all of these labels is the shared experiences and unique worldview possessed by blacks.

The focus on racial identity from the lens of racial collectivism paints an incomplete picture of Du Bois' double consciousness philosophy. While we are very familiar with the racial solidarity possessed by many blacks, we know very little about intra-group differences within the black community, and by extension, their strong allegiance to traditional American values prescribed by the dominant group (in this case whites). Jackman and Muha (1984) argue that the dominant group "routinely manufacture[s] an interpretation of reality and a set of normative prescriptions that serve their interests" (759). Based on this line of reasoning, the authors note that it is in the best interest of the dominant group to discourage group solidarity among minorities by placing emphasis on the rights of the individuals. The authors sum up their argument as follows:

> The rights of the individual are endorsed vehemently, as there is a systematic aversion to any representation of social problems in group terms. Society is cautioned against responding to the aggregate demands of categories of people because that would interfere with the inviolable rights of the individual—who must have free access to the ideas that interest him, to the job for which he is qualified, to the neighborhood that he can afford, and so on. By upholding individualism as a guiding principle in the empirical and normative interpre-

tation of social life, the rights of groups are thus rendered illegitimate
and unreasonable (Jackman and Muha, 1984, 460).

Here, the ultimate goal of the dominant group is to maintain the status quo without igniting conflict with the subordinate group. One means of accomplishing this goal is to co-opt blacks into accepting the status quo and blaming those blacks who fail to achieve (i.e., blaming the victim). Arguably, such thinking has led some black people to harbor negative attitudes toward members of their own group. Indeed, years ago Myrdal quotes Du Bois as stating: "The average Negro has also taken over something of the White American's attitude toward the Negro" (Myrdal, 1944, 1143). Not only have some blacks adopted white attitudes towards other blacks, Cathy Cohen (1999) discusses how the marginalized group regulates their own group members. In her study, Cohen employs the theory of marginalization to explain existing attitudinal cleavages within the black community, and moves beyond the dominant paradigm of studying race relations as a function of the dominant group's regulation of the marginal group, to a discussion of the marginal group's regulation of their own group members. She notes that white stereotypes of blacks "have great staying power" (43). As such, whether one subscribes to individualistic or structural factors is related to the strength of their own racial identity.

According to Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson (1989) (see also Allen, Dawson, and Brown, 1989), blacks who possess strong racial identities with other blacks are more likely to blame the government for the lack of progress in the black community, as opposed to blaming blacks themselves. In operationalizing one of three dimensions of black consciousness, these authors evaluate the legitimacy or illegitimacy of social inequities. To examine whether respondents reject the current social structure as legitimate or illegitimate, these authors offer two measures: individual attribution ("if black people don't do well in life, it is because they don't work hard enough to get ahead") and structural attribution ("they are kept back because of their race") (Gurin, et al., 1989, 83). When forced to select one of the choices, 62% of respondents subscribed to the structural attribution and 38% subscribed to the individual attribution. Further, a 2007 survey conducted by the Pew Research Center indicates that 53% of blacks and 71% of whites believe that "blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition."[2] Gurin et al., (1989) suggests that blacks who espouse individualistic attributions are atypical of blacks who advocate for black interests. Specifically, these blacks were more likely to disapprove of government intervention on behalf of blacks and were more accepting of the Republican Party, which led the authors to conclude that these attitudes are "congenial to a conservative ideology" (Gurin et al., 1989, 200).

The individualistic attributions of inequality found to exist among blacks are closely aligned with the negative racial attitudes possessed by whites who possess resentment toward blacks. Like some whites, some blacks reject structural barriers as a justification for racial inequalities - rather they believe (1) that other blacks could be better off if they only applied themselves (in terms of education and job advancement) and (2) that blacks rely heavily on welfare (and as such lack a strong work ethic). Using a "group consciousness model," Tesler and Sears (2010) found that "group-based racial attitudes are significantly associated with racial

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[2]Similarly, Parent (1985) finds that more than half of all whites, 59.1%, and almost half of all blacks, 46.5%, believe that many of the problems faced by blacks in this country are a function of their lack of will power and motivation. Parent's data also reveal that approximately 53.7% of blacks, compared to roughly 78.1% of whites, agree that many of the problems that confront blacks are brought on by blacks themselves.

resentment among African Americans," and that "responses to racial resentment are largely a function of negative attitudes toward their racial in-group combined with weak in-group consciousness, rather than with traditional conservative values" (100-101). The current research applies intra-group resentment as a plausible dimension of black racial identity. This concept is borrowed directly from the research on negative white inter-racial attitudes (Kinder and Sanders, 1996; Knuckey and Orey, 2000; and Orey, 2001).

HYPOTHESES

In this analysis, we examine three racial policy positions: support for racial policies, support for reparations and support for welfare. All three positions are considered to be progressive. Orey and Larimer (2008) define progressive policies as those policies that seek to ameliorate inequalities along the line of race, gender and age. The hypotheses are stated formally as:

H_1: An increase in positive racial identity will lead to a decrease in intra-group resentment.
H_2: An increase in positive racial identity will lead to an increase in support for racially progressive policies.
H_3: An increase in negative racial attitudes will lead to a decrease in support for racially progressive policies.

DATA AND METHODS

A convenience sample of 379 black college students from various universities across the United States participated in an Internet-administered study. Data collection commenced on the eve of the 2008 presidential election and continued through June 2009. The majority of respondents are primarily from Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) located in the Deep South. Females represent 59% of the sample, compared to 41% males. Because we are interested in determining black perceptions of other blacks (regarding in-group resentment and feelings of racial closeness), whites and other minority groups were purposefully excluded from the sample.

Dependent Variables

We investigate three dependent variables: support for racial policies, support for slavery reparations, and support for welfare. While racial policies are specifically designed to benefit African Americans, welfare is not race-specific. However, the work of scholars such as Gilens (1995) clearly reveals that the negative evaluations of the policy are directly related to the negative stereotypes associated with blacks; even President Obama has been the subject of negative stereotyping and accused of encouraging a governmental policy agenda which favors blacks despite the fact that his policy initiatives cut across racial lines. There is one note to make regarding reparations: to be sure, one might argue that whites and others can benefit from supporting and implementing slavery reparations in the sense that blacks will invariably spend a portion of the funds received on goods and services in businesses that are owned by and/or employ non-blacks. For the purposes here, however, we believe that the position of blacks regarding reparations is based on the Black Nationalist belief that the government is responsible for the current condition of blacks, primarily due to slavery. Moreover, the belief is that many white-owned corporations benefited from chattel slavery and thus should share some of its

wealth with the descendants of slaves.

The racial policies variable is operationalized based on a two-item summary scale of support for racial policies and government aid to blacks. This variable was recoded to range from 0 to 1 whereby zero (0) represents strong opposition to both policies and one (1) strong support for both (see question wording in the *Appendix*). Responses to the slavery reparations question[3] were given on a 4-point scale ranging from strong opposition to strong support (also recoded to range from zero to one).[4] Support for welfare is measured using one item ranging from 0-100, where 0 represents spending less on welfare and 100 represents spending more.

Independent Variables

Our focus here is on negative and positive dimensions of racial identity. We first turn to blacks' negative attitudes toward the group. In the current analysis, intra-group resentment serves as an antecedent and intervening variable in our attempt to understand black racial-attitudes toward progressive racial-policies. In other words, we first examine the determinants of this variable and then we examine it as an independent variable. To operationalize intra-group resentment, we turn to the literature on white racial-attitudes. The four items typically used to tap white racial resentment can also be assessed within the context of attributions of inequality. Thus, we are interested in understanding those blacks who reject structural barriers for the inequalities that persists between blacks and whites in this country as well as the self-blame/individualistic attributions which blame blacks for such inequalities. We use the following four Likert items to measure intra-group resentment[5]: "Over the past few years, [b]lacks have gotten less than they deserve" (reverse coded); "generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for [b]lacks to work their way out of the lower class" (reverse coded); "Irish, Italians, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favors"; and "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if [b]lacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites." The reliability coefficient was computed using Cronbach's alpha, yielding a score of .48.

Linked fate is operationalized based on a single Likert-item: "Do you think what happens generally to [b]lack people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?" [b]lack affect is measured as a thermometer rating ranging from 0-100, whereby a score of 0 represents cold feelings toward blacks, 50 represents a neutral position toward blacks and a score of 100 represents warm feelings toward blacks. Each of the regressions also control for ideology, egalitarianism, and social dominance. Indeed, in research on white racial-attitudes, Sniderman and Piazza (1993) argue that white opposition to racial policies is not due to resentment towards blacks *per se*, but is rather a conflation of traditional values and

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[3]Wording of the reparations question was experimentally varied (compare Craemer, 2009) to distinguish different potential *providers* (government, businesses that benefited from slavery, heirs of slave estates, white heirs of slave estate, and whites), *recipients* (descendants of slaves, black descendants of slaves, or blacks), and *modalities* (formal apologies, educational programs, or cash payments). Wording examples are provided in the appendix. For the purpose of our analyses the experimental wording alternatives were combined.

[4]Since this item represents an ordinal scale, the analysis was replicated using ordered logit. Results were similar at somewhat attenuated levels of statistical significance (results not shown). Table 1 provides OLS coefficients to facilitate comparability across models.

[5]The first author has published two articles conceptualizing the use of the symbolic racism measures to be applied to blacks (Orey, 2004 and Orey, 2003).

ideology with "the importance people attach to authority as a value" (61). To make regression coefficients comparable, all independent variables and controls were coded to range from zero (meaning the minimum possible value) to one (meaning the maximum possible value). Both positive and negative racial attitude composites were scored such that higher numbers indicate stronger group identity and affect and greater resentment, respectively.

RESULTS

First, we examine the descriptive statistics, starting with our dependent variable, followed by our independent variables and controls. First, we examine the descriptive statistics, starting with our dependent variable, followed by our independent variables and controls. According to Table 1, the average respondent scored almost .60 on a scale of 0-1, in support for racial policies and .68 on the reparations scale, followed by a mean of 55 (out of 100) on the welfare thermometer.

TABLE 1
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF DEPENDENT,
INDEPENDENT, AND CONTROL VARIABLES

	Mean	S.D.
Dependent Variables		
Racial policies	0.59	0.22
Reparations	0.68	0.34
Welfare Thermometer	55.00	27.00
Independent Variables		
Intra-group Resentment	0.41	0.20
Black Thermometer	82.19	23.78
Linked Fate	0.72	0.30
Control Variables		
Ideology (Conservative high)	0.40	0.29
Egalitarianism	0.39	0.35
Social Dominance	0.26	0.24

Turning to the independent variables and controls, as expected, blacks possess high levels of racial identity, averaging .72 on the linked fate item and 82 on the black affect/feeling thermometer. As it relates to the intra-group resentment scale, the mean black score is .41, suggesting a moderate level of racial liberalism. For the controls, blacks also tend to lean in the liberal direction in terms of non-racial political ideology, averaging roughly .40 on the traditional liberal-to-conservative scale (recoded to range from 0 to 1). For both egalitarianism and social dominance, they average .39 and .26, respectively.

The results based on our regression models appear in Table 2. According to our first model, *Model A*, respondents who possess high levels of linked fate prove to be less likely to possess intra-group resentment. The black thermometer coefficient, however, failed to achieve statistical significance. Additionally, egalitarianism is negatively associated with resentment and respondents who possessed high levels of social dominance were found to have a positive impact on intra-group resentment toward other blacks.

TABLE 2
AFRICAN AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD RACIAL POLICIES (OLS REGRESSION)

Variables	Model A Intra-group Resentment	Model B Support for Racial policies	Model C Support for Reparations	Model D Support for Welfare
Intra-group Resentment		-0.476***	-0.211**	-19.166**
		(0.060)	(0.100)	(7.683)
Black Thermometer	-0.0007	0.001***	0.001*	0.051
	(0.0004)	(0.0003)	(0.0007)	(0.068)
Ideology (Conservative high)	0.050	-0.010	-0.110*	-9.409*
	(0.033)	(0.036)	(0.063)	(5.250)
Social Dominance	0.140***	0.010	-0.095	3.963
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.074)	(6.110)
Linked Fate	-0.120***	0.060	0.100	6.908
	(0.033)	(0.038)	(0.064)	(4.853)
Egalitarianism	-0.100***	-0.030	-0.120**	0.129
	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.052)	(4.010)
Constant	0.540***	0.659***	0.160	56.394**
	(0.045)	(0.057)	(0.096)	(8.278)
N	379	379	379	379
Adjusted R²	0.13	0.22	0.05	0.04

Note: *p<.10; **p<.05; ***p<.01
(Robust standard errors in parentheses)

To test the validity of the intra-group resentment variable, we employ it as an independent variable to help explain black support for progressive policies relevant to African Americans. The results in *Model B* support the hypothesis that an increase in intra-group resentment leads to a decrease in support for racial policies. The coefficient can be further interpreted as a change from the lowest end of the intra-group resentment scale to the highest end of the scale, resulting in a 48 point decrease in support for racial policies; in other words, moving from lowest to highest in intra-group resentment decreased support for racial policies by almost half of the scale's range. Among the positive black-identity variables, only the black affect (thermometer) coefficient achieves significance. The findings also reveal that those blacks who feel warm toward other blacks possess stronger support for racial policies as opposed to those blacks who feel cold toward other blacks. Based on the table, a change from feeling cold toward blacks (a score of 0) to feeling very warm toward blacks (a score of 100) results in almost a 10 point increase in support for racial policies.

In *Model C*, we examine black support for reparations. The results reveal that blacks who possess intra-group resentment are significantly less likely to support reparations. The black affect (thermometer) coefficient is also significant, indicating that those blacks who possess a strong affection toward other blacks are more likely to support reparation policy. Despite being in the posited direction, the linked-fate coefficient fails to achieve significance. Other variables achieving significance include two of the model's controls, egalitarianism and ideology.

Finally, the results in *Model D* provide further support for the validity of the intra-group

resentment variable as applied to blacks. Based on the findings, a full one-unit change in the intra-group resentment variable - that is, a change from scoring zero to scoring one—results in roughly a 19 point decrease in support for welfare. The only other coefficient to achieve statistical significance is ideology. Based on the results, a change from extremely liberal (0) to extremely conservative (1) results in a 10 point decline in affect toward welfare.

The above findings reveal that an increase in intra-group resentment on the part of blacks leads to a decrease in support for racial policies, reparations and welfare. Intra-group resentment accounts for almost half of the scale measuring racial policies. Among the positive racial-attitudes, linked fate failed to achieve significance in any of the models. Black affect (thermometer), however, was significant in explaining two out of three of the models. When focusing on the negative end of the thermometer scale for black affect, we can make inferences that blacks who possess resentful attitudes toward other blacks and who also have disaffection toward blacks, tend to disfavor policies designed to remediate discrimination along the lines of race. In their view, blacks are at fault for the poor condition they find themselves in, both as a group and individually and therefore are undeserving of any type of government support.

CONCLUSION

The preponderance of research in the area of race and politics has ignored the existence of negative racial-attitudes among blacks. Here, we employed both positive and negative attitudinal measures to empirically test the 'double consciousness' thesis, articulated by Du Bois. Linked fate and black affect were employed to examine positive racial-attitudes and intra-group resentment was used to measure negative racial-attitudes.

First, we examined the determinants of black intra-group resentment. Based on previous research, we are very familiar with the impact of positive racial-attitudes, but we know less about negative racial-attitudes. The results reveal that resentment among blacks is constrained by linked fate. Hence, while blacks may possess some resentment toward other blacks, this resentment is attenuated by their collective identity.

Secondly, we test the validity of the resentment variable, as applied to blacks by examining three dependent variables: support for racial policies, support for slavery reparations and support for welfare. Based on our findings, intra-group resentment proved to be significant in explaining all three policies. These findings support our position that the resentment variable typically applied to whites also serves as a valid measure when applied to blacks However, because our data are restricted and are not random, we cannot make generalizations beyond the data used in this analysis.

By solely blaming blacks for the racial inequalities in America, blacks adopt a conservative position that ignores the structural and historical barriers that impede the progress of the group (e.g., poor schools and discrimination). As such, blacks who adopt such a position are more likely to believe barriers preventing equality of opportunity (i.e., the notion that the government has effectively removed barriers of discrimination) have been removed and thus factors related to inequality are no longer an issue. They also reject the notions of "equality of condition" (i.e., policies that seek to reduce or eliminate the effects of past discrimination, such as redistribution of income) and "equality of result" (i.e., standard beyond "equality of condition" that requires policies such as racial policies to ameliorate socioeconomic disparities and place some people on an equal footing with others). In the eyes of black conservatives, it is not the job of the government to provide any additional policies to level the playing field; normatively

speaking, it is incumbent upon the individual to pursue socioeconomic success on his or her own terms, without governmental intervention beyond removal of the most "basic" of barriers (i.e., *de jure* and *de facto* segregation). The results of our research suggest that such attitudes are rooted in blacks' acrimonious perception of other blacks - particularly, (1) those who blame blacks directly for being unable (or unwilling) to navigate the vicissitudes of life and thus have failed to achieve significant socioeconomic accomplishments, and (2) failure to establish (or sustain) affirmative attitudes towards blacks as a whole.

But how does this perspective reflect the notion of "double consciousness"? Arguably, blacks who identify strongly with other blacks and are supportive of progressive policies see themselves as both members of American society and members of a racial group that has systematically been rejected in terms of racial valorization for hundreds of years, despite public policy and public/private measures undertaken to abrogate lower racial positioning. At the same time, blacks who identify as conservative see themselves as individuals who are not "like" many members of their racial group; these individuals have transcended (or seek to overcome) the pejorative connotations of what it means to be "black" in America, and use socioeconomic achievement as a measure of transcendence. While they may be mindful of the history of blacks in the United States, and continue without hesitation to identify as black, they lack empathy towards the "collective struggle" and do not possess the same feeling of "linked fate." Overall, black people in America – regardless of political ideology or sense of connection with other blacks – are acutely aware of this notion of "double consciousness," even if they are unable to articulate it. The social, political, economic and historical forces that have shaped black racial-development in this country have been internalized by most of the group; however, the degree to which blacks respond to these forces - using them to seek recompense for the group, or creating distance from them by negating the past with current socioeconomic success – is as varied as the contours and dimensions of black attitudes. It is anticipated that this research will shed additional light on these variances, and contribute to the existing literature that examines this phenomenon. Perhaps, the research here will increase dialogue among those interested in explaining the attitudes and behavior of black racial-conservatives.

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APPENDIX

Dependent Variables

RACIAL POLICIES

Because of past discrimination, minorities should be given special consideration when decisions are made about hiring applicants for jobs - do you ...?

1) Strongly agree
2) Somewhat agree
3) Somewhat disagree
4) Strongly disagree

The government should not make any special effort to help Blacks and other minorities because they should help themselves - do you ...?

1) Strongly agree
2) Somewhat agree
3) Somewhat disagree
4) Strongly disagree

WELFARE

Suppose you had a say in making up the federal budget, on a scale of 0 to 100, would you prefer to see more spent, less spent or the same amount of money spent on welfare?

Please enter a number between 0 and 100 whereby 0 means 'less spent,' 100 means 'more spent,' and 50 means 'about the same.'

SUPPORT FOR SLAVERY REPARATIONS

The question on slavery reparations was part of a larger experimental study (compare Craemer 2009a; 2009b) which investigated the impact of mentioning different providers ("the United States government"; "corporations who profited from slavery"; "[White] people who received inheritances that were a result of slave labor", or "whites"), different recipients ("descendants of slaves"; "Black descendants of slaves"; or "Blacks"), and different modalities ("apologize"; "offer educational opportunities"; "pay compensation"). Three wording examples are provided below. Each respondent only received one single question on reparations. For the purpose of the analyses in this paper all question wording conditions were collapsed.

Wording example 1: "Do you think that the *United States government* should, or should not, *apologize/offer educational opportunities/pay compensation* to the *descendants of slaves/Black descendants of slaves* because the government allowed slavery prior to the Civil War?"

Wording example 2: "Do you think that *corporations who benefited from slavery in the United States/ [white] people who received inheritances that were a result of slave labor* should, or should

not, *apologize/offer educational opportunities/pay compensation* to the *descendants of slaves/Black descendants of slaves* as a compensation for profiting from their ancestors' unpaid wages?"

Wording example 3: "Do you think that *whites* should, or should not, *apologize/offer educational opportunities/pay compensation* to *Blacks* for slavery prior to the Civil War?"

(PROBE) "Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?" Answers Coded: "Strongly should Support"; (1) "Somewhat should" (0.67); "Somewhat should not" (0.33); "Strongly should not" (0).

Independent Variables

Negative Racial Attitudes

INTRA-GROUP RESENTMENT ITEMS

<Question R1_IrishItalians> [Reversed coded]
'Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.'

1) Agree strongly
2) Agree somewhat
3) Neither agree nor disagree
4) Disagree somewhat
5) Disagree strongly

<Question R2_LessDeserve>
'Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve.'

1) Agree strongly
2) Agree somewhat
3) Neither agree nor disagree
4) Disagree somewhat
5) Disagree strongly

<Question R3_TryHarder> [reverse coded]
'It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.'

1) Agree strongly
2) Agree somewhat
3) Neither agree nor disagree
4) Disagree somewhat
5) Disagree strongly

<Question R4_SlaveryDiscrimination>
'Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class.'

1) Agree strongly
2) Agree somewhat
3) Neither agree nor disagree
4) Disagree somewhat
5) Disagree strongly

Positive Racial Attitudes

Linked Fate (Reverse Coded)
Do you think what happens generally to Blacks in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

1) A lot
2) Something
3) Not very much
4) Nothing

BLACK THERMOMETER

Thermometer Instructions
We would like to get your feelings toward some groups on something called the feeling thermometer. A rating of 0 degrees means that you feel very cold toward the group and a rating of 100 that you feel very warm toward it. A rating of 50 degrees means that you feel neither warm nor cold toward the group.
On a scale from very cold (0) to very warm (100), how cold or warm do you feel about African-Americans?

Controls

Egalitarianism
'Some people are just better cut out than others for important positions in society.'

1) Agree strongly
2) Agree somewhat
3) Neither agree nor disagree
4) Disagree somewhat
5) Disagree strongly

Ideology

When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as ...?

1) extremely liberal
2) liberal
3) slightly liberal
4) moderate or middle of the road
5) slightly conservative
6) conservative
7) very conservative
8) I haven't thought much about this

Social Dominance

We would like to know how you feel about a number of statements. If you feel very positive about a statement, that is you strongly agree with it, click on 1. However, if you feel very negative about it, that is you strongly disagree with it, click on 7. If you feel neutral, that is you neither agree nor disagree press 4. Of course you can click on any number in between.

Questions:
How positive or negative are your feelings about this statement:
'Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.'
How positive or negative are your feelings about this statement:
'It would be good if groups could be equal.'