

# How Has Stagnation in the Racial Progress of Blacks Been Reflected in the Attitudes of Whites and Blacks in the U. S. Since the Early 1970s?

By

Gabriella Costantini, Jocelyn Jolon Gamez, and Roger Clark

## Abstract

We examine some of the changes in attitudes of blacks and whites in the U.S. since 1972. We do this in response to Putnam and Garrett's (2020a, 2020b) contention that much of the progress that blacks achieved in the first part of the twentieth century has stalled, or reversed itself, since then. We use General Social Survey data to find out whether black attitudes towards education, their financial situation, their jobs, the courts, their health and life in general have also stalled, at least in comparison with what has happened among white counterparts. As Putnam and Garrett might have expected, we found little relative improvement in black attitudes towards education, their finances and jobs; and that there has actually been a relative decrease in their sense that courts are fair. On the other hand, we found that their sense of personal health and happiness has improved at least as compared to whites' perception. We interpret our findings.

**Key terms:** racial inequality, stalled racial progress, fairness of courts, feelings about health and happiness

## Introduction

Robert Putnam and Shaylyn Garrett-- first in their provocative book *The Upswing* (2020a), then in a *New York Times* editorial "Why Did Racial Progress Stall in America" (2020b), offer the striking observation that, contrary to popular belief that there was no measurable progress towards racial equality before the civil rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s, there was actually a great deal of progress in the twentieth century before the 1960s . . . and that there has been precious little since. They show that blacks were moving towards equality in education *before* Brown vs. the Board of Education in 1954, towards voting equality *before* the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and towards income equality *before* the Civil Rights Act of 1964. They argue that much of the subsequent flattening, if not reversal, of the trends towards racial equality that occurred in the first 60 or 70 years of the twentieth century, can be explained in terms of deep-seated change from a communitarian (a We-oriented) society to an individualistic (an I-oriented) one. Their data, and reasoning, are so persuasive that one is inclined to say that the case is closed: that there

has been *virtually no progress* towards racial equality since the 1960s and that former President Obama's wins in 2008 and 2012 were mere aberrations.

In this article, we analyze data primarily from a source Putnam and Garrett *did not use*: the General Social Survey. Our objective is to discover the extent to which the trends Putnam and Garrett point out are reflected in data about attitudes. The General Social Survey provides researchers with data from 1972, about the time Putnam and Garrett suggest the flattening or reversal away from racial equality began, to 2018. These data permit us to examine and compare the attitudes of blacks and whites towards education, financial well-being, job satisfaction, the justice system, health, and life in general. We begin by laying out some expectations and/or questions based our review of the literature.

## Literature Review *Confidence in Education*

Enslaved African Americans valued education even as, and maybe because, southern states passed laws that prescribed stiff punishments for a slave who could read.

Slaves taught one another to read and achieved a literacy rate of 5 to 10 percent by the time of the Civil War (Fairclough 2001:4; Kenschaft & Clark 2016: 206). After the Civil War, a huge wave of educational expansion occurred as African Americans saw education as a key to their advancement (Anderson 1988:17-18). We expect that this enthusiasm for education partially accounts for the great diminution in the difference in educational achievement between whites and blacks that Putnam and Garrett (2000a) found occurring between 1940 and 1975. We also expect, then, that confidence in education among blacks will have been generally higher than it was for whites in the 1970s, the decade when the General Social Surveys (GSS) began. We are not sure whether this gap would have increased, decreased or remained about the same between 1972 and 2018. We imagine that the answer to this question will depend, in part, on whether successive black and white subsamples of the GSS will have experienced progress, regress, or stasis in terms of their pursuit of high school and college educations.

### ***Financial and Job Satisfaction***

Previous authors have shown that blacks enjoy less job satisfaction and, one would presume, less financial satisfaction than whites do (e.g., Cuker *et al.* 2010), but Putnam and Garrett's focus is on change over time. Putnam and Garrett (2008a:211) report that after 40 years of decreasing racial inequality in income, due in large measure to the mass exodus of blacks from the South between 1940 and 1980, there was a distinct flattening of progress in income since then. Therefore, we expect to find almost no change in the comparative financial and job satisfaction of whites and blacks during the period covered by the GSS (1972-2018).

### ***Concerns about the Justice System***

Putnam and Garrett (2020a) argue that one area in which there has *not* been a reversal of the positive trends that had existed before the 1970s is in incarceration. In fact, they argue that the black/white incarceration ratio has grown pretty much uniformly since the 1920s (Putnam and Garrett, 2020a: 220-221). Our view is only slightly different: we would suggest that the incarceration picture has gotten *even more dismal since the 1980s* for blacks, compared to whites, than one might have expected based upon previous trends.

The War on Drugs began in earnest in 1984, when then President Ronald Reagan signed the Comprehensive

Control Act. This Act not only expanded penalties for marijuana possession and established a federal system of mandatory minimum sentencing, but also led to a nearly 12-fold increase in federal funding for the annual budget of the FBI's drug enforcement unit between 1980 and 1984 (Beckett 1997: 52-53). After 1984, blacks experienced an even greater chance than whites of being imprisoned than they had in the decades immediately preceding the 1980s. A 2011 survey showed blacks were less likely to use a wide variety of illegal drugs (and half as likely to use cocaine) as whites' however, blacks were much more likely than whites to be serving time in prison for drug-related crimes (Knafo 2013). By 2010, 1 in 15 black men were in prison as compared to 1 in 106 white men. By 2010, 1 in 9 black men aged 20 to 34 were behind bars. We speculate that the huge relative burden of incarceration borne by blacks will have taken a larger relative toll on their perception of the courts, leading to an increasing difference between blacks' view, and that of whites, that the courts were too harsh after the 1980s.

### ***Personal Estimate of Health***

Putnam and Garrett (2020a) report a large drop in the difference between white and black life expectancy between 1900 and 1950. They are somewhat unclear about the reasons for this drop, but attribute it, in part, to a relative decline in black maternal and infant mortality. Putnam and Garrett note a distinct leveling off in the drop in the racial differences on this variable between 1950 and 2000; but they do admit that the drop in the difference between white and black life expectancy picked up again in the last 20 years. They, and other authors, have attributed this trend to an increase in suicides and other "deaths of despair" primarily among working class whites. Why blacks have *not* suffered a similar increase in suicides remains something of a mystery. One hypothesis is that blacks have been more involved than whites in faith communities that may help protect them against despair. The belief among blacks that everyone suffers troubles and hardship may result in relatively low expectations (Frakt 2020).

In any case, we anticipate that the recent decline in the difference between white and black life expectancies may have engendered relative gains for blacks in their belief that they have good to excellent health.

### ***Happiness***

Cobb et al. (2020) find that blacks tend to be happier if they have decent incomes and, as we, in **Figure 2**

below, and Putnam and Garrett (2020a) have shown, their incomes have risen, quite modestly, in comparison with whites' incomes. (See Figure 2.) More importantly, perhaps, meta-analyses (e.g., Okun, Stock and Haring, 1984) have shown that people with good physical health are happier than people who do not perceive that they have good health. Furthermore, they find that people who have religious connections are happier too. We did a brief check on Frakt's (2020) inference that blacks have retained stronger religious connections than whites.

A GSS survey in 1980 found that 63.4% of blacks said that religion was very important to them, while only 43.6% of whites said this was true (Smith et al. 2019). The GSS *never* asked this question again. However, in 2014, the PEW Research Center did and found that 75% of blacks said that religion was very important to them, while only 49% of whites did (PEW Research Center, 2014). The change in the percentages (11.6% for blacks and 5.4% for whites) suggest that, if religious connections do in fact enhance perceptions of personal happiness, then blacks might have made inroads in the happiness gap over time for this reason as well.

Thus, the fact that that blacks believe they have made gains in relative health, are more likely to have maintained or increased religious connections, and made slight gains in relative income could mean that the overall happiness reported by blacks may have also increased compared to that reported by whites.

## Methods

The theoretical framework offered by Putnam and Garrett (2020a, 2020b) suggests that, on any number of dimensions, racial inequality will have stagnated or not improved much in the last fifty years. We will be testing whether this stagnation is reflected in the attitudes held by whites and blacks over that time frame. Gaining insight into this question requires data about variables of concern over time. In this research, we employ trend data from the General Social Survey. It should be noted that trend data *can not* tell us how the attitudes of particular individuals change (as panel data can). What they do offer is a picture of how aggregated attitudes of populations change over time.

Our attitudinal data are from the National Opinion Research Center's 28 iterations of the General Social Survey between 1972 and 2018 (see Smith et al., 2019). For simplicity's sake, we have agglomerated data for each of the 5 decades since the GSS began—the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2000s, and 2010s—on six questions asked in each of the 28 survey years and measured differences in

the attitudes expressed by white and black respondents for each of these decades. These questions ask about respondents' 1) confidence in education, 2) satisfaction with their financial condition, 3) satisfaction with their jobs, 4) view of the court system, 5) estimate of their own health, and 6) overall happiness. We focus on comparing the percentages of whites and blacks who say 1) they have great confidence in education, 2) they are satisfied with their financial condition, 3) they are satisfied with their jobs, 4) they think the courts are too harsh, 5) they think their health is either good or excellent, and 6) they are very happy.

## Findings

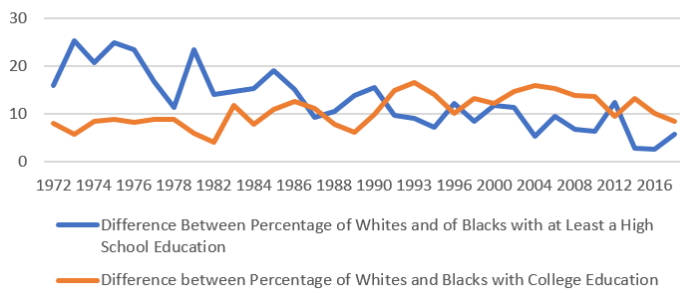
We deal with each of our research questions and/or hypotheses in turn.

### *Confidence in Education*

We were not sure about the effect of educational changes since 1970 on the relative confidence of whites and blacks in education. Putnam and Garrett (2020a) show that, between 1970 and 2018, the ratio between the high school completion rates of blacks and whites increased slightly while the ratio between college completion rates changed very little. Our **Figure 1**, based on the percentage of GSS respondents saying they had completed high school and college in each of the 28 reporting years from 1972 to 2018, shows much the same: that the difference in the percentage of whites and blacks who completed high school had been almost halved (from about a 16-percentage point difference in 1972 to a roughly 8-percentage point difference in 2018). **Figure 1** also shows almost no change in the difference in the percentage of white and blacks completing college over the period, however. In 1972, there was an 8.1 point difference; in 2018, an 8.4 point difference. (See Figure 1.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Because of space limitations, not every reporting year gets a number at the bottom of a figure. Thus, 2008, 2012 and 2016 get labels in Figure 1, but 2006, 2010, 2014 and 2018 do not.

Figure 1. Differences Between The Percentages of Whites and Blacks Saying They'd Completed High School and College



Source: Smith et al., 2019

What did this do to the relative confidence in education claimed by blacks and whites? **Table 1** addresses this question. Thus, in the 1970s, 48.5% of black respondents said they had great confidence in education, while only 36.4% of whites did. Confidence in education declined for both groups, as it did for most U.S. institutions over the five decades, but blacks retained substantially greater confidence than whites. In the 2010s, 37.7% of blacks claimed to have great confidence in education, while only 22.2% of whites did. (See Table 1.)

**Table 1. Percentage of Whites and Blacks Holding Great Confidence in Education, and the Difference in the Percentages, by Decade**

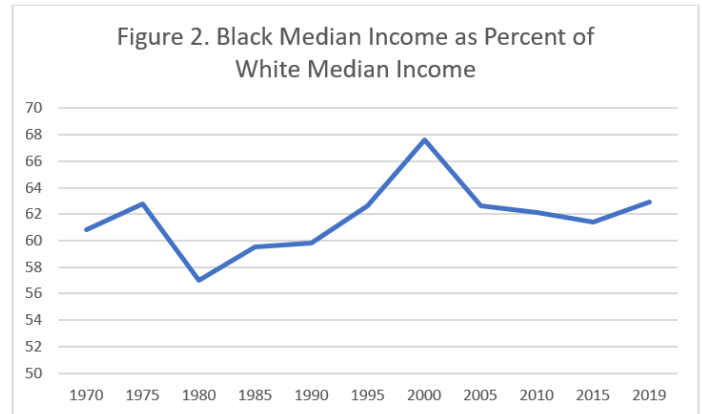
Decade	Race		% Difference
	Whites	Blacks	
<i> Holding Great Confidence in Education </i>			
1970s	36.4	48.5	12.1
1980s	29.4	39.8	10.4
1990s	23.9	35.6	11.7
2000s	25.5	37.2	11.7
2010s	22.2	35.7	13.5

Source: Smith et al, 2019

**Financial and Job Satisfaction**

Putnam and Garrett (2020a) present data suggesting there had been essentially no diminution of income equality between whites and blacks in the last half

century. Bureau of the Census data, which we present in **Figure 2**, supports this contention. It shows, for instance, that the median income for blacks was 60.8% of the median income for whites in 1970, while the corresponding figure in 2019 was 62.9%. (See Figure 2.) A small rise indeed.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Historical Income Tables, 2020, Table H-5, in 2019 dollars.

**Table 2** shows that there *was not* a drastic change in the differences between whites' and blacks' satisfaction with their financial situations or jobs either. Thus, while the difference in the percentage of whites and blacks saying they were satisfied with their financial situation was 11.4% in the 1970s, it was still fully 10.8% in the 2010s. (See Table 2.)

Although, the difference in the percentage of whites and blacks who said they were satisfied with their jobs was 12.7% in the 1970s, it was 8.8% in the 2010s. (See Table 3.) Obviously, the decrease in the difference was slightly greater for satisfaction with jobs than with financial situation, but neither is completely unexpected in light of Putnam and Garrett's demonstration of little change in racial income inequality.

**Table 2. Percentage of Whites and Blacks Having Satisfaction with Their Financial Situation, and the Difference in the Percentages, by Decade**

Decade	Race		% Difference
	Whites	Blacks	
<i>Satisfied with Their Financial Situation</i>			
1970s	33.7	22.3	11.4
1980s	30.9	18.2	12.7
1990s	30.7	19.5	11.2
2000s	33.7	18.0	15.7
2010s	30.1	19.3	10.8

Source: Smith et al, 2019

**Table 3. Percentage of Whites and Blacks Expressing Satisfaction with Their Jobs, and the Difference in the Percentages, by Decade**

Decade	Race		% Difference
	Whites	Blacks	
<i>Satisfaction with Their Jobs</i>			
1970s	50.9	38.2	12.7
1980s	48.1	39.2	8.9
1990s	47.7	35.8	11.9
2000s	51.9	40.4	11.5
2010s	51.5	42.7	8.8

Source: Smith et al, 2019

**Think the Courts are Too Harsh**

Did the legislative enactment of the War on Drugs in 1984 and the subsequent imprisonment of disproportionately greater number of blacks affect blacks’ attitudes towards the courts differently for whites and blacks? **Table 4** suggests that they did. Thus, in the 1970s blacks were 10.9% more likely than whites to say the courts were too harsh (14.3% of blacks said this while only 3.4% of whites did so). The percentage of both whites and blacks seeing the courts were too harsh dropped in the 1980s (2.6% and 8.7%, respectively), as did the difference (6.1%). But the percentages and the differences rose over the next three decades, very likely as the effects of the legislation and imprisonment were observed. In the 2010s, the percentage of both whites and blacks who thought the courts were too harsh had dramatically increased (to 14.2% and 33.9%, respectively), and the difference (19.7%) was now more

than three times what it was in the 1980s and almost two times what it was in the 1970s. (See Table 4.)

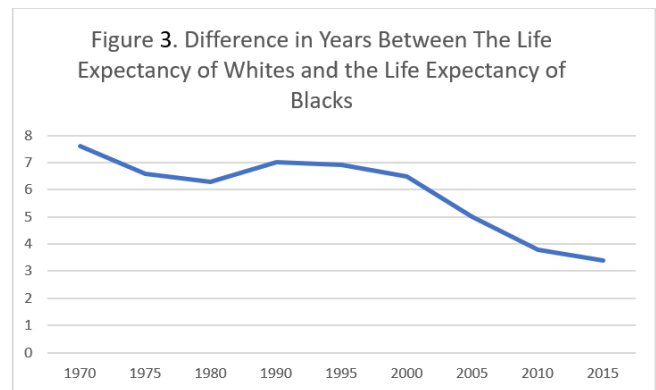
**Personal Estimate of Health**

Putnam and Garrett (2020a) suggest that blacks, while still not enjoying the life expectancy of whites, did make some gains in the last 20 years, even though they experienced very little relative progress in the previous 50 years. We used data from the Centers for Disease Control (2017) to support this contention, graphically, displayed in **Figure 3**. This figure shows that the difference between the life expectancies of whites and blacks declined by almost half (from 6.5 years to 3.4 years) between 2000 and 2015. (See Figure 3.)

**Table 4. Change in Racial Attitudes towards the Courts Over Five Decades: Percentage of Whites and Blacks That Think Courts Are Too Harsh and the Difference Between Races, in Percentages**

Decade	Race		% Difference
	Whites	Blacks	
<i>Think Courts Are Too Harsh</i>			
1970s	3.4	14.3	10.9
1980s	2.6	8.7	6.1
1990s	3.2	11.3	8.1
2000s	7.2	19.7	12.5
2010s	14.2	33.9	19.7

Source: Smith et al, 2019



Source: Centers for Disease Control, 2017

It is legitimate, however, to ask whether this difference in lived experience had any effect on the perception that whites and blacks have of their health. Turning to **Table 5**, we can see that it did. During the 1970s, there was

a 14% difference in the percentage of whites (75.3%) and blacks (61.3%) who rated their health as either good or excellent. This difference had dropped pretty substantially (to 10.5%) in the 2000s, when 79.2% of whites said they had either good or excellent health and 68.7% of blacks did so. But this decline was dwarfed by the decline in the difference that occurred between the 2000s and the 2010s, when the difference reached 3.6 years. The reader will note that more of the latter decline is accounted for by a drop of whites' perception of their health (almost a 5 percent drop—from 79.2 percent who thought they were in good or excellent health to 74.3%) than by an increase in blacks' perception of theirs—a 2 percent rise from 68.7% to 70.7%). (See Table 5.) It is very plausible that those things that were causing working-class whites to take their own lives (through suicides and other deaths of despair) have been the real reasons for the recent decrease in the difference between white and black life expectancy.

**Happiness**

Now we will examine what happened to the percentage of respondents who said they were “very happy” by race. **Table 6** shows that whites claimed an overall decrease in happiness, averaging an overall loss of 4.1% loss between the 1970s and 2010s in the number who said they were very happy. Blacks show a 3.7% increase in the percentage saying they were very happy in the same period. This resulted in the racial gap diminishing by 7.9% (from 14% to 6.1%), less than half what it was in the 1970s. (See Table 6.)

**Table 5. Change in Attitudes Towards Health of Whites and Blacks Over Five Decades: Percentage of Whites and Blacks Who Believe They Are in Good or Excellent Health and the Difference Between the Races, in Percentages**

Decade	Race		% Difference
	Whites	Blacks	
<i>Believe They are in Good or Excellent Health</i>			
1970s	75.3	61.3	14.0
1980s	78.1	69.2	8.9
1990s	79.2	66.7	12.5
2000s	79.2	68.7	10.5
2010s	74.3	70.7	3.6

Source: Smith et al, 2019

**CONCLUSION**

Putnam and Garrett (2020a and 2020b) argue that there are many important arenas of American life in which blacks have either fallen further behind whites or have not made substantial gains on whites in the last half century. We use GSS data to discover whether what has happened in these and other arenas have been reflected in changed attitudes about them. We find some evidence that they have, but there are some surprises as well.

Both whites and blacks have declined in the percentages of each race who expressed “great confidence” in education during the last 50 years. However, relatively speaking, black confidence in education remained higher than that of whites over time. Thirty-seven percent of black respondents expressed great confidence in education during the 2010s, while only 22.3% of whites did so. Part of the reason for the maintenance of blacks' margin of confidence over whites may be that, while they have not made relative gains in the acquisition of college degrees, they have made substantial progress relative to whites in the acquisition of high school diplomas.

**Table 6. Change in Happiness of Whites and Blacks Over Five Decades: Percentage of Whites and Blacks Who Say They Are Very Happy and the Difference Between the Races, in Percentages**

Decade	Race		% Difference
	Whites	Blacks	
<i>Say They Are Very Happy</i>			
1970s	36.3	22.3	14.0
1980s	35.3	22.3	13.0
1990s	34.1	22.5	11.6
2000s	34.8	27.0	7.8
2010s	32.2	26.1	6.1

Source: Smith et al, 2019

Another arena in which the advantage of whites over blacks has been largely, if not completely, maintained is income. Therefore, we did not expect to see any relative improvement in blacks' satisfaction with their financial situation or their jobs. This was the case for perceived financial satisfaction which *became less likely* for both whites and blacks to almost the same degree. However, the difference between whites' and blacks' job satisfaction did decline (by about 4%) between the

1970s and the 2010s. Why this change occurred is not obvious. For a variety of reasons, jobs for less educated people have disappeared since the 1970s; but this has affected both whites and blacks. We speculate that the relative gains blacks have made in earning high school diplomas has meant they have not been as relatively closed out of the remaining jobs for less educated people as they were in the 1970s.

One dimension of racial inequality that is difficult to overlook after the summer of 2020, is perceived treatment by the justice system. Unfortunately, the GSS does *not* provide data about perceived satisfaction with policing. However, the GSS does provide data on changing attitudes towards the courts. Since the 1970s, the percentage of blacks who perceive courts to be “too harsh” has been greater than that for whites and it increased more dramatically, especially since the 2000s, than it has for whites. By the 2010s, 33.9% of blacks said the courts were too harsh, while only 14.2% of whites said this. We suspect this has to do with the War on Drugs, initiated in the 1980s, and the much greater increase in the rate of imprisonment of blacks for drug-related crimes, compared to whites.

On one dimension of racial inequality, health, blacks have made gains, particularly in the last 20 years or, at least, before the Covid-19 pandemic hit. The difference between black and white life expectancy has seen a 20-year diminution to the point where the average black person’s perceived life expectancy was only 3.6 years less than the average white person’s life expectancy in the 2010s. It appears to us that blacks have internalized positive gains in their perceptions of their life expectancy at some level because there has recently been a dramatic shrinkage in the difference between whites and blacks in the percentage of people saying they believe they are in “good or excellent” health. A good deal of the shrinkage is due to a decrease in the percentage of whites saying they’re in good to excellent health (from 79.2% in the 2000s to 74.3% in the 2010s)—perhaps a result of the factors contributing to the rise of deaths of despair among middle-aged working-class males (e.g., Case & Deaton 2017; Case & Deaton 2015a; Case & Deaton 2015b). But some of the shrinkage is also due to a continued rise in the percentage of blacks seeing themselves as in good health—perhaps a function of easier access to health care after the passage of the Affordable Care Act in 2010; perhaps a result of increasing high school completion rates, providing a basic understanding of what’s needed for good health.

To the extent that the relative improvement in blacks’ health and perception of health has been due to a

decline of whites’ health and perception of health, and particularly to the decline of working-class whites’ health and their perception of health, this analysis reminds us that the effects of inequality may not be equally shared by all disadvantaged people. Some whites have been disproportionately advantaged as inequality has grown over the past half century, but some, apparently, have been unusually disadvantaged, at least with respect to health. This suggests that an intersectional perspective on increases in inequality is called for, one that recalls that race, social class, gender and other social divides may have interactive, and not completely predictable, effects on individuals (e.g., Collins 1990).

Likely related to the relative gain in perceived health has been a relative gain in happiness. In fact, the difference in the percentage of whites and blacks reporting that they are very happy has been more than halved in the past five decades (from 14% in the 1970s to 6.1% in the 2010s), according to the GSS. This is better news than one might have expected based on the trends examined by Putnam and Garrett and *may* be connected with relative perceptions of health, as well as a relative retention of religious ties and modest gains in relative income.

Still, there is reason for concern about the relative tapering off on the dimensions on which Putnam and Garrett focus: the attainment of college educations and decent incomes. Putnam and Garrett argue that this tapering off has been caused by a general societal change from “We-orientedness” to “I-orientedness.” They further suggest that the Progressive era, which led to a considerable reduction in social (including racial) inequality during the first sixty to seventy years of the twentieth century, provides clues to what it will take to turn the country from its current “I” orientation back to a greater concern for “We.” Putnam and Garrett also suggest that the U. S. will need more relatively-privileged young adults to develop a passion for social reform, more people to call out the abuses carried out by those in power, more successful people in power willing to commit themselves to advancing major reforms, and more people willing to participate in movements aimed at reducing social inequalities (Putnam and Garrett 2020a:315-341).

If we look around us, we can see evidence today of the necessary ingredients for the change that Putnam and Garrett call for: from the women and men who have organized marches on behalf of women’s and blacks’ lives to the philanthropic efforts of people like Bill and Melinda Gates to promote health. Unfortunately, the likelihood of backlash is a credible threat to bringing

about positive social change and racial equality.

Our effort to measure changes in the perceptions of whites and blacks has of course been limited to trend data provided by our data source: the General Social Survey. We have not been able, for instance, to tap changing attitudes to the dramatic slowdown in the rate at which blacks in the south have gained the right to vote over the last 50 years, compared to what had gone on in the previous 30 years or so.

Moreover, some of the relative gains by blacks that we have traced here may have been put in jeopardy by recent events. It is possible, for instance, that blacks' relative gains in both perceived health and happiness may have eroded during the Covid-19 pandemic, during which they have suffered disproportionately.

## REFERENCES

- Anderson, James. 1988. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Beckett, Katherine 1997. *Making Crime Pay: Law and Order in Contemporary American Politics*. London: Oxford University Press. pp. 52–53.
- Case, Anne & Deaton, Angus. 2017. Mortality and Morbidity in the 21st Century. Brookings Papers on Economic Activity. Retrieved June 14, 2017. ([https://www.brookings.edu/wpcontent/uploads/2017/03/6\\_casedeaton.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wpcontent/uploads/2017/03/6_casedeaton.pdf))
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015a. "Rising Morbidity and Mortality in Midlife Among White Non-Hispanic Americans in the 21st century." *PNAS*, December 8, 112(49): 15078-83.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015b. "Suicide, Age, and Wellbeing: An Empirical Investigation." NBER Working Paper 21279, Cambridge, MA (June).
- Cobb S, A. Javanbakht, Soltani E. Khalifeh, M. Bazargan & S. Assari. 2020. "Racial Difference in the Relationship Between Health and Happiness in the United States." *Psychol Res. Behav. Manag.* 13:481-490
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Cukier, Wendy, Charity-Ann Hannan, Mark Robert Holmes, & Margaret Yap. 2010. "Career Satisfaction: A Look behind the Races." *The Journal Relations of Industrial Relations*. 65(4):584–608.
- Fairclough, Adam. 2001. *Teaching Equality: Black Schools in the Age of Jim Crow*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Frakt, Austin. 2020 (Dec. 30). "What Can Be Learned from Differing Rates of Suicide Among Groups." *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/30/upshot/suicide-demographic-differences.html>
- Hurwitz, Jon & Mark Peffley. 2010. "And Justice for Some: Race, Crime, and Punishment in the US Criminal Justice System." *Canadian Journal of Political Science /Revue Canadienne De Science Politique*. 43(2):457–479.
- Kenschaft, Lori & Roger Clark. 2016. *Gender Inequality in Our Changing World: A Comparative Approach*. New York: Routledge.
- Knafo, Saki. 2013. "When It Comes to Illegal Drug Use, White America Does the Crime, Black American Does the Time." *HUFFPOST*. [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/racial-disparity-drug-use\\_n\\_3941346](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/racial-disparity-drug-use_n_3941346)
- Okun, Morris, William Stock & Marilyn Haring. 1984. "Health and Subjective Well-Being." *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*. 19, 2:111-132.
- PEW Research Center. 2014. *Religion and Public Life*. <https://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/compare/importance-of-religion-in-ones-life/by/racial-and-ethnic-composition/-trend>
- Putnam, Robert & Shaylyn Garrett. 2020a. *The Upswing: How American Came Together a Century Ago and How We Can Do It Again*. Simon and Schuster: New York.
- Putnam, Robert & Shaylyn Garrett. 2020b (December 4). "Why Did Racial Progress Stall in America?" *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/04/opinion/race-american-history.html>



Smith, Tom, W., Michael Davern, Jeremy Freese & Michael Hout. General Social Surveys, 1972-2018. [machine-readable data file]. Principal Investigator, Tom W. Smith; Co-Principal Investigators, Michael Davern, Jeremy Freese and Stephen L. Morgan, NORC ed. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, producer, 2019; Berkeley, CA: Computer-assisted Survey Methods Program (<http://sda.berkeley.edu>), University of California/ISA, distributors, 2019.

---

**About the Authors:** Gabriella Costantini will graduate from Rhode Island College in Spring, 2022, with degrees in Sociology and Justice Studies. Jocelyn Jolon Gamez will graduate from Rhode Island College in the Spring, 2022, with degrees in Sociology and Political Science. Roger Clark is *Professor Emeritus of Sociology* at Rhode Island College, where he continues to teach research methods classes.