

Whites, Education Level and Racial Tolerance in Urban America

Judson L. Jeffries* and Cathy McDaniels-Wilson

Abstract. In a city where, over the past fifteen years race has often been at the center of controversy, this article utilizes survey data to gauge racial tolerance on the part of white residents in one of America's major urban centers. The purpose of the article is to determine whether or not educated whites are more racially tolerant than poorly educated whites as historically has been the conventional wisdom. The findings, although intriguing, are not as clear-cut as one might imagine.

Keywords: White Urban Attitudes, Cincinnati, Ohio, blacks, Metropolitan area, education.

Introduction

No other issue in American history is as politically charged as race. Even in this so-called (fallacious as it may be) era of Barack Obama's post-racial America, dare we say, no other issue has been given the kind of attention by academics than has race (Tropp, 2007). Members of the black community have long maintained that black people's life chances have, over the years, been adversely impacted by white Americans' attitudes toward African Americans. Indeed, there is an abundance of literature by scholars, some of them renowned; that has postulated the inferiority of not only African Americans, but blacks worldwide. While not directly accusing blacks of being inferior Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray (1994) use genetics to explain low test scores by African Americans compared to other groups. The argument that blacks are innately inferior dates at least as early as the Enlightenment period¹ of the 17th and 18th centuries where men of letters such as David Hume, G. F. W. Hegel and Immanuel Kant maintained that the distinction between man and animal is the ability to reason; and since blacks have shown little propensity to reason they must, at best, be some sort of subhuman species. Few thinkers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries believed that black people made any contribution to humankind. Indeed Hegel argued that Africa had no history; thereby making it unfathomable that Africans may have contributed anything significant to the world.

Philosopher Charles W. Mills, in his work *The Racial Contract* submits that many white Americans have entered into a racial contract with other whites whereby they have agreed not to recognize blacks as equals in all aspects of life (Mills, 1997). The result is that while black Americans have made tremendous strides since the modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s blacks still lag behind whites in a number of important socio-economic indicators (McClain & Stewart, 2014). Clearly, while blacks bear some responsibility for their life

* Corresponding author: jeffries.70@osu.edu

¹ The Enlightenment period was a cultural movement of intellectuals and writers in the 17th and 18th centuries, first in Europe and later in the American Colonies.

situation, there is no denying the insidious role that white Americans have played in the systematic and longstanding oppression of African Americans² in America. Despite the 2008 election of the first black president and his 2012 re-election, some still consider anti-black racism to be one of America's greatest social ills.

There are many, however, who have argued that anti-black racism on the part of white Americans is, in large part, the result of a poor education. White Americans fear what they don't understand; some claim that the most effective antidote to racism is education. In fact, there is a widely held belief that education is the great equalizer; that the more education a white American acquires the more racially tolerant he/she becomes, which raises the following question: are well-educated white Americans more racially tolerant than less well educated whites³? The words racially tolerant have been bantered about freely in scholarly and popular circles for years. Indeed, these words have, over the years, taken on various meanings. At times, the word is used to denote the opposite of conservative. Some refer to themselves as racially tolerant or racially accepting; rather than liberal, because it sounds more progressive than liberal. For others, to be racially accepting means to be forward in his/her thinking or to hold a set of views left of center. From our standpoint racially tolerant means: 1) one who is open minded and enlightened about matters pertaining to race 2) being amenable to the idea of working toward racial equality and 3) subscribing to Thomas Jefferson's⁴ ideal that all of us are created equal.

Using data extrapolated from a survey of residents in Cincinnati, Ohio, a mid-size rust belt Midwestern city⁵ in the United States, this article seeks to explore the extent to which education impacts the thinking of white Americans where race is concerned. Simply put, are well-educated white Americans more racially tolerant or racially accepting than less well educated white Americans as is widely believed? With the use of survey data we examine this question.

Literature Review

The scholarly literature on white people's attitudes toward racial minorities, especially blacks is in no short supply. Indeed, because much of America's history has revolved around blacks and whites, the lion's share of the research has focused on those two groups. Specifically, much of the research has examined whites' attitudes toward African Americans. Academic studies on the subject matter date back as early as Angus Campbell's 1971 study titled *White Attitudes towards Black people* (Campbell, 1971). Over the past forty years or so there have been many more works of this nature, however, like Campbell's work, the majority of them are national studies of white people's attitudes toward minorities such as Peter V. Marsden's (2012) work *Social Trends*

² The words black and African American are used interchangeably according to sound and context as well as to avoid repetition.

³ The words whites and Caucasians are used interchangeably according to sound and context as well as to avoid repetition.

⁴ Thomas Jefferson, one of America's founding fathers, the country's third president and the principal author of the Declaration of Independence in which he wrote that "all men are created equal." Just to be clear, although Jefferson penned these words history has shown that as a slave owner he did not exactly practice what he preached.

⁵ Cincinnati is the third largest city in Ohio behind Cleveland and Columbus with nearly 300,000 residents.

in American Life: Findings from the General Survey Since 1972. While the national approach is important, the limitation that accompanies all national studies is that it does not allow one to draw informed conclusions about whites in any particular town, hamlet or city. Then of course there are the Gallup Polls and the Pew Trust polls that ascertain peoples' thoughts on a range of issues, one of which is race. Again those studies are national in focus rather than regional or local. In other words, the authors of those surveys examine citizen's attitudes at the macro-level, rather than the micro-level.

The same criticism can be made of the groundbreaking works of George Frederickson and Robert Entman and A. Rojecki. Frederickson's 1987 work titled *The Black Image in the White Mind: the Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny* is an historical piece that studies these phenomena from the early nineteenth century to the early twentieth century; and it is not a local study. Entman and Rojecki's 2001 text *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America* lays out in a most nuanced fashion the manner in which the media has shaped white peoples' thinking about race generally and black people specifically. Neither work however enables us to talk specifically about how whites in any particular city think about these important matters. There are some works that have taken the local approach such as that of Michael W. Link and Robert E. Oldendick (Link and Oldendick, 1996). In their 1996 article, Link and Oldendick tap into white people's thoughts on equal opportunity and multiculturalism; two issues that have elicited tremendous debate since the creation of Affirmative Action in the 1960s.

Our study is not a national one, but a local one. Moreover, our work not only enables us to ascertain what whites may be thinking generally, but we are able to glean how a cross-section of whites feels about perhaps the most politically charged issue in American history. Our work comprises several independent variables such as income, age, gender and education, something missing in many other works. Since scholars and others have claimed that education is the great societal equalizer as it pertains to racial tolerance on the part of whites we have elected to single out education as this study's focus.

What makes Cincinnati, Ohio a great case study?

The Queen city, as Cincinnati is commonly known, is an excellent case study for the following reasons: (a) the city is not racially monolithic in its racial make-up, meaning it is not dominated by any one racial group; instead it has both a substantial African American population and Caucasian population. According to the 2010 U.S. Census 44.8% of Cincinnati's population is black while 49.3% of the population is white. A Latino population exists, but is extremely small (b) historically, there has been a fair amount of racial strife between the city's black and white populations, prompting us to believe that race as an issue is featured prominently in some areas of city life and finally (c) in 2001 the city experienced an uprising that is widely documented as

the most destructive disorder⁶ since the Los Rebellion of 1992, making it likely that residents there may have some unique and entrenched opinions about race and/or race-related matters.

Methodology

This research is part of a larger project that examines residents' attitudes about a range of issues. The survey contained several sections, one of which was designed to study Caucasians attitudes toward people of color.⁷ A total of 503 Cincinnati residents were interviewed by telephone, 273 of whom self-identified as Caucasian, while the others were African American and other minorities. Respondents in Hamilton County of Cincinnati, Ohio were asked an array of questions across a broad range of topics. However, for the purposes of this article, only those statements and questions that were related to whites' level of racial tolerance were extrapolated from the survey. To be clear, only white Americans' responses to questions that speak to racial tolerance are examined in this article. Issues that were directly related to race as well as those that some may argue are indirectly related to race, but are indeed racially construed by many such as the issue of illegal immigration were examined. Even an issue such as illegal immigration allows us to gauge somewhat white residents' level of racial tolerance.

The survey was developed by the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center and pretested by interviews with the Strategic Research Group (SRG) in collaboration with members of the Psychology department at Xavier University in Cincinnati. The sample was created using a list-assisted random digit dialing (RDD) sampling method that reduces the problems associated with the pure RDD and the renowned Mitofsky-Waksberg method.⁸ People were randomly selected within a ten mile radius from the center of downtown Cincinnati, Ohio, thus resulting in a cross-section of people across occupations, age, income, gender and education.

It should be noted that the list-assisted sampling design is appropriate for large scale surveys, because it is significantly more efficient than prior RDD techniques. Once a household was identified, SRG used a random within-house sampling method where all adults living in the household have an equal chance of being selected for participation. All interviewing was conducted at the SRG full-service facility located in Columbus, Ohio. All calls were made primarily between 5:30 pm and 9:30 pm with at least one call made during the day and on a weekday and Saturday. A computer-assisted telephone interviewing software program was used for the survey. The final response rate was 46 percent.

⁶ The rebellion left \$13.7 million dollars in its wake; hundreds were injured and arrested and seventy-eight buildings were destroyed.

⁷ Although this part of the survey examines Caucasians attitudes toward people of color, African Americans are by far the largest minority group in the city of Cincinnati. African Americans make up nearly forty five percent of the city's total population. Latinos are the second largest minority group, comprising less than three percent of the city's total population. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Caucasians probably had African Americans in mind when asked about people of color.

⁸ Since the late 1970s, the Mitofsky-Waksberg sampling method has been the preferred telephone sampling methodology for governmental and social science survey research.

Each section of the survey contained a statement to which the interviewee was asked to respond on a scale. Each respondent circled the response on the Likert scale⁹ that best characterized his or her thoughts on that scale. The respondents were assured that their responses would be held in strict confidence. The authors of this article made certain that the interviewees understood that individual responses would not be linked to anyone's name in any way; consequently interviewees were instructed not to provide their names when taking the survey. The objective was to generalize the findings, not single out any one person.

Significance of Research

This research is important because: 1) it gives us an idea as to what impact, if any, education has on white American's attitudes about race; 2) it allows us to see how sensitive or insensitive white Americans are to issues related to race; 3) it will tell us to what extent white Americans are accepting of black residents specifically and African Americans generally. Often times, it is assumed that well-educated whites are more racially accepting than poorly educated whites. The inference here is that educated whites are more enlightened than their poorly educated brethren about racism and oppression, hence they are more progressive in their thinking where race is concerned and 4) this article will help gauge whether well-educated whites are indeed more racially tolerant or accepting or if their views are no less stereotypical or informed than the average poorly educated white American.

Hypothesis

In this article we argue that white Americans' level of education will have no bearing on their attitudes towards African Americans. In other words, well educated white Americans will be just as racially intolerant toward African American as their poorly educated white counterparts.

Results

In the following pages a presentation of white Americans' attitudes toward people of color¹⁰ is provided. Only those statements that speak to Caucasians' level of racial tolerance are included here. After combing through the questionnaire we were able to identify six questions that allowed us to gauge white people's level of racial tolerance. All of the questions fell squarely within four areas: a) integration of American society b) the preservation of one's culture and ethnicity c) resources and illegal immigration and d) the eradication of racial discrimination.

⁹ A Likert scale is the most widely used approach to scale responses in survey research; generally the level of agreement or disagreement is measured.

¹⁰ Again, while the survey sought to examine peoples' attitudes about race, it is worth noting again that the only two races of people in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio of any significance are blacks and whites. No other group in that city makes up more than three percent of the population. Therefore, when whites are asked about people of color it is safe to assume that their responses are referring to blacks.

White Racial Beliefs

When asked to respond to the statement “Racial integration of schools, businesses, and residences has been of benefit to Caucasians,” more than eighty percent of interviewees who possessed a college degree or more concurred with the statement (see table 1). Equally important, however, is that of the more than eighty percent who agreed with the statement only 27.8% strongly agreed. As colleague graduates, who more than likely sat in classrooms with students of color, it is odd that only a third of them believed that they were better for the experience.

Integration of American Society

Only seventeen percent (when combining the categories of disagree and strongly disagree) of these same respondents were of the mindset that whites did not benefit from integration (see table 1). Respondents who possessed some college also overwhelmingly agreed (8.5% strongly agree, 66.0% agree) that integration proved beneficial to whites as did those whites who possessed only a high school diploma or less. On the other hand there seems to be a core of whites who are convinced that the desegregation of public accommodations such as schools, houses and businesses did not benefit them. In other words, some whites across all education levels are convinced that interacting and mingling with minorities, which was brought about via integration, did not favorably impact their lives in any way. How these respondents could have reached such a conclusion is unclear. While there appears to be some variation across education level on the matter of integration, the findings are not especially remarkable.

Table 1

Racial integrations of schools, business and residences have been of benefit to Caucasians

Education Level	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
High School or Less (66) ¹¹	4.5%	66.7%	22.7%	6.1%
Some College (47)	8.5%	66.0%	21.3%	4.3%
College Degree (144) ¹²	27.8%	54.9%	16.0%	1.4%

¹¹ The number in parenthesis is the number of respondents who answered a particular question. In other words, 66 of the respondents possessed a high school diploma; forty seven possessed some college experience while 144 held a college degree.

¹² The category college degree actually means those that not only graduated from college, but who may also have a postgraduate degree. However, due to space limitations there was no room to write College Degree or more; hence we elected simply to write College Degree.

More interesting were the responses to the matter of assimilation and culture. Respondents were offered the following statements and asked to select:

Preservation of culture and ethnicity

The responses to these statements were striking as 72.4% of the college educated interviewees believed that racial and ethnic groups should preserve their distinct cultures while only 58.1 percent of those who possessed some college concurred. Just slightly more than forty percent of high school graduates or less believed in the importance of maintaining one’s cultural values. In fact more than half of those who possessed a high school diploma or less felt that racial and ethnic groups should assimilate into the larger American society; not maintain their distinct cultural mores and values. The data suggests that the more education one has the stronger that person believes that racial & ethnic groups should maintain their own distinct cultural traditions. It is possible that among these respondents is a core of white ethnics who valued their ancestral heritage. Conversely, the less education a Caucasian person possesses, the more resolute he or she is that racial and ethnic groups should assimilate into the larger society. Still, more than forty percent believe there is value in maintaining one’s cultural traditions. This is not entirely surprising as Cincinnati’s culture is strongly influenced by its history of German and Irish immigrants. In the mid to late 19th century, Cincinnati became a major destination for German and Irish immigrants.

Table 2

“Racial & ethnic groups should change so that they blend into the larger “
 or
 “Racial & ethnic groups shouldn’t change, should maintain their distinct cultures”

Education Level	Racial & Ethnic groups should change	Racial & Ethnic groups shouldn’t change
High School or Less (64)	56.3%	43.7%
Some College (43)	41.9%	58.1%
College Degree (134)	27.6%	72.4%

When pondering white American’s sentiments regarding whether or not racial and ethnic minorities should fully Americanize themselves or maintain their cultural customs and mores one cannot help but to conclude that such sentiments are not wholly unrelated to white Americans’ position on the matter of immigration.

Resources and illegal immigration

Over the past twenty years the issue of illegal immigration has played a prominent role in state, federal and presidential elections, especially in the southwestern, western and southern regions of the United States, which has experienced large influxes of illegal immigrants from places such as Mexico and Cuba. The issue of illegal immigration has become such a political lightning rod over the years that some conservatives and Republican candidates for elective office have used the issue to capitalize on the anxieties of some voters who (for a number of reasons, some legitimate, many not so legitimate) fear the flood of illegal immigrants into their cities, neighborhoods and in their minds, their country. It is not surprising then that one of the questions dealt with that particular issue even though the city of Cincinnati has not experienced any significant increases in Latino residents, illegal or otherwise. Nevertheless, the issue has elicited so much attention, namely because of extensive American media coverage, that it is not unreasonable to expect that people who may not be impacted by this issue still may have opinions (albeit uninformed) about the matter. Below is the statement to which interviewees were asked to respond:

Table 3

“Many economic problems in America have been caused by illegal immigrants”

Education Level	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
High School or Less (65)	7.7%	36.9%	38.5%	16.9%
Some College (51)	5.9%	49.0%	37.3%	7.8%
College Degree (145)	10.3%	55.2%	28.3%	6.2%

While many of the respondents do not believe that illegal immigrants are the cause of America’s economic problems, still unsettling is that pockets of respondents do subscribe to the notion that America’s economic woes are caused by an influx of illegal immigrants into the country. When combining the categories of agree and strongly agree; forty five percent of those who possess a high school diploma or less blame illegal immigrants for America’s economic crisis. Of those who attended college, but did not graduate, fifty five percent of them are of a similar mindset. And even though sixty five percent of college graduates disagreed with the notion that illegal immigrants have caused the American economy to suffer, more than a third of them believe otherwise, prompting us to conclude that despite being college educated these whites have succumbed to media depictions of illegal immigrants rather thinking for themselves.

As a follow-up, respondents were asked to address the following statement on illegal immigration (see Table 4). The statement was:

Table 4

“It is unfair to American citizens if jobs and resources are lost to immigrants”

Education Level	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
High School or Less (67)	1.5%	50.7%	28.4%	19.4%
Some college (49)	8.2%	44.9%	40.8%	6.1%
College Degree (152)	7.2%	63.2%	23.0%	6.6%

More than forty five percent of those with a high school education or less as well as those who has some college experience, but of course, did not graduate, believed that it was indeed unfair to American citizens if jobs and resources were lost to immigrants. This is not totally unexpected as this is the population that is most likely to find itself competing against immigrants on the job market. Surprisingly, more than fifty percent of those who attended or graduated high school rejected the above statement.

Conversely, approximately thirty percent of college graduates believed it to be unfair to Americans if jobs and resources were lost to immigrants. This is interesting, given that whites with a college degree are not likely to find themselves competing against illegal immigrants for employment; yet nearly thirty percent of them still believe it to be unfair if U.S. citizens were to lose out on jobs and resources to illegal immigrants. At the same time, however, 63.2% of college graduates disagreed with the statement that it is unfair for Americans to lose out on jobs and resources to immigrants and 7.2% strongly disagreed. It appears that when employment opportunities are at play even well educated whites are susceptible to irrational thinking. Clearly when jobs and money are inserted into the equation, the matter of whose more racially tolerant than whom is not as black and white (no pun intended). Indeed recent scholarship such as that written by Michael Wallace and Rodrigo Figueroa (2012) who examined perceived immigrant job threat as well as work by Justin A. Berg (2009) who studied white public opinion towards undocumented immigrants bear this out.

The final two questions dealt with the importance of achieving racial equality and one’s desire to see racial discrimination eradicated.

Eradication of discrimination and injustice

The overwhelming majority of respondents thought it was important that America makes advances toward racial equality. There are however, some notable disparities. Case in point: for 11.3% of those with a high school diploma or less, making advances toward racial equality holds no importance at all, only 4.2 percent of those similarly educated believe it to be slightly important while 26.8 percent believes it to be important, but not very important (see table 5). More promising is the nearly sixty percent who believe that advances toward racial equality is very important.

Table 5

“How important is it to you personally that America makes advances toward racial equality?”

Education Level	Not Important	Slightly Important	Important	Very Important
High School or Less (71)	11.3%	4.2%	26.8%	57.7%
Some College (53)	5.7%	3.8%	34.0%	56.7%
College Degree (154)	1.9%	3.9%	16.9%	77.3%

The most striking variation appears to be between white college graduates and non-college graduates, which of course includes those with some college as well as those who did not attend college at all. Nearly ninety five percent of college graduates understood the importance of racial equality, with 77.3 percent strongly believing in the cause of racial equality.

Encouragingly, less than two percent of college graduates indicated that advances toward racial equality held no importance for them personally while a mere four percent felt that advances toward racial equality was only slightly important. The findings among the college graduates are promising; however, we would have hoped that the percentage of college graduates who believed it was very important that advances toward racial equality would have been a bit higher. Again, 77.3% of college graduates felt advances toward racial equality in America to be very important, but we would have preferred that more college graduates felt passionately about this important issue.

More remarkable, however, were the responses (found in table 6) to the follow-up statement, which pertained to one’s willingness to assist in fighting against discrimination and injustice.

Table 6

“Whites should support racial minorities in their struggle against discrimination and injustice”

Education Level	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
High School or Less (68)	1.5%	16.2%	58.8%	23.5%
Some College (51)	2.0%	13.7%	60.8%	23.5%
College Degree (151)	0.0%	4.6%	62.9%	32.5%

When the categories agree and strongly agree are combined ninety five percent of college graduates believed that whites should assist in the fight against discrimination and injustice. Approximately fifteen percent of those with some college and 17.7 percent of those with a high school diploma or less disagreed that whites should support minorities in the fight against discrimination and injustice. Perhaps they believe that the struggle against discrimination and injustice is one in which racial minorities should fight alone, despite the fact that every major American movement that sought to eradicate discrimination and injustice involved blacks and many whites fighting alongside another.

Discussion and Conclusion

It was our hope that the questions extrapolated from the survey would enable us to determine white people's degree of racial tolerance based on their level of education. The findings show that educated whites tend to exhibit more racially tolerant views than their poorly educated white counterparts. Consequently, our argument that educated whites are just as racially intolerant as poorly educated whites is not confirmed. It should be noted however, that while the data do not support our hypothesis, there are some nuances that merit discussion. For instance, although the data do not show that educated whites on the whole are as racially intolerant as other whites, this study does reveal that there are pockets of educated whites that appear to be just as racially insensitive to people of color as their poorly educated counterparts. The idea, for example, that some well-educated Whites do not believe that integration, has benefited them is astounding. Integration exposed whites to people of differing points of view, people with different and unique skill sets as well as people from different backgrounds, all of which would have seemingly made for an enriched learning experience for whites. That some whites, including seventeen percent of those who hold college degrees are seemingly oblivious to the rewards derived from integration is unfortunate.

Also disconcerting is the fact that approximately one third of the college graduates blame illegal immigrants for America's economic downturn. We would have expected college graduates to have greater insight into the causes of America's economic challenges. To blame illegal immigrants is to scapegoat a population of people whose impact on the nation's economy is not as burdensome as some would have us believe. However, in light of the unfavorable manner in which some American media have framed the discussion around illegal immigrants, it is not entirely surprising that some whites (including well educated Whites) might be influenced by this type of racist fear mongering. Even a few of the nation's most well-respected scholars have promulgated the idea that immigration adversely impacts the country. In his book *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity* Harvard University's Samuel Huntington argues that Latino immigrants, for example; threatens Anglo-Saxon American culture as well as the political integrity of the country (Huntington, 2004). If renowned scholars such as Huntington are promoting this racist line, it is no wonder that less discerning individuals have subscribed to this type of warped thinking.

It is also worth noting that less than a third of college graduate respondents agree that it is unfair to Americans when jobs and resources are lost to immigrants. As more and more whites find themselves out of work, it is not uncommon for them to blame the loss of their jobs on the influx of illegal immigrants, claiming that illegal immigrants are willing to work for less money, hence are more attractive to employers (Bush, 2010; Bonilla-Silva, 2010). As mentioned earlier in this article, it is unlikely that the respondents in this study would find themselves personally affected by such a development as white college graduates and illegal immigrants do not typically compete for the same jobs. Historically, illegal immigrants are consigned to those jobs that white American citizens, especially college educated white Americans, find demeaning and low-paying. Again though, because certain elements within American society have convinced sectors of the populace; that illegal immigrants are securing employment opportunities at the expense of qualified whites (and blacks for that matter) this myth has been perpetrated so effectively, that it is seldom placed under closer scrutiny either by the average citizen or by those educated citizens who should know better.

It is true that American society has historically been composed of competing individuals and groups, all of whom are seeking to maintain or advance their positions in a variety of venues (Dahl, 2006; Browning, Marshall & Tabb, 1984). However, as far as the job market is concerned; Illegal immigrants pose little threat to college educated white Americans who historically have been the preferred candidates of many American employers.¹³ As some scholars have pointed out, white Americans profit simply from being white (Lipsitz, 2006). Add to that, a college education, and the degree to which a white person's stock rises is incalculable.

In sum, while the data reveals that well-educated white Americans are by and large more racially tolerant than other whites, the data also show that there are well-educated whites who are as anti-black or anti-minority as any poorly educated white American. Surprising as it may be to some optimists, well-educated whites are also capable of possessing hardened, unflattering and or bigoted views of racial minorities, namely African Americans. This is a fact that cannot be overstated. Therefore, although education, to some, degree, helps to sensitize some whites to issues of a racial nature, the data suggest that education is clearly not the great societal equalizer that many claim it to be.

Bibliography

- Berg, J. A. (2009). Core Networks and Whites' Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Policy. *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 52: 39-58.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism & Racial Inequality in Contemporary America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

¹³ It deserves mentioning that whites typically feel threatened by a group when their numbers are sufficiently large enough to alter the balance of power between the races (Key, 1949). In the case of the city of Cincinnati, the immigrant population is so negligible that any notion on the part of whites of an immigrant take-over or power-grab is illogical at best and irrational at worst.

- Browning, R., Rogers, D., & Tabb, D.H. (1984). *Protest is Not Enough*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bush, M. (2010). *Everyday Forms of Whiteness: Understanding Race in a "Post-Racial" World*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Campbell, A. (1971). *White Attitudes toward Black People*. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research.
- Dahl, R.A. (2006). *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, Expanded Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Entman, R., & A. Rojecki. (2001). *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Frederickson, G. (1987). *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- Herrnstein, R. J. and C. Murray. (1994). *The Bell Curve*. New York: Free Press.
- Huntington, S. (2004). *Who Are We? The Challenge to America's National Security*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Key, V.O. (1949). *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. New York: Alfred Knopf.
- Link, M.W. & R.W. Oldendick. (1996). "Social Construction and White Attitudes toward Equal Opportunity and Multiculturalism." *Journal of Politics* vol. 58: 149-168.
- Lipsitz, G. (2006). *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Marsden, Peter V. (2012). *Social Trends in American Life: Findings from the General Social Survey since 1972*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- McClain, P.A., & Stewart, J.S. (2014). *Can We All Get Along? Racial and Ethnic Minorities in American Politics*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Mills, C. W. (1997). *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Tropp, L. R. (2007). "Perceived Discrimination and Interracial Contact: Predicting Interracial Closeness among Black and White Americans." *Social Psychology Quarterly* vol. 70: 70-81.
- Wallace, M. and R. Figueroa. (2012). "Determinants of Perceived Immigrant Job Threat in the American States." *Sociological Perspectives* vol. 55: 583-612.