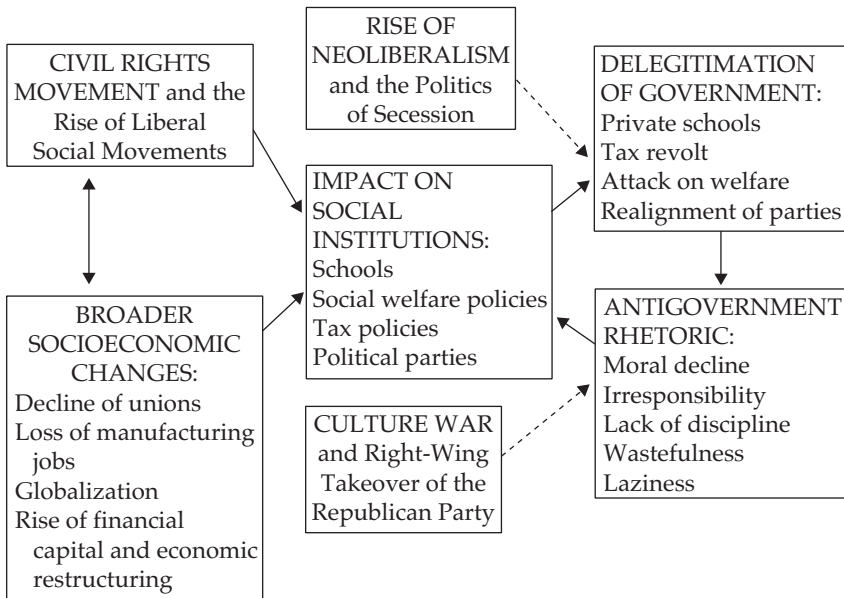


Figure 1.1

The Emergence of a Culture War As an Effort to Resist Civil Rights and Withdraw from Public Institutions



Source: Author's compilation.

**Table 1.1 The Three-Part Process by Which Racial Inequality
Is Reproduced Without Racism**

White Explanations for Racial Inequality	Whites' Views of Themselves	Hidden Dynamics Behind the Reproduction of Racial Inequality
Prejudiced (racist) people	Committed to color- blindness	Segregated neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces
Discrimination (by racist people)	Committed to equal opportunity	Lives of unequal opportu- nity or advantage
Lack of effort, responsibility, or hope among blacks	Belief in their own individual effort, hard work, and talent	Group basis of social, cultural, and financial resources that provide unearned advantages

Bottom line: The search for “racists” provides legitimacy or “cover” for the dynamics of power and makes possible the opportunity hoarding that enables whites to receive advantages or privileges without being racists.

Source: Author's compilation.

Table 1.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Interview Sample

Region	Women	Men	Total
New Jersey			
Working-class	16	20	36
Middle-class	28	29	57
Ohio			
Working-class ^a	25	27	52
Middle-class	19	20	39
Tennessee			
Working-class ^a	12	15	27
Middle-class	18	17	35
Total	118	128	246

Source: Author's compilation.

^aCanton, Ohio, and the surrounding area have always been a predominantly working-class, manufacturing economy, with relatively well-paid blue-collar and unionized workers. Perhaps for this reason, there is a higher proportion of working-class interviewees in the Ohio sample. In contrast, Nashville, Tennessee, is a college and government town, as well as the "country music capital." Perhaps for this reason, and also perhaps because of the greater difficulty in Nashville of getting potential interviewees to agree to be interviewed, the proportion of working-class respondents in the Tennessee sample is smaller.

Table 1.3 Demographic Characteristics of Interview Areas, 2000

	New Jersey	Ohio ^a	Tennessee
Median family income			
Middle-class area 1	\$105,056	\$56,677	\$69,446
Middle-class area 2	93,785	50,316	70,861
Working-class area 1	59,482	33,384	43,222
Working-class area 2	52,571	40,283	63,789
White non-Hispanic			
Middle-class area 1	87%	94%	95%
Middle-class area 2	81	96	96
Working-class area 1	85	94	85
Working-class area 2	93	93	93
Nonmanagerial jobs			
Middle-class area 1	44%	51%	36%
Middle-class area 2	41	57	38
Working-class area 1	69	81	64
Working-class area 2	62	82	58
Bachelor's degree or higher			
Middle-class area 1	52%	40%	70%
Middle-class area 2	62	34	58
Working-class area 1	16	6	28
Working-class area 2	28	8	36

Source: Data included here are illustrative of the zip codes from which respondents were drawn in each state. The data come from American FactFinder using Zip Code Tabulation Areas, U.S. Census Bureau: Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000, Census 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1) 100-Percent Data; Profile of Selected Social Characteristics: 2000, Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)—Sample Data; and Profile of Selected Economic Characteristics: 2000, Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)—Sample Data.

^aThe demographics of the areas of Ohio where the interviews were conducted document the working-class and manufacturing nature of this economy. Although the income and educational levels are higher in what I designated as middle-class areas, the overall level of education is much lower in this part of Ohio than in the other two interview areas, and the proportion of nonmanagerial jobs is higher in both the middle-class and the working-class areas in Ohio compared to New Jersey and Tennessee. These demographics also suggest that there is more mixture in the neighborhoods in this region of the country, with working-class and middle-class people more likely to live in the same neighborhoods in Ohio than is true in the areas in either New Jersey or Tennessee.

Table 1.4 Comparison of DiTomaso Study Interview Sample and American National Election Studies Sample

	DiTomaso	ANES	Statistically Significant
Education (3 = more than high school; 4 = some college; 5 = college degree) ^a	4.27	3.75	Yes
Income (2 = \$31,000 to \$50,000; 3 = \$51,000 to \$75,000)	2.85	2.41	Yes
Working-class	47%	43%	No
South	25%	37%	Yes
Egalitarianism (six items, three-point scale) ^b	2.20	2.18	No
Individualism (three items, three-point scale) ^b	2.28	2.22	No
Racial resentment (three items, three-point scale) ^b	1.95	2.32	Yes

Source: Author's compilation based on ANES surveys from 1986, 1994, 1996, 1998, and 2000.

^aBecause I wanted a sufficient number of middle-class and working-class interviewees in my sample, I did not endeavor to have a sample that was representative of the educational distribution in the U.S. white population. Thus, there is a larger proportion of college graduates in my sample, and also a higher average level of income.

^bFor each scale, the higher the number, the more the respondent holds these views; for example, a 3 represents the most egalitarian, the most individualist, and the most racially resentful.

Table 1.5 Average Number of Comments About Religion During Interview and Typical Religious Comment

Religious Category	Average Number of Comments	Typical Comment
Religious conservative	4.88	(B001 OH M MC) "I think religion has a lot to do with it. Church is probably the center of our social life. . . . My faith has also been probably more important in all."
Religious nonconservative	2.64	(C014 NJ F UMC) "I identify more as being a family that likes to be with other families, who have similar family values. We are Methodist, but we are very open. We're going to a Catholic church now."
Other religious	1.97	(B022 OH M WC) "I'm not that religious. I believe in God. I go to church. I don't go around preaching."
Catholics	1.76	(E315 OH M UC) "White, middle-class Catholics. We go to church, I guess."
Jews	1.75	(D051 NJ M MC) "I started as a Roosevelt Democrat. The Jewish population tends to be Democrat. I am a social liberal and a financial conservative."
Nonreligious or secular (among those who made some comment)	1.45	(D009 NJ M WC) "I'm Methodist, Protestant, and never really, after confirmation, I can't say I've been back more than five times."

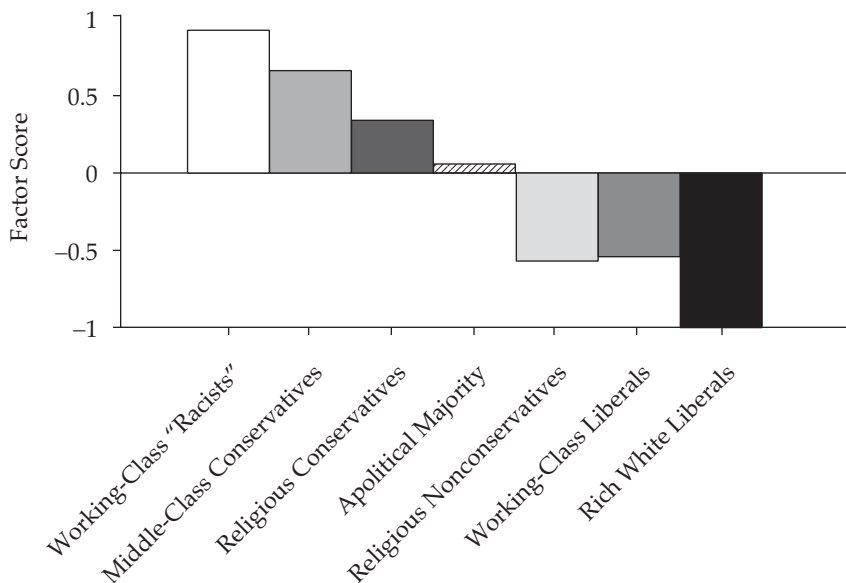
Source: Author's compilation.

Table 1.6 Sample Comments from Interviewees in Different Political Categories

Political Category	Sample Comment
Religious conservative (N = 46; 19 percent of sample)	(B002 OH M MC) "Well, we're taxed too high. I mean, you know our government . . . if you become successful . . . by your own means . . . they'll find a way to try to take some of that from you and redistribute it to people who maybe got involved . . . made poor life decisions, got involved in drugs, fried half their brain, now they're too stupid to make a decent living . . . I don't know, I think as far as the Christian community, I think they're pretty maligned a lot . . . and I think more the Christian community . . . they realize the moral decay in our country . . . and how it's not getting any better and by getting worse, it only leads to worse things. It's not going to make things any better."
Working-class "racist" (N = 30; 12 percent of sample)	(E360 OH M WC) "I don't agree with the 'African American.' . . . They're not from Africa . . . but now we're treating them differently than the Irish American, the Italian American. . . . Why should they have special treatment? I had nothing to do with the selling of their people as slaves. . . . Everybody, even employers are afraid to fire them because they're black. . . . You can't reprimand them. . . . And I think today there's a huge reverse discrimination going on, and we haven't seen the tip of the iceberg with it yet."
Middle-class conservative (N = 11; 4.5 percent of sample)	(B013 OH F MC) "The whole issue of welfare and all that, I have a problem with . . . I don't want to label it as a black community kind of thing, but I think some of the leadership in the black community isn't doing them any justice at all either. I think their leadership, the people that are speaking for them, sometimes are just way off base. . . . I just hate the scare tactics they use with the older people and with the black community and the Hispanic community and whatever, all the minorities."
Apolitical majority (N = 92; 37 percent of sample)	(C011 NJ F WC) "Do I vote? No. I should because it's a right that I have and you know . . . I don't know. I can't sit in front of the TV and listen and watch the news . . . you know what I'm saying. Right now that doesn't interest me at all."
Religious nonconservative (N = 11; 4.5 percent of sample)	(F007 TN F MC) "Most people, I guess . . . I think there are people that grow up in horrible, horrible situations, and to think that they can sort through all of that themselves, I'm not so sure. . . . I think it's hard for some people, much harder than it is for others."
Working-class liberal (N = 14; 6 percent of sample)	(B005) OH F WC) "Well, sure, I believe everybody deserves help. I mean everybody, at some point in life, I don't think there's one person on the face of this earth that can say at some point in their life they hadn't wished there was someone there to give them something."
Rich white liberal (N = 42; 17 percent of sample)	(C009 NJ M MC) "Yes, I'm not sure that's the solution, but I think it's fair to ask . . . the kind of help that it's just unconscionable not to supply, like a safety net for the truly needy . . . definitely that kind of help has to exist, and I'm always afraid that it's being eroded by insensitivity."

Source: Author's compilation.

Figure 2.1 Group Differences on Racial Resentment by Sociopolitical Category



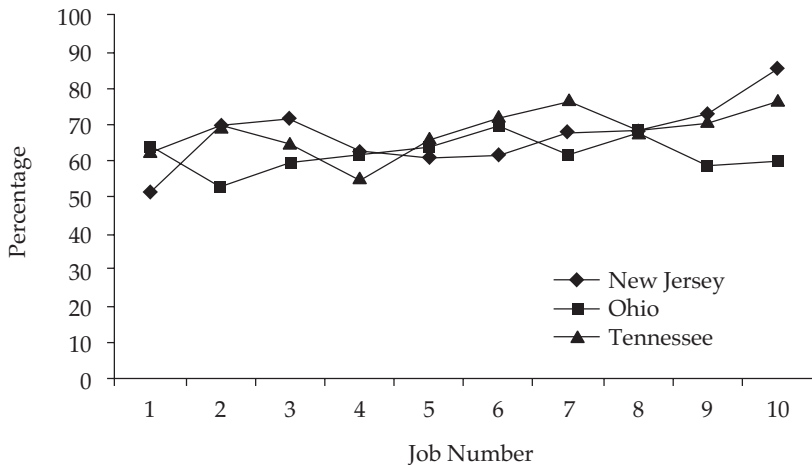
Source: Author's compilation.

Notes: The bars represent the factor score for each group for a measure of racial resentment including the following four items (factor loadings in parentheses). All items range from 1 = "not at all" to 7 = "a lot" and begin with the stem: "To what extent do you believe that . . ."

1. "... most people who receive money from welfare programs could get along without it if they tried?" (0.738)
2. "... that because the Irish, Italians, Jews, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up, blacks should do the same without any special favors?" (0.837)
3. "... it is really a matter of some people not trying hard enough and that if blacks would try hard they could be just as well off as whites?" (0.850)
4. "... generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way up in life?" (0.629, reverse-coded)

The factor analysis includes only one component with an Eigen value of 2.362 that explains 59 percent of the variance in the items.

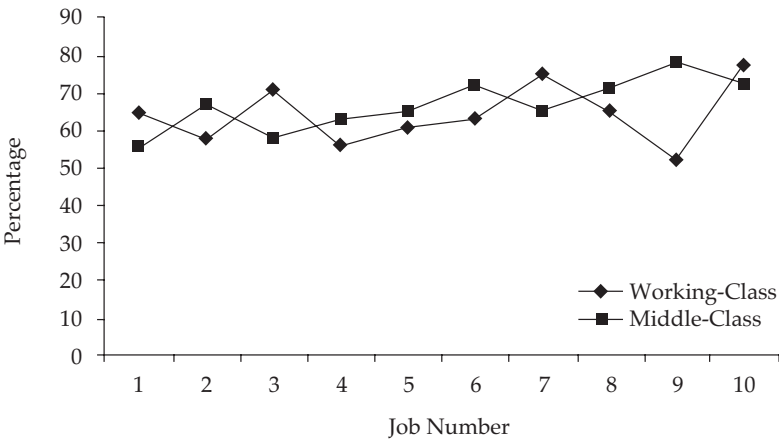
Figure 3.1 Proportion of Interviewees Receiving Help Getting a Job (Including Information, Influence, and Opportunity), by Location of Interviews



Source: Author's compilation.

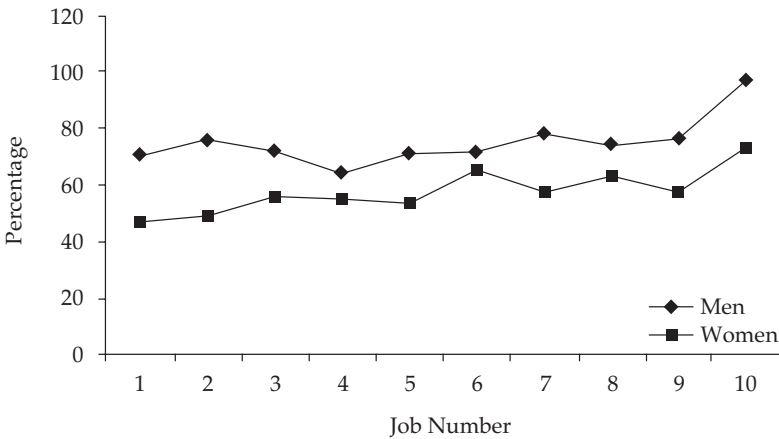
Note: The numbers represent each job from the first to the tenth job. Because not all interviewees had ten jobs over their careers, the base number for the percentages varies across the number of jobs.

Figure 3.2 **Proportion of Interviewees Receiving Help Getting a Job**
(Including Information, Influence, and Opportunity), by Class



Source: Author's compilation.
Note: The numbers represent each job from the first to the tenth job. Because not all interviewees had ten jobs over their careers, the base number for the percentages varies across the number of jobs.

Figure 3.3 **Proportion of Interviewees Receiving Help Getting a Job**
(Including Information, Influence, and Opportunity), by Gender



Source: Author's compilation.
Note: The numbers represent each job from the first to the tenth job. Because not all interviewees had ten jobs over their careers, the base number for the percentages varies across the number of jobs.

Table 4.1 Responses to the Question “Why Is That?” When Asked, “Do You Think That You Have Earned Your Current Place in Life?” by Socio-economic Category

Type of Response	Religious Conservatives N = 46	Working- Class Racists N = 30	Middle-Class Conservatives N = 11	Apolitical Majority N = 92	Religious Nonconservatives N = 11	Working- Class Liberals N = 14	Rich White Liberals N = 42	Total N = 246
Percentage of sample	12%	4.5%	19%	37%	4.5%	6%	17%	100%
Hard work	61	63	82	54	82	64	69	64
Got some help	11	0	27	12	9	7	12	14
Blessings	15	3	9	9	27	7	7	10
I deserve better	9	27	27	10	0	7	2	10
No one deserves	9	20	27	9	0	7	5	10
Not given anything	9	20	27	9	0	7	5	10
Luck	4	0	0	9	0	0	12	8
Made bad Choices	4	13	9	5	9	0	0	5

Source: Author’s compilation.

Note: Responses do not add up to 100 because miscellaneous responses are not included, and each respondent may have given more than one response.

**Table 4.2 Responses to the Question “What Has Most Contributed to the Kind of Life You Have Now?,”
by Sociopolitical Category**

Type of Response	Religious Conservatives N = 46	Working- Class Racists N = 30	Middle-Class Conservatives N = 11	Apolitical Majority N = 92	Religious Nonconservatives N = 11	Working- Class Liberals N = 14	Rich White Liberals N = 42	Total N = 246
Percentage of sample	12%	4.5%	19%	37%	4.5%	6%	17%	100%
Hard work	13	27	18	25	9	29	50	27
Family values	20	20	18	23	27	29	12	21
Motivation	20	20	45	16	9	7	19	19
Husband/spouse	13	17	18	11	18	7	12	13
Education, intelligence	11	3	9	8	0	0	26	10
Persistence	2	0	9	11	18	29	12	10
Managed money well	13	7	18	4	9	21	7	9
Help, inheritance	4	3	0	2	0	14	19	8
Blessings	22	3	0	2	18	0	2	7

Source: Author's compilation.

Note: Responses do not add up to 100 because miscellaneous responses are not included, and each respondent may have given more than one response.

Table 4.3 Responses to the Question “Have There Been Any Obstacles in Your Life That Have Prevented You from Achieving Everything You Had Wanted?,” by Sociopolitical Category

Type of Response	Religious Conservatives N = 46	Working- Class Racists N = 30	Middle-Class Conservatives N = 11	Apolitical Majority N = 92	Religious Nonconservatives N = 11	Working- Class Liberals N = 14	Rich White Liberals N = 42	Total N = 246
Percentage of sample	12%	4.5%	19%	37%	4.5%	6%	17%	100%
No obstacles	24	10	36	20	27	29	29	23
Lack of education	13	20	0	17	18	50	10	17
Self-imposed obstacles	13	23	27	9	9	21	19	15
Lack of help, goals	11	3	0	15	9	7	12	11
Divorce, early pregnancy	13	17	0	10	18	14	7	11
Family problems	11	10	18	15	9	0	5	11
Health problems	9	23	0	12	0	7	7	11
Poverty, unemployment	7	17	18	11	9	0	2	9
Lack of social skills	7	0	27	7	0	7	12	8

Source: Author's compilation.

Note: Responses do not add up to 100 because miscellaneous responses are not included, and each respondent may have given more than one response.

Table 4.4 Regression of Attitudes Toward Inequality, on Demographic Factors and Sociopolitical Group

Independent Variables	Racial Resentment	More Equal	Gone Too Far	Individualism	Racial Resentment
Constant	-0.068	1.318	-0.317	-0.207	0.117
Education	-0.165***	-0.055	-0.080	-0.108 ⁺	-0.109**
Income	-0.031	-0.136**	-0.002	0.063	-0.070
Gender (male)	0.259*	0.000	0.021	0.182	0.186*
Working-class racists	1.341***	-1.074***	0.926***	0.429	1.013***
Middle-class conservatives	1.571***	-0.835*	1.383***	0.381	1.204***
Religious conservatives	1.117***	-0.804***	0.986***	0.595**	0.718***
Apolitical majority	0.758***	-0.727***	0.725***	0.443**	0.476**
Religious nonconservatives	0.332	0.239	-0.217	-0.354	0.109
Working-class liberals	0.067	-0.294	0.017	0.012	0.052
More equal	—	—	—	—	-0.087 ⁺
Gone too far	—	—	—	—	0.108*
Individualism	—	—	—	—	0.385***
R-squared	0.373	0.073	0.153	0.046	0.546

Source: Author's compilation.

⁺ $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4.5 Regression of Attitudes Regarding Whether the Government in Washington Should Ensure Fair Treatment for Blacks, on Demographic Factors and Sociopolitical Group

Independent Variables	Should Government Help Blacks?					
	(1) Basic Model	(2) Basic Model Plus Racial Resentment	(3) Basic Model Plus More Equal	(4) Basic Model Plus Gone Too Far	(5) Basic Model Plus Individualism	(6) Full Model
Constant	3.507***	3.513***	3.902***	3.646***	3.555***	3.864***
Education	-0.314**	-0.232*	-0.330***	-0.274**	-0.299**	-0.224*
Income	0.188*	0.202*	0.149+	0.196*	0.184*	0.168+
Gender (male)	0.023	-0.092	0.011	0.004	-0.029	-0.050
Working-class racists	1.109*	0.536	0.810	0.682	0.997+	0.072
Middle-class conservatives	0.138	-0.601	-0.128	-0.563	0.059	-1.115+
Religious conservatives	1.215**	0.691+	0.963*	0.719+	1.091**	0.280
Apolitical majority	0.410	0.027	0.099	-0.043	0.247	-0.278
Religious nonconservatives	-0.397	-0.550	-0.573	-0.781	-0.442	-0.945
Working-class liberals	-0.520	-0.543	-0.573	-0.502	-0.533	-0.547
Racial resentment	—	0.472**	—	—	—	0.299+
More equal	—	—	-0.324**	—	—	-0.207+
Gone too far	—	—	—	0.510***	—	0.442***
Individualism	—	—	—	—	0.213+	0.019
R-squared	0.112	0.149	0.138	0.173	0.124	0.191

Source: Author's compilation.

Note: Higher scores mean that the respondent believed that it is not the government's business to ensure fair treatment for blacks in obtaining jobs; lower scores mean that the respondent believed that the government should ensure such fair treatment.

* $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; **** $p < 0.001$

Table 4.6 Regression of Structuralist and Individualist Explanations for Inequality, on Demographic Factors and Sociopolitical Group

Independent Variables	Structuralist Reasons		Individualist Reasons	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
	Basic Model	Basic Model Plus Political Attitudes	Basic Model	Basic Model Plus Political Attitudes
Constant	2.399***	2.033***	3.634***	4.010***
Education	-0.052	-0.108	-0.042	0.149
Income	0.032	0.062	0.001	-0.040
Gender (male)	-0.086	-0.007	-0.053	-0.128
Working-class racists	-1.049**	-0.393	0.411	-0.180
Middle-class conservatives	-1.041*	-0.395	0.780 ⁺	0.220
Religious conservatives	-1.009***	-0.615 ⁺	0.454	-0.073
Apolitical majority	-0.725**	-0.263	0.508 ⁺	0.121
Religious nonconservatives	-0.223	0.097	-0.055	-0.315
Working-class liberals	-0.272	-0.205	-0.186	-0.280
Racial resentment		-0.271*		0.149
More equal		0.269**		-0.167 ⁺
Gone too far		-0.060		0.059
Individualism		-0.148		0.241*
R-squared	0.049	0.158	0.006	0.077

Source: Author's compilation.

⁺ $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4.7 Responses to the Question “What Are the Reasons That You Would Say Are Most Likely to Explain Why People Are Rich?,” by Sociopolitical Category

Reasons for Being Rich	Religious Conservatives N = 46	Working- Class Racists N = 30	Middle-Class Conservatives N = 11	Apolitical Majority N = 92	Religious Nonconservatives N = 11	Working- Class Liberals N = 14	Rich White Liberals N = 42	Total N = 246
Percentage of sample	12%	4.5%	19%	37%	4.5%	6%	17%	100%
Personal drive, risk-taking	70	63	91	67	46	79	83	71
Inheritance	46	60	46	67	46	57	67	52
Initiative	50	43	36	50	46	21	31	44
Talent	15	13	18	29	27	21	19	22
Good luck	20	10	36	16	9	7	19	17
Political pull	7	10	0	9	27	7	10	9
Take advantage of poor	4	3	0	3	0	7	7	4
Dishonest	9	23	9	7	0	0	0	7

Source: Author's compilation.

Note: Responses do not add up to 100 because miscellaneous responses are not included, and each respondent may have given more than one response.

Table 4.8 Responses to the Question “What Are the Reasons That You Would Say Are Most Likely to Explain Why People Are Poor?,” by Sociopolitical Category

Reasons for Being Poor	Religious Conservatives N = 46	Working- Class Racists N = 30	Middle-Class Conservatives N = 11	Apolitical Majority N = 92	Religious Nonconservatives N = 11	Working- Class Liberals N = 14	Rich White Liberals N = 42	Total N = 246
Percentage of sample	12%	4.5%	19%	37%	4.5%	6%	17%	100%
Poor attitude	63	53	82	58	73	53	62	59
Lack of thrift	41	33	9	28	36	21	14	28
Lack of effort	33	30	46	30	18	21	12	27
Low wages	17	23	27	29	18	36	12	23
Drugs, alcohol	22	7	0	21	9	7	7	15
Lack of ability	9	13	9	16	0	7	14	13
Prejudice	4	3	9	13	9	14	33	13
Poor schools	9	7	9	4	18	21	29	11
Poor health	9	3	0	7	9	0	12	7
Bad luck	0	7	0	7	9	0	10	5
No jobs	7	7	9	0	0	0	2	3
Exploitation	2	7	0	2	9	0	5	3

Source: Author's compilation.

Note: Responses do not add up to 100 because miscellaneous responses are not included, and each respondent may have given more than one response.

Table 4.9 Responses to the Question “What Are the Reasons for Racial Inequality?,” by Sociopolitical Category

Reasons for Racial Inequality	Religious Conservatives N = 46	Working- Class Racists N = 30	Middle-Class Conservatives N = 11	Apolitical Majority N = 92	Religious Nonconservatives N = 11	Working- Class Liberals N = 14	Rich White Liberals N = 42	Total N = 246
Percentage of sample	12%	4.5%	19%	37%	4.5%	6%	17%	100%
Lack of skills and abilities	26	30	64	39	27	43	38	36
Same old discrimination	20	7	18	34	55	50	43	31
Blacks are not acceptable to whites	9	13	18	21	27	43	38	22
Blacks haven't prepared	28	17	18	21	18	14	21	21
Blacks no longer face unfair conditions	24	33	27	16	9	0	5	17
Blacks need to act like other Americans	26	27	27	13	0	0	0	14
Whites get opportunities	13	3	0	10	18	7	19	11

Source: Author's compilation.

Note: Responses do not add up to 100 because miscellaneous responses are not included, and each respondent may have given more than one response.

Table 6.1 Demographic Characteristics of Socioeconomic Groups Among the Interviewees

Dimension	Working- Class Racists	Middle-Class Conservatives	Religious Conservatives	Apolitical Majority	Religious Nonconservatives	Working- Class Liberals	Rich White Liberals	Total
Percentage of sample	12%	4.5%	19%	37%	4.5%	6%	17%	100%
Gender								
Male	65	46	59	50	27	43	52	52
Region								
New Jersey	36	36	15	46	9	14	62	38
Ohio	48	55	39	37	18	43	24	37
Tennessee	16	9	46	17	73	43	14	25
Income								
Less than \$30,000	19	0	7	15	9	7	2	11
\$30,001 to \$50,000	32	9	15	23	36	36	5	20
\$50,001 to \$75,000	29	27	28	33	18	43	21	29
\$75,001 to \$100,000	10	27	15	11	18	7	17	13
\$100,001 to \$200,000	10	36	26	11	9	7	17	15
More than \$200,000	0	0	9	7	9	0	38	11
Politics ^a								
Liberal	19	0	0	18	9	64	60	23
Moderate	36	46	0	60	91	29	36	41
Conservative	45	55	100	22	0	7	5	36
Economic situation ^b								
Bad	57	30	26	20	9	21	2	23
Okay	20	60	22	42	36	36	10	30
Good	23	10	52	38	55	43	88	47

Source: Author's compilation.

Notes: Responses may not add up to 100 because of rounding error.

^aSelf-defined.

^bCoded responses to question: "How are groups like yours faring in the United States these days?"

Table 6.2 Coded Responses of the Socioeconomic Groups to Questions Regarding Inequality and Government Help

Dimension	Working- Class Racists	Middle-Class Conservatives	Religious Conservatives	Apolitical Majority	Religious Nonconservatives	Working- Class Liberals	Rich White Liberals	Total
Percentage of sample	12%	4.5%	19%	37%	4.5%	6%	17%	100%
								Average
Inequality ^a								
No	55	70	46	54	36	21	10	43
Maybe	7	10	22	9	18	0	8	11
Yes	38	20	33	37	45	79	83	46
Total								100
Government help ^b								
No	71	64	38	38	27	14	12	37
Maybe	29	36	51	40	36	29	24	37
Yes	0	0	11	22	36	57	64	26
Total								100

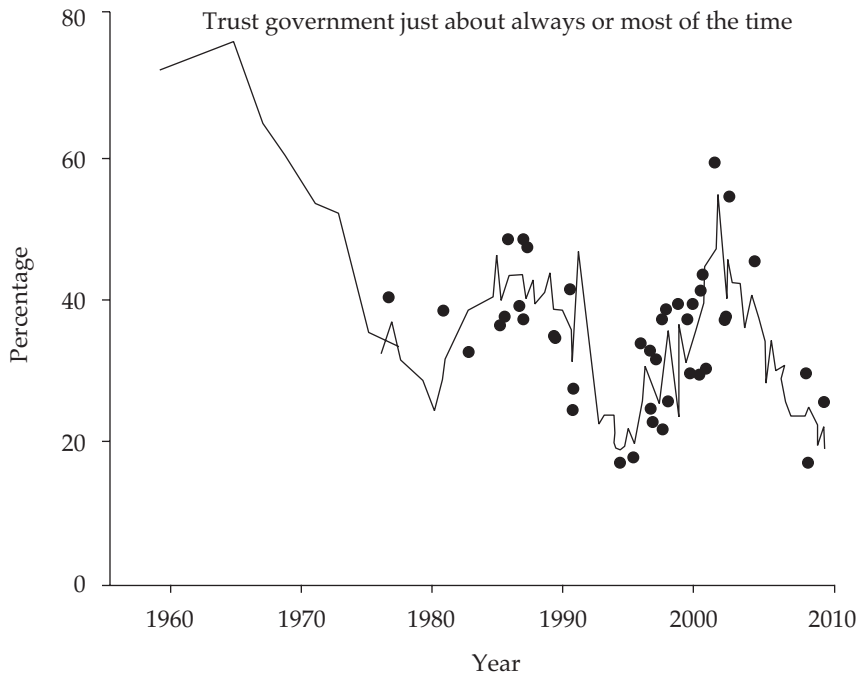
Source: Author's compilation.

Notes: Responses may not add up to 100 because of rounding error.

^aCoded responses to question: "To what extent are you concerned about the existence of economic inequality?" with follow-up, "And why would you say that is the case?"

^bCoded responses to question: "If a group of people have less economically than others, is it fair for them to expect the government to help them?" with follow-up, "And why would you say that is the case?"

Figure 7.1 **Changes in Public Trust in Government, 1958 to 2010**



Source: “Distrust, Discontent, Anger, and Partisan Rancor: The People and Their Government,” The Pew Research Center for The People & The Press, April 18, 2010, p. 5.

Trend sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/*Washington Post*, CBS/*New York Times*, and CNN Polls.

Note: From 1976 to 2010, the trend line represents a three-survey moving average, with individual data points shown.

Table 7.1 Coded Responses of Socioeconomic Groups to Questions Regarding Public Policy Issues

Dimension	Working- Class Racists	Middle-Class Conservatives	Religious Conservatives	Apolitical Majority	Religious Nonconservatives	Working- Class Liberals	Rich White Liberals	Total
Percentage of sample	12%	4.5%	19%	37%	4.5%	6%	17%	100%
								Average
Get what is deserved from government ^a								
No	69	78	38	39	27	21	25	42
Maybe	0	0	9	9	9	21	19	10
Yes	31	22	53	52	64	57	56	48
Total								100
Better off ^b								
No	41	67	31	54	64	70	70	57
Maybe	26	11	28	22	9	10	8	16
Yes	33	22	41	24	27	20	22	27
Total								100

Source: Author's compilation.

Notes: Responses may not add up to 100 because of rounding error.

^aCoded responses to question: "Do you think that people like you get what you deserve from the government?" with follow-up, "And why would you say that is the case?"

^bCoded responses to question: "Do you think that people like you would be better off if some groups did not make so many demands on the government?" with follow-up, "And why would you say that is the case?"

Table 7.2 Reasons Given for Problems in the Inner City

Reasons ^a	Working- Class Racists	Middle- Class Conser- vatives	Religious Conser- vatives
Percentage of the sample	12%	4.5%	19%
Poverty, low income	7	0	6
Lack of jobs, economic base	3	10	0
Lack of education, skills	10	0	22
Lack of public services	3	10	0
Poor schools	0	20	0
Flight of middle class	3	0	3
Discrimination, racism	0	0	3
Problems with families	34	50	47
Drugs, alcohol, prostitution	17	30	44
Gangs, crime, violence	0	10	31
Welfare, multigenerational	7	40	25
Lack of work ethic, motivation	24	40	11
Lack of morality, values, culture	24	30	25
Hopelessness, trapped, cycle	17	0	19
Resentment, alienation, entitlement	14	0	3
Neighborhood blight	0	30	3
Overcrowding	10	10	11
Too many children	0	20	0
Absent fathers	0	0	8
Not enough for children to do	0	0	0
Corruption	0	0	3
Teen pregnancy, permissiveness	0	0	0
Immigrants	10	0	0
Don't know	0	10	8

Source: Author's compilation.

Notes: Responses may not add up to 100 because of rounding error.

^aCoded responses to question: "A lot of policymakers have been concerned about the deterioration of life for people living in the central cities of large urban areas. As you may know, many of these people are nonwhite. What do you think is the major reason for the problems of the inner city?"

Apolitical Majority	Religious Non- Conservatives	Working-Class Liberals	Rich White Liberals	Total
37%	4.5%	6%	17%	100%
Average				
19	9	38	58	19
16	9	15	36	14
14	27	31	24	18
1	9	38	9	6
0	0	0	18	3
14	0	15	15	8
3	0	0	15	3
24	45	31	21	32
29	55	31	42	34
20	0	8	12	12
14	9	15	15	14
11	9	8	3	13
15	27	0	0	18
23	18	0	12	18
5	0	0	12	6
0	0	15	9	3
9	18	15	0	10
4	9	0	0	4
5	18	8	3	7
4	9	8	0	3
1	0	8	6	2
4	0	0	0	1
0	0	0	0	2
11	0	0	0	5

Table 8.1 Summary of Responses to Question About Being Discriminated Against

Group	No	Yes	Total	Yes Among Women	Reasons for Yes (Gender Includes Sexual Harassment) ^a
Working-class racists	76%	24%	100%	55%	Gender (women) Favoritism, not family member, wouldn't kiss up to boss Disability Age (older) No degree Not enough seniority Boss didn't like smoking and drinking Taunted as a farm boy
Middle-class conservatives	70	30	100	0	Hired instead of a minority They needed a woman Everyone interviewed was nonwhite Disability Lack of experience Not Japanese Private school background
Religious conservatives	74	26	100	6	Not black or female Token white Gender (women) Favoritism Age (two older, one younger) No degree Weight Small size Medical costs (disability) Lost sales Couldn't get in military
Apolitical majority	83	17	100	18	Gender (women) Age (six older, three younger) Gay Pregnant No degree Low grades Overqualified Favoritism Illness Poor relationship with boss Not enough whites Didn't fit in (not Southern, from New York, not Jewish, Italian, father's son)

Table 8.1 *(Continued)*

Group	No	Yes	Total	Yes Among Women	Reasons for Yes (Gender Includes Sexual Harassment) ^a
Religious nonconserva- tives	73	27	100	25	Gender (women) Age (one older, one younger) Resented for education
Working-class liberals	71	29	100	29	Gender (women) Age (one older, one younger) No degree Got job instead of a minority
Rich white liberals	74	26	100	32	Gender (six women, one male) Being a white male (two) Age (one older, one younger) Gay

Source: Author’s compilation.

Notes: Responses may not add up to 100 because of rounding error.

^aCoded responses to question: “Have you ever been discriminated against? If so, tell me about that.”

Table 8.2 Coded Responses of Socioeconomic Groups to Questions Regarding Affirmative Action

Dimension	Working- Class Racists	Middle-Class Conservatives	Religious Conservatives	Apolitical Majority	Religious Nonconservatives	Working- Class Liberals	Rich White Liberals	Total
Percentage of sample	12%	4.5%	19%	37%	4.5%	6%	17%	100%
Average								
Changes for women ^a								
Negative	52	45	36	25	27	0	0	26
Neutral	3	18	24	13	0	0	14	13
Positive	45	36	40	62	73	100	86	61
Total								100
Changes for African Americans ^a								
Negative	84	70	51	46	36	0	6	44
Neutral	13	10	18	16	18	7	9	14
Positive	3	20	31	38	45	93	86	42
Total								100
Changes for immigrants ^a								
Negative	68	45	60	51	36	21	11	46
Neutral	26	18	20	20	27	50	23	23
Positive	6	36	20	30	36	29	66	31
Total								100

Source: Author's compilation.

Notes: Responses may not add up to 100 because of rounding error.

^aCoded responses to question: "There are a number of issues that policymakers in government have been considering regarding education and jobs. I would like to ask about your opinions of some of these issues. For example, over the last couple of decades there have been many changes in both education and jobs, with more women and minorities getting into schools or jobs where they weren't previously. What do you think about the changes that have occurred in the kinds of education and jobs which women have been getting in the last couple of decades?" with follow-up: "What about African Americans? And what about Hispanic and Asian immigrants?"

Table 8.3 Views on the Effects of Affirmative Action, by Sociopolitical Group

Independent Variables	Affirmative Action Helps Blacks ^a	Affirmative Action Hurts Whites ^b
Constant	5.67***	3.21***
Education	-0.07	0.08
Income	0.09	-0.07
Gender (male)	-0.25	-0.04
Working-class racists	-0.06	1.95***
Middle-class conservatives	-0.51	1.43**
Religious conservatives	-0.17	1.68***
Apolitical majority	-0.45	0.83**
Religious nonconservatives	-0.31	0.11
Working-class liberals	-0.00	0.13
R-squared	0.005	0.138

Source: Author's compilation.

Notes: Reference category: rich white liberals.

^aResponses to question: "To what extent do you believe that affirmative action programs for blacks increased blacks' chances for jobs, promotions, and admission to schools and training programs?" Scale ranges from 1 = "not at all" to 7 = "a lot."

^bResponses to question: "To what extent do you believe that affirmative action programs for blacks reduced whites' chances for jobs, promotions, and admission to schools and training programs?" Scale ranges from 1 = "not at all" to 7 = "a lot."

* $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; **** $p < 0.001$.

Table 8.4 **Reasons Given for Why Employers Might Want to Hire Immigrants Rather Than African Americans**

Reasons ^a	Working- Class Racists	Middle-Class Conservatives	Religious Conservatives	Apolitical Majority	Religious Nonconservatives	Working- Class Liberals	Rich White Liberals	Total
Percentage of sample	12%	4.5%	19%	37%	4.5%	6%	17%	100%
								Average
Immigrants are cheaper	59	30	50	60	64	54	39	48
Immigrants work harder	38	60	44	39	73	38	33	38
Immigrants are exploitable	41	20	6	26	9	8	30	21
Immigrants are compliant	3	0	8	8	9	23	6	7
Immigrants are motivated	0	0	8	5	9	8	12	6
Immigrants are reliable	0	0	6	5	18	0	6	4
Blacks lack work ethic	31	10	17	14	18	8	15	15
Blacks are unreliable	7	20	3	1	0	0	9	4
Discrimination	0	0	3	3	0	8	21	11
Americans lack work ethic	3	30	11	14	18	0	12	5
Americans want more money	0	0	8	4	0	8	0	3
Don't know	0	0	6	3	0	0	0	2

Source: Author's compilation.

Notes: Responses may not add up to 100 because of rounding error.

^aCoded responses to question: "Recent research has found that some employers say they would rather hire immigrants than U.S.-born minorities. Why do you think this may be the case? What do you think about this situation?"

Appendix A Case Information for American Non-Dilemma Study, by Sociopolitical Group

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
AM	B	2	6	25	Delivers dry wall (construction)	B006 OH M WC Delivers dry wall (construction)
AM	B	2	11	55	Factory worker, tool grinder	B011 OH M WC Factory worker, tool grinder
AM	B	2	12	60	High school social studies teacher	B012 OH F MC HS social studies teacher
AM	B	2	14	45	Supervisor at small company	B014 OH M WC Supervisor small company
AM	B	2	15	43	Part-time postal worker	B015 OH F WC Part time postal worker
AM	B	2	17	42	Project engineering manager	B017 OH M MC Project engineering manager
AM	B	2	20	29	Wireless phone salesman	B020 OH M WC Wireless phone salesman
AM	B	2	22	47	Heavy equipment operator in steel mill	B022 OH M WC Heavy equipment operator in steel mill
AM	C	3	107	58	Accounting clerk	C007 NJ F WC Accting clerk
AM	C	3	111	25	Clerical worker in creative arts	C011 NJ F WC Clerical
AM	C	3	112	38	Crossing guard	C012 NJ F WC Crossing guard
AM	D	4	201	40	Unemployed engineer	D001 NJ M MC Unemployed engineer
AM	D	4	204	27	Hairdresser	D004 NJ F WC Beautician
AM	D	4	205	46	Unskilled worker	D005 NJ M WC Unskilled worker
AM	D	4	207	43	Assistant superintendent, public works	D007 NJ M WC Superint-pubworks
AM	D	4	210	25	Merchandiser in retail sales	D010 NJ F MC Retail sales

Appendix A *(Continued)*

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
AM	D	4	214	41	Chef in food service	D014 NJ M WC Chef-foodservice
AM	D	4	215	37	PC support technician	D015 NJ M MC PC support tech
AM	D	4	216	44	Broadcast engineer	D016 NJ M WC Broadcast engineer
AM	D	4	217	42	Executive chef	D017 NJ M WC Exec chef
AM	D	4	218	50	Purchasing agent	D018 NJ M MC Purchasing agent
AM	D	4	220	52	Deli clerk	D020 NJ F WC Deli clerk
AM	D	4	222	38	Insurance administrative assistant	D022 NJ F WC Insurance admin asst
AM	D	4	223	30	Nurse	D023 NJ F MC Nurse
AM	D	4	224	35	Assistant stock trader	D024 NJ M WC Asst stock trader
AM	D	4	225	37	Customer service worker	D025 NJ F WC Customer Service Worker
AM	D	4	227	51	Primary school teacher at private school	D027 NJ M MC Private school teacher
AM	D	4	228	29	Accountant	D028 F MC Accountant
AM	D	4	229	40	Laboratory technician in large company	D029 M WC Lab tech
AM	D	4	231	28	Senior trade analyst at large company	D031 F WC Senior trade analyst
AM	D	4	233	50	Development office assistant for private school	D033 NJ F WC Office asst for school
AM	D	4	234	31	Toxicologist in research lab of large company	D034 NJ M MC Toxicologist

AM	D	4	235	44	Facilities manager at golf course	D035 NJ M WC Facilities mgr
AM	D	4	236	57	Billing clerk in medical office	D036 NJ F MC Billing clerk
AM	D	4	237	26	Billing clerk in large company	D037 NJ F MC Billing clerk
AM	D	4	239	35	Part-time high school drama teacher	D039 NJ F MC High School drama teacher
AM	D	4	243	33	Special education teacher	D043 NJ F MC Special ed teacher
AM	D	4	249	45	Special education teacher	D049 NJ F MC Special ed teacher
AM	D	4	250	46	Manager of doctor's office	D050 NJ F WC Mgr-doctor's office
AM	D	4	254	44	Actuary	D054 NJ M MC Actuary
AM	D	4	255	40	Unemployed (degree in art history)	D055 NJ F MC Unemployed (art degree)
AM	D	4	257	33	Head frontline clerk on Wall Street	D057 NJ M MC Clerk on Wall St
AM	D	4	260	40	Part-time football coach	D060 NJ M MC Part-time football coach
AM	D	4	262	47	Patent attorney	D062 NJ M MC Patent attorney
AM	D	4	263	37	Regional manager for party sales	D063 NJ F WC Part sales mgr
AM	D	4	265	51	Actress	D065 NJ F MC Actress
AM	D	4	266	30	Financial analyst for real estate company	D066 NJ M MC Financial analyst
AM	D	4	267	42	Real estate appraiser	D067 NJ M MC Real estate appraiser
AM	D	4	274	35	Self-employed landscaper	D074 NJ M WC Landscaper
AM	D	4	276	36	IT manager at major company	D076 NJ F MC IT Mgr
AM	E	5	302	55	Door-to-door advertising manager	E302 OH F WC Door to door advertising manager
AM	E	5	305	29	Owner of small gift shop	E305 OH F WC Owner small gift shop
AM	E	5	307	53	Factory worker, tool checker	E307 OH M WC Factory worker, tool checker

Appendix A *(Continued)*

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
AM	E	5	315	50	Supervisor for cleaning business	E315 OH M MC Supervisor cleaning business
AM	E	5	316	29	Teacher	E316 OH F MC Teacher
AM	E	5	320	33	Bookkeeper in home business	E320 OH F WC Bookkeeper in home business
AM	E	5	323	44	Educator in rehabilitation	E323 OH F MC Educator in rehabilitation
AM	E	5	324	45	Self-employed programmer	E324 OH M WC Self employed programmer
AM	E	5	325	37	Licensed practical nurse	E325 OH F WC LPN
AM	E	5	333	39	Preschool teacher	E333 OH F WC Preschool teacher
AM	E	5	334	55	Unemployed real estate agent	E334 OH F WC Unemployed real estate agent
AM	E	5	335	50	Insurance office manager	E335 OH F WC Insurance office manager
AM	E	5	337	43	Clinical therapist, mental health	E337 OH F MC Clinical therapist, mental health
AM	E	5	341	47	Government accountant	E341 OH F MC Government accountant
AM	E	5	342	31	Student in optician program	E342 OH M WC Student in optician program
AM	E	5	343	34	Auto mechanic	E343 OH M WC Auto mechanic
AM	E	5	344	52	Disabled industrial arts teacher	E344 OH M MC Disabled industrial arts teacher
AM	E	5	345	50	Telephone company billing clerk	E345 OH F WC Telephone company billing clerk
AM	E	5	347	59	Beautician	E347 OH F WC Beautician

AM	E	5	349	52	Small-business loan officer	E349 OH M MC Small business loan officer
AM	E	5	352	50	Order entry in large company	E352 OH M WC Order entry in large company
AM	E	5	356	33	Attorney	E356 OH M MC Attorney
AM	E	5	357	43	Dentist	E357 OH M MC Dentist
AM	E	5	358	50	Unemployed cost accountant	E358 OH M WC Unemployed cost accoun- tant
AM	E	5	362	46	Unemployed/disabled attorney	E362 OH F MC Unemployed/disabled attorney
AM	E	5	363	33	Remodeling in small firm	E363 OH M WC Remodeling in small firm
AM	E	5	365	45	Owner of small trucking company	E365 OH M WC Owner small trucking company
AM	F	6	404	41	Hairstylist	F004 TN F WC Hairstylist
AM	F	6	414	45	Unemployed	F014 TN M WC Unemployed
AM	F	6	418	45	Postal worker	F018 TN M WC Postal worker
AM	F	6	419	45	Office assistant	F019 TN F WC Office asst
AM	F	6	420	55	Retired	F020 TN F WC Retired
AM	F	6	423	37	Homemaker	F023 TN F MC Homemaker
AM	F	6	425	51	Commercial art instructor	F025 TN M MC Art instructor
AM	G	7	506	47	Librarian	G506 TN F MC Librarian
AM	G	7	510	27	Self-employed	G510 TN F MC Self employed
AM	G	7	511	39	Bookkeeper	G511 TN F MC Bookkeeper
AM	G	7	515	42	Chef	G515 TN M WC Chef
AM	G	7	517	31	Musician	G517 TN M MC Musician
AM	G	7	522	36	Vending machine route man	G522 TN M WC Vending machine route man
AM	G	7	532	31	Self-employed entertainer	G532 TN M WC Self employed entertainer
AM	G	7	536	33	Self-employed photographer	G536 TN F WC Self employed photography

Appendix A *(Continued)*

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
MCC	B	2	13	48	Part-time development officer in high school	B013 OH F MC Part time development officer in HS
MCC	B	2	21	42	Homemaker (was dental assistant)	B021 OH F WC Homemaker (was dental assistant)
MCC	D	4	230	30	Small business owner, family company	D030 M MC Small business owner
MCC	D	4	240	29	Insurance claims adjuster for large company	D040 NJ M MC Insurance adjuster
MCC	D	4	273	49	General manager of market- ing for major foreign firm	D073 NJ M MC Mkting mgr
MCC	D	4	275	55	Unemployed homemaker	D075 NJ F MC Homemaker
MCC	E	5	327	34	Part-time college instructor, doctoral student	E327 OH F MC Part-time college instructor, doctoral student
MCC	E	5	336	44	Registered nurse	E336 OH F MC Nurse, RN
MCC	E	5	338	48	Worldwide business manager for new products	E338 OH M MC Worldwide business manager for new products
MCC	E	5	364	53	Paralegal	E364 OH F MC Paralegal
MCC	G	7	505	42	Sales	G505 TN M MC Sales
RC	B	2	1	49	High school teacher	B001 OH M MC High school teacher
RC	B	2	2	41	Quality control manager	B002 OH M MC Quality control manager
RC	B	2	3	37	Electrical engineer manager	B003 OH F MC Electrical engineer manager
RC	B	2	7	48	Unemployed teacher, housewife	B007 OH F MC Unemployed teacher housewife
RC	B	2	9	47	Practical nurse	B009 OH F WC Practical nurse

RC	B	2	10	45	Executive CEO of small company	B010 OH M MC Executive CEO of small company
RC	B	2	16	60	Retired teacher	B016 OH M MC Retired teacher
RC	B	2	19	50	Homemaker	B019 OH F MC Homemaker
RC	C	3	102	41	Homemaker, dentist	C002 NJ F MC Homemaker
RC	C	3	115	26	Firefighter, landscaper	C015 NJ M WC Firefighter
RC	D	4	213	38	Vice president of heavy-industry small firm	D013 NJ M MC VP-heavy industry
RC	D	4	241	44	Billing clerk for hospital	D041 NJ F WC Billing clerk
RC	D	4	246	54	Primary school music teacher in inner city	D046 NJ F MC Primary school music teacher
RC	D	4	269	47	Self-employed paper hanger	D069 NJ M WC Paper hanger
RC	D	4	270	46	Staff engineer at major company	D070 NJ M MC Staff engineer
RC	E	5	309	38	Homemaker	E309 OH F WC Homemaker
RC	E	5	311	43	Manager of insurance office	E311 OH M MC Manager insurance office
RC	E	5	313	39	Lawn and garden equipment sales and service	E313 OH M WC Law and garden equipment sales and service
RC	E	5	314	61	Pharmaceutical sales manager	E314 OH M MC Pharmaceutical sales manager
RC	E	5	326	48	Letter carrier	E326 OH M WC Letter carrier
RC	E	5	328	37	Pharmaceutical sales manager	E328 OH M MC Pharmaceutical sales manager
RC	E	5	348	40	Unemployed customer service representative	E348 OH M MC Unemployed customer service representative
RC	E	5	355	48	Nurse BSN	E355 OH F MC Nurse BSN
RC	E	5	361	31	Graphic designer	E361 OH M WC Graphic designer
RC	E	5	367	35	Graphic designer	E367 OH M WC Graphics designer
RC	F	6	401	53	Teacher	F001 TN F MC Teacher

Appendix A *(Continued)*

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
RC	F	6	402	25	Medical transcription	F002 TN F MC Medical transcription
RC	F	6	403	56	Account clerk	F003 TN F WC Account clerk
RC	F	6	405	40	Manager	F005 TN M MC Manager
RC	F	6	408	53	School headmaster	F008 TN M MC School headmaster
RC	F	6	411	45	Factory worker	F011 TN M WC Factory worker
RC	F	6	416	54	Homemaker	F016 TN F MC Homemaker
RC	F	6	424	38	Purchasing manager	F024 TN M MC Purchasing mgr
RC	G	7	502	55	Editorial assistant	G502 TN F WC Editorial assistant
RC	G	7	503	49	Administration	G503 TN M MC Administration
RC	G	7	509	53	Music teacher	G509 TN F MC Music teacher
RC	G	7	518	48	Construction manager	G518 TN M MC Construction manager
RC	G	7	525	46	Manager at industrial firm	G525 TN M MC Manager industrial firm
RC	G	7	526	43	Telecommunications execu- tive	G526 TN M MC Telecommunications executive
RC	G	7	527	28	Essential materials specialist	G527 TN F MC Essential materials specialist
RC	G	7	528	25	Office manager	G528 TN F MC Office manager
RC	G	7	529	23	Trim carpenter	G529 TN M WC Trim carpenter
RC	G	7	531	37	Accounting	G531 TN F WC Accounting
RC	G	7	534	48	Sales	G534 TN M MC Sales
RC	G	7	535	36	Aircraft assembler	G535 TN M WC Aircraft assembler
RC	G	7	537	44	Homemaker	G537 TN F WC Homemaker
RNC	D	4	244	41	Management consultant in own firm	D044 NJ F MC Mgmt consultant

RNC	E	5	329	35	Radiology technician	E329 OH F WC Radiology technician
RNC	E	5	330	25	Part-time preschool supervisor	E330 OH F MC Part-time preschool supervisor
RNC	F	6	407	41	Teacher	F007 TN F MC Teacher
RNC	F	6	410	33	Retail sales	F010 TN F WC Retail sales
RNC	F	6	412	30	Minister	F012 TN F MC Minister
RNC	F	6	413	50	Government service	F013 TN F MC Govt service
RNC	F	6	415	41	Electronics technician	F015 TN M WC Electronic tech
RNC	F	6	422	54	Travel consultant	F022 TN F WC Travel rep
RNC	G	7	501	56	Deputy sheriff	G501 TN M MC Deputy sheriff
RNC	G	7	507	49	Electronic publishing coordinator	G507 TN M WC Electronic publishing coordinator
RWL	B	2	4	45	Technician in research laboratory	B004 OH M MC Technician in research laboratory
RWL	B	2	23	45	High school drama teacher	B023 OH F MC High school drama teacher
RWL	C	3	101	42	Executive	C001 NJ F MC Executive
RWL	C	3	103	45	Clinical psychologist	C003 NJ F MC Clinical psych
RWL	C	3	104	46	Executive director of law firm	C004 NJ M MC Law firm director
RWL	C	3	105	48	Physician	C005 NJ F MC Physician
RWL	C	3	106	55	Unemployed writer	C006 NJ M MC Writer
RWL	C	3	108	45	Television writer	C008 NJ F MC TV Writer
RWL	C	3	109	39	Builder	C009 NJ M MC Builder
RWL	C	3	114	46	Corporate attorney	C014 NJ F MC Corp. attorney
RWL	D	4	206	36	Manager of music business	D006 NJ M MC Music mgr
RWL	D	4	226	41	Director of city planning department	D026 NJ M MC Direct city planning
RWL	D	4	232	47	Special education teacher and coordinator	D032 NJ F MC Special ed teacher
RWL	D	4	238	48	Unemployed salesman	D038 NJ M MC Unemploy salesman

Appendix A *(Continued)*

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
RWL	D	4	242	38	Social work manager in housing for homeless	D042 NJ F MC Social worker for homeless
RWL	D	4	245	53	Claims administrator in government office	D045 NJ M MC Claims admin
RWL	D	4	247	52	Insurance company executive	D047 NJ M MC Insurance exec
RWL	D	4	248	34	Attorney	D048 NJ M MC Attorney
RWL	D	4	251	37	Technical sales manager (EE)	D051 NJ M MC Tech sales mgr
RWL	D	4	253	48	Vice president of human resources in high-tech firm	D053 NJ F MC VP-HR
RWL	D	4	258	37	Freelance computer-based training expert	D058 NJ F MC Computer expert free lancer
RWL	D	4	259	59	Bond trader	D059 NJ M MC Bond trader
RWL	D	4	261	51	Assistant general manager of major food company	D061 NJ M MC Asst. mgr major food company
RWL	D	4	264	37	Senior brand manager for major company	D064 NJ F MC Sr brand mgr
RWL	D	4	268	36	Homemaker (unemployed meeting planner)	D068 NJ F MC Homemaker
RWL	D	4	271	48	Merchandising manager in food company	D071 NJ M MC Merchandising mgr
RWL	D	4	272	36	Unemployed nursing home administrator	D072 NJ F MC Unemploy nursing home admin
RWL	D	4	277	56	Customer service team leader in major company	D077 NJ F MC Customer service leader

RWL	E	5	306	47	Engineer	E306 OH M MC Engineer
RWL	E	5	308	54	Retired attorney	E308 OH M MC Retired attorney
RWL	E	5	319	49	Registered nurse	E319 OH F MC Nurse, RN
RWL	E	5	322	52	Primary school music teacher	E322 OH F MC Primary school music teacher
RWL	E	5	331	43	Project manager in government laboratory	E331 OH M MC Project manager government laboratory
RWL	E	5	332	45	Training manager for large company	E332 OH M MC Training manager for large company
RWL	E	5	346	31	High school business teacher	E346 OH F MC High school business teacher
RWL	E	5	353	54	Homemaker (trophy wife)	E353 OH F MC Homemaker (trophy wife)
RWL	F	6	409	54	Statistical analyst supervisor	F009 TN M MC Stat analyst supervisor
RWL	F	6	421	52	Christian denomination professional	F021 TN F MC Religious profession
RWL	G	7	514	56	School system administrator	G514 TN M MC School system administrator
RWL	G	7	516	40	Record producer musician	G516 TN M MC Record producer musician
RWL	G	7	521	53	Health care executive	G521 TN F MC Healthcare executive
RWL	G	7	530	25	Musician	G530 TN M MC Musician
WCL	B	2	5	33	Receptionist in doctor's office	B005 OH F WC Receptionist in doctor's office
WCL	D	4	202	49	Recreation assistant, substitute teacher	D002 NJ F WC Rec asst
WCL	D	4	208	50	Computer technician	D008 NJ M WC Computer tech
WCL	E	5	301	47	Custodian	E301 OH F WC Custodian
WCL	E	5	303	41	Homemaker	E303 OH F WC Homemaker

Appendix A *(Continued)*

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
WCL	E	5	359	38	Front-desk clerk at medical center	E359 OH F WC Front desk clerk at medical center
WCL	E	5	366	41	Self-employed construction worker	E366 OH F WC Self employed construction worker
WCL	E	5	368	52	Building contractor	E368 OH M WC Building contractor
WCL	G	7	504	38	Clerical worker	G504 TN F WC Clerical
WCL	G	7	512	40	Small-business owner	G512 TN M WC Small business owner
WCL	G	7	513	26	Web designer	G513 TN M WC Web designer
WCL	G	7	519	43	Commercial artist	G519 TN M WC Commercial artist
WCL	G	7	523	33	Massage therapist	G523 TN F WC Massage therapist
WCL	G	7	533	40	Electronics engineer	G533 TN M WC Electronics engineer
WCR	B	2	8	50	Surveyor	B008 OH M WC Surveyor
WCR	B	2	18	42	Welder	B018 OH M WC Welder
WCR	C	3	110	42	Police officer	C010 NJ M WC Policeman
WCR	C	3	113	38	Gas station owner	C013 NJ M WC Gas station owner
WCR	D	4	203	48	Carpenter	D003 NJ M WC Carpenter
WCR	D	4	209	46	Disabled railroad worker	D009 NJ M WC Disabled RR worker
WCR	D	4	211	30	Insurance adjuster	D011 NJ M WC Insurance adjuster
WCR	D	4	212	47	Housepainter	D012 NJ M WC House painter
WCR	D	4	219	48	Maintenance worker in large company	D019 NJ M WC Maintenance worker
WCR	D	4	221	41	Unemployed, retail sales	D021 NJ F WC Unemployed retail sales
WCR	D	4	252	57	Truck driver for flower shop	D052 NJ M WC Truck driver-florist shop
WCR	D	4	256	54	Self-employed real estate owner	D056 NJ F WC Real estate owner

WCR	D	4	278	39	Waitress and house cleaner	D078 NJ F WC Waitress-cleaner
WCR	E	5	304	52	Retired factory worker in meat plant	E304 OH M WC Retired factory worker in meat plant
WCR	E	5	310	53	Salesman	E310 OH M WC Salesman
WCR	E	5	312	38	Custodian	E312 OH F WC Custodian
WCR	E	5	317	42	Waitress at fast-food restaurant	E317 OH F WC Waitress at fast food restaurant
WCR	E	5	318	34	Homemaker	E318 OH F WC Homemaker
WCR	E	5	321	33	Self-employed trucking firm owner	E321 OH M WC Self employed trucking firm owner
WCR	E	5	339	31	Self-employed truck driver	E339 OH M WC Self employed truck driver
WCR	E	5	340	37	Warehouse sales	E340 OH F WC Warehouse sales
WCR	E	5	350	40	Owner of small industrial equipment company	E350 OH M WC Owner small industrial equipment company
WCR	E	5	351	52	Mortgage loan originator	E351 OH F WC Mortgage loan originator
WCR	E	5	354	51	Self-employed landscape business	E354 OH M WC Self-employed landscape business
WCR	E	5	360	45	Third party hearing representative for workman's compensation	E360 OH M WC 3rd party hearing rep for workmen's comp
WCR	F	6	426	41	Route sales and service	F026 TN F WC Route sales
WCR	F	6	427	31	Travel agent	F027 TN F WC Travel agent
WCR	G	7	508	44	Accounting	G508 TN F WC Accounting
WCR	G	7	520	27	Graphic designer	G520 TN M WC Graphic designer
WCR	G	7	524	36	Co-owner of small company	G524 TN M WC Co-owner of small company

Source: Author's compilation.

Notes: *Sociopolitical Groups: AM = Apolitical Majority; MCC = Middle-Class Conservative; RC = Religious Conservative; RNC = Religious Nonconservative; RWL = Rich White Liberal; WCL = Working-Class Liberal; WCR = Working-Class "Racist."

^bFile Names: OH = Ohio; NJ = New Jersey; TN = Tennessee; M = Male; F = Female; MC = Middle-Class; WC = Working-Class.

Appendix B Case Information for American Non-Dilemma Study, by Case Number

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
RC	B	2	1	49	High school teacher	B001 OH M MC High school teacher
RC	B	2	2	41	Quality control manager	B002 OH M MC Quality control manager
RC	B	2	3	37	Electrical engineer manager	B003 OH F MC Electrical engineer manager
RWL	B	2	4	45	Technician in research laboratory	B004 OH M MC Technician in research laboratory
WCL	B	2	5	33	Receptionist in doctor's office	B005 OH F WC Receptionist in doctor's office
AM	B	2	6	25	Delivers drywall (construction)	B006 OH M WC Delivers dry wall (construction)
RC	B	2	7	48	Unemployed teacher, housewife	B007 OH F MC Unemployed teacher housewife
WCR	B	2	8	50	Surveyor	B008 OH M WC Surveyor
RC	B	2	9	47	Practical nurse	B009 OH F WC Practical nurse
RC	B	2	10	45	Executive CEO of small company	B010 OH M MC Executive CEO of small company
AM	B	2	11	55	Factory worker, tool grinder	B011 OH M WC Factory worker, tool grinder
AM	B	2	12	60	High school social studies teacher	B012 OH F MC HS social studies teacher
MCC	B	2	13	48	Part-time development office in high school	B013 OH F MC Part time development office in HS
AM	B	2	14	45	Supervisor at small company	B014 OH M WC Supervisor small company
AM	B	2	15	43	Part-time postal worker	B015 OH F WC Part time postal worker
RC	B	2	16	60	Retired teacher	B016 OH M MC Retired teacher

AM	B	2	17	42	Project engineering manager	B017 OH M MC Project engineering manager
WCR	B	2	18	42	Welder	B018 OH M WC Welder
RC	B	2	19	50	Homemaker	B019 OH F MC Homemaker
AM	B	2	20	29	Wireless phone salesman	B020 OH M WC Wireless phone salesman
MCC	B	2	21	42	Homemaker (was dental assistant)	B021 OH F WC Homemaker (was dental assistant)
AM	B	2	22	47	Heavy equipment operator in steel mill	B022 OH M WC Heavy equipment operator in steel mill
RWL	B	2	23	45	High school drama teacher	B023 OH F MC High school drama teacher
RWL	C	3	101	42	Executive	C001 NJ F MC Executive
RC	C	3	102	41	Homemaker, dentist	C002 NJ F MC Homemaker
RWL	C	3	103	45	Clinical psychologist	C003 NJ F MC Clinical psych
RWL	C	3	104	46	Executive director of law firm	C004 NJ M MC Law firm director
RWL	C	3	105	48	Physician	C005 NJ F MC Physician
RWL	C	3	106	55	Unemployed writer	C006 NJ M MC Writer
AM	C	3	107	58	Accounting clerk	C007 NJ F WC Accting clerk
RWL	C	3	108	45	Television writer	C008 NJ F MC TV writer
RWL	C	3	109	39	Builder	C009 NJ M MC Builder
WCR	C	3	110	42	Police officer	C010 NJ M WC Policeman
AM	C	3	111	25	Clerical worker in creative arts	C011 NJ F WC Clerical
AM	C	3	112	38	Crossing guard	C012 NJ F WC Crossing guard
WCR	C	3	113	38	Gas station owner	C013 NJ M WC Gas station owner
RWL	C	3	114	46	Corporate attorney	C014 NJ F MC Corp. attorney
RC	C	3	115	26	Firefighter/landscaper	C015 NJ M WC Firefighter
AM	D	4	201	40	Unemployed engineer	D001 NJ M MC Unemployed engineer
WCL	D	4	202	49	Recreation assistant, substitute teacher	D002 NJ F WC Rec asst

Appendix B *(Continued)*

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
WCR	D	4	203	48	Carpenter	D003 NJ M WC Carpenter
AM	D	4	204	27	Hairdresser	D004 NJ F WC Beautician
AM	D	4	205	46	Unskilled worker	D005 NJ M WC Unskilled worker
RWL	D	4	206	36	Manager of music business	D006 NJ M MC Music mgr
AM	D	4	207	43	Assistant superintendent, public works	D007 NJ M WC Superint-pub works
WCL	D	4	208	50	Computer technician	D008 NJ M WC Computer tech
WCR	D	4	209	46	Disabled railroad worker	D009 NJ M WC Disabled RR worker
AM	D	4	210	25	Merchandiser in retail sales	D010 NJ F MC Retail sales
WCR	D	4	211	30	Insurance adjuster	D011 NJ M WC Insurance adjuster
WCR	D	4	212	47	Housepainter	D012 NJ M WC House painter
RC	D	4	213	38	Vice president of heavy- industry small firm	D013 NJ M MC VP-heavy industry
AM	D	4	214	41	Chef in food service	D014 NJ M WC Chef-food service
AM	D	4	215	37	PC support technician	D015 NJ M MC PC support tech
AM	D	4	216	44	Broadcast engineer	D016 NJ M WC Broadcast engineer
AM	D	4	217	42	Executive chef	D017 NJ M WC Exec chef
AM	D	4	218	50	Purchasing agent	D018 NJ M MC Purchasing agent
WCR	D	4	219	48	Maintenance worker in large company	D019 NJ M WC Maintenance worker
AM	D	4	220	52	Deli clerk	D020 NJ F WC Deli clerk
WCR	D	4	221	41	Unemployed, retail sales	D021 NJ F WC Unemployed retail sales

AM	D	4	222	38	Insurance administrative assistant	D022 NJ F WC Insurance admin asst
AM	D	4	223	30	Nurse	D023 NJ F MC Nurse
AM	D	4	224	35	Assistant stock trader	D024 NJ M WC Asst stock trader
AM	D	4	225	37	Customer service worker	D025 NJ F WC Customer Service Worker
RWL	D	4	226	41	Director of city planning department	D026 NJ M MC Direct city planning
AM	D	4	227	51	Primary school teacher at private school	D027 NJ M MC Private school teacher
AM	D	4	228	29	Accountant	D028 F MC Accountant
AM	D	4	229	40	Laboratory technician in large company	D029 M WC Lab tech
MCC	D	4	230	30	Small-business owner, family company	D030 M MC Small business owner
AM	D	4	231	28	Senior trade analyst at large company	D031 F WC Senior trade analyst
RWL	D	4	232	47	Special education teacher and coordinator	D032 NJ F MC Special ed teacher
AM	D	4	233	50	Development office assistant for private school	D033 NJ F WC Office asst for school
AM	D	4	234	31	Toxicologist in research lab of large company	D034 NJ M MC Toxicologist
AM	D	4	235	44	Facilities manager at golf course	D035 NJ M WC Facilities mgr
AM	D	4	236	57	Billing clerk in medical office	D036 NJ F MC Billing clerk
AM	D	4	237	26	Billing clerk in large company	D037 NJ F MC Billing clerk
RWL	D	4	238	48	Unemployed salesman	D038 NJ M MC Unemploy salesman
AM	D	4	239	35	Part-time high school drama teacher	D039 NJ F MC HS drama teacher

Appendix B *(Continued)*

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
MCC	D	4	240	29	Insurance claims adjuster for large company	D040 NJ M MC Insurance adjuster
RC	D	4	241	44	Billing clerk for hospital	D041 NJ F WC Billing clerk
RWL	D	4	242	38	Social work manager in housing for homeless	D042 NJ F MC Social worker for homeless
AM	D	4	243	33	Special education teacher	D043 NJ F MC Special ed teacher
RNC	D	4	244	41	Management consultant in own firm	D044 NJ F MC Mgmt consultant
RWL	D	4	245	53	Claims administrator in government office	D045 NJ M MC Claims admin
RC	D	4	246	54	Primary school music teacher in inner city	D046 NJ F MC Primary school music teacher
RWL	D	4	247	52	Insurance company executive	D047 NJ M MC Insurance exec
RWL	D	4	248	34	Attorney	D048 NJ M MC Attorney
AM	D	4	249	45	Special education teacher	D049 NJ F MC Special ed teacher
AM	D	4	250	46	Manager of doctor's office	D050 NJ F WC Mgr-doctor's office
RWL	D	4	251	37	Technical sales manager (EE)	D051 NJ M MC Tech sales mgr
WCR	D	4	252	57	Truck driver for flower shop	D052 NJ M WC Truck driver-florist shop
RWL	D	4	253	48	Vice president of human resources in high-tech firm	D053 NJ F MC VP-hr
AM	D	4	254	44	Actuary	D054 NJ M MC Actuary
AM	D	4	255	40	Unemployed (degree in art history)	D055 NJ F MC Unemployed (art degree)

WCR	D	4	256	54	Self-employed real estate owner	D056 NJ F WC Real estate owner
AM	D	4	257	33	Head frontline clerk on Wall Street	D057 NJ M MC Clerk on Wall St
RWL	D	4	258	37	Freelance computer-based training	D058 NJ F MC Computer expert free
RWL	D	4	259	59	Bond trader	D059 NJ M MC Bond trader
AM	D	4	260	40	Part-time football coach	D060 NJ M MC PT football coach
RWL	D	4	261	51	Assistant general manager of major food company	D061 NJ M MC Asst. mgr major food company
AM	D	4	262	47	Patent attorney	D062 NJ M MC Patent attorney
AM	D	4	263	37	Regional manager for party sales	D063 NJ F WC Part sales mgr
RWL	D	4	264	37	Senior brand manager for major company	D064 NJ F MC Sr brand mgr
AM	D	4	265	51	Actress	D065 NJ F MC Actress
AM	D	4	266	30	Financial analyst for real estate company	D066 NJ M MC Financial analyst
AM	D	4	267	42	Real estate appraiser	D067 NJ M MC Realestate appraiser
RWL	D	4	268	36	Homemaker (unemployed meeting planner)	D068 NJ F MC Homemaker
RC	D	4	269	47	Self-employed paper hanger	D069 NJ M WC Paper hanger
RC	D	4	270	46	Staff engineer at major company	D070 NJ M MC Staff engineer
RWL	D	4	271	48	Merchandising manager in food company	D071 NJ M MC Merchandising mgr
RWL	D	4	272	36	Unemployed nursing home administrator	D072 NJ F MC Unemploy nursing home admin

Appendix B *(Continued)*

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
MCC	D	4	273	49	General manager of marketing for major foreign firm	D073 NJ M MC Mkting mgr
AM	D	4	274	35	Self-employed landscaper	D074 NJ M WC Landscaper
MCC	D	4	275	55	Unemployed homemaker	D075 NJ F MC Homemaker
AM	D	4	276	36	IT manager at major company	D076 NJ F MC IT mgr
RWL	D	4	277	56	Customer service team leader in major company	D077 NJ F MC Customer service leader
WCR	D	4	278	39	Waitress and house cleaner	D078 NJ F WC Waitress-cleaner
WCL	E	5	301	47	Custodian	E301 OH F WC Custodian
AM	E	5	302	55	Door-to-door advertising manager	E302 OH F WC Door to door advertising manager
WCL	E	5	303	41	Homemaker	E303 OH F WC Homemaker
WCR	E	5	304	52	Retired factory worker in meat plant	E304 OH M WC Retired factory worker in meat plant
AM	E	5	305	29	Owner of small gift shop	E305 OH F WC Owner small gift shop
RWL	E	5	306	47	Engineer	E306 OH M MC Engineer
AM	E	5	307	53	Factory worker, tool checker	E307 OH M WC Factory worker, tool checker
RWL	E	5	308	54	Retired attorney	E308 OH M MC Retired attorney
RC	E	5	309	38	Homemaker	E309 OH F WC Homemaker
WCR	E	5	310	53	Salesman	E310 OH M WC Salesman
RC	E	5	311	43	Manager of insurance office	E311 OH M MC Manager insurance office
WCR	E	5	312	38	Custodian	E312 OH F WC Custodian

RC	E	5	313	39	Lawn and garden equipment sales and service	E313 OH M WC Lawn and garden equipment sales and service
RC	E	5	314	61	Pharmaceutical sales manager	E314 OH M MC Pharmaceutical sales manager
AM	E	5	315	50	Supervisor for cleaning business	E315 OH M MC Supervisor cleaning business
AM	E	5	316	29	Teacher	E316 OH F MC Teacher
WCR	E	5	317	42	Waitress at fast-food restaurant	E317 OH F WC Waitress at fast food restaurant
WCR	E	5	318	34	Homemaker	E318 OH F WC Homemaker
RWL	E	5	319	49	Registered nurse	E319 OH F MC Nurse, RN
AM	E	5	320	33	Bookkeeper in home business	E320 OH F WC Bookkeeper in home business
WCR	E	5	321	33	Self-employed trucking firm owner	E321 OH M WC Self employed trucking firm owner
RWL	E	5	322	52	Primary school music teacher	E322 OH F MC Primary school music teacher
AM	E	5	323	44	Educator in rehabilitation	E323 OH F MC Educator in rehabilitation
AM	E	5	324	45	Self-employed programmer	E324 OH M WC Self employed programmer
AM	E	5	325	37	Licensed practical nurse	E325 OH F WC LPN
RC	E	5	326	48	Letter carrier	E326 OH M WC Letter carrier
MCC	E	5	327	34	Part-time college instructor, doctoral student	E327 OH F MC Part-time college instructor, doctoral student
RC	E	5	328	37	Pharmaceutical sales manager	E328 OH M MC Pharmaceutical sales manager
RNC	E	5	329	35	Radiology technician	E329 OH F WC Radiology technician
RNC	E	5	330	25	Part-time preschool supervisor	E330 OH F MC Part-time preschool supervisor

Appendix B *(Continued)*

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
RWL	E	5	331	43	Project manager in govern- ment laboratory	E331 OH M MC Project manager govern- ment laboratory
RWL	E	5	332	45	Training manager for large company	E332 OH M MC Training manager for large company
AM	E	5	333	39	Preschool teacher	E333 OH F WC Preschool teacher
AM	E	5	334	55	Unemployed real estate agent	E334 OH F WC Unemployed real estate agent
AM	E	5	335	50	Insurance office manager	E335 OH F WC Insurance office manager
MCC	E	5	336	44	Registered nurse	E336 OH F MC Nurse, RN
AM	E	5	337	43	Clinical therapist, mental health	E337 OH F MC Clinical therapist, mental health
MCC	E	5	338	48	Worldwide business manager for new products	E338 OH M MC Worldwide business manager for new products
WCR	E	5	339	31	Self-employed truck driver	E339 OH M WC Self employed truck driver
WCR	E	5	340	37	Warehouse sales	E340 OH F WC Warehouse sales
AM	E	5	341	47	Government accountant	E341 OH F MC Government accountant
AM	E	5	342	31	Student in optician program	E342 OH M WC Student in optician program
AM	E	5	343	34	Auto mechanic	E343 OH M WC Auto mechanic
AM	E	5	344	52	Disabled industrial arts teacher	E344 OH M MC Disabled industrial arts teacher
AM	E	5	345	50	Telephone company billing clerk	E345 OH F WC Telephone company billing clerk

RWL	E	5	346	31	High school business teacher	E346 OH F MC High school business teacher
AM	E	5	347	59	Beautician	E347 OH F WC Beautician
RC	E	5	348	40	Unemployed customer service representative	E348 OH M MC Unemployed customer service representative
AM	E	5	349	52	Small-business loan officer	E349 OH M MC Small business loan officer
WCR	E	5	350	40	Owner of small industrial equipment company	E350 OH M WC Owner small industrial equipment company
WCR	E	5	351	52	Mortgage loan originator	E351 OH F WC Mortgage loan originator
AM	E	5	352	50	Order entry in large company	E352 OH M WC Order entry in large company
RWL	E	5	353	54	Homemaker (trophy wife)	E353 OH F MC Homemaker (trophy wife)
WCR	E	5	354	51	Self-employed landscape business	E354 OH M WC Self-employed landscape business
RC	E	5	355	48	Nurse BSN	E355 OH F MC Nurse BSN
AM	E	5	356	33	Attorney	E356 OH M MC Attorney
AM	E	5	357	43	Dentist	E357 OH M MC Dentist
AM	E	5	358	50	Unemployed cost accountant	E358 OH M WC Unemployed cost accountant
WCL	E	5	359	38	Front-desk clerk at medical center	E359 OH F WC Front desk clerk at medical center
WCR	E	5	360	45	Third-party hearing representative for workman's compensation	E360 OH M WC 3rd party hearing rep for workmen's comp
RC	E	5	361	31	Graphic designer	E361 OH M WC Graphic designer
AM	E	5	362	46	Unemployed/disabled attorney	E362 OH F MC Unemployed/disabled attorney
AM	E	5	363	33	Remodeling in small firm	E363 OH M WC Remodeling in small firm

Appendix B *(Continued)*

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
MCC	E	5	364	53	Paralegal	E364 OH F MC Paralegal
AM	E	5	365	45	Owner of small trucking company	E365 OH M WC Owner small trucking company
WCL	E	5	366	41	Self-employed construction worker	E366 OH F WC Self employed construction worker
RC	E	5	367	35	Graphic designer	E367 OH M WC Graphics designer
WCL	E	5	368	52	Building contractor	E368 OH M WC Building contractor
RC	F	6	401	53	Teacher	F001 TN F MC Teacher
RC	F	6	402	25	Medical transcription	F002 TN F MC Medical transcription
RC	F	6	403	56	Account clerk	F003 TN F WC Account clerk
AM	F	6	404	41	Hairstylist	F004 TN F WC Hairstylist
RC	F	6	405	40	Manager	F005 TN M MC Manager
RNC	F	6	407	41	Teacher	F007 TN F MC Teacher
RC	F	6	408	53	School headmaster	F008 TN M MC School headmaster
RWL	F	6	409	54	Statistical analyst supervisor	F009 TN M MC Stat analyst supervisor
RNC	F	6	410	33	Retail sales	F010 TN F WC Retail sales
RC	F	6	411	45	Factory worker	F011 TN M WC Factory worker
RNC	F	6	412	30	Minister	F012 TN F MC Minister
RNC	F	6	413	50	Government service	F013 TN F MC Govt service
AM	F	6	414	45	Unemployed	F014 TN M WC Unemployed
RNC	F	6	415	41	Electronics technician	F015 TN M WC Electronic tech
RC	F	6	416	54	Homemaker	F016 TN F MC Homemaker
AM	F	6	418	45	Postal worker	F018 TN M WC Postal worker

AM	F	6	419	45	Office assistant	F019 TN F WC Office asst
AM	F	6	420	55	Retired	F020 TN F WC Retired
RWL	F	6	421	52	Christian denomination professional	F021 TN F MC Religious profession
RNC	F	6	422	54	Travel consultant	F022 TN F WC Travel rep
AM	F	6	423	37	Homemaker	F023 TN F MC Homemaker
RC	F	6	424	38	Purchasing manager	F024 TN M MC Purchasing mgr
AM	F	6	425	51	Commercial art instructor	F025 TN M MC Art instructor
WCR	F	6	426	41	Route sales and service	F026 TN F WC Route sales
WCR	F	6	427	31	Travel agent	F027 TN F WC Travel agent
RNC	G	7	501	56	Deputy sheriff	G501 TN M MC Deputy sheriff
RC	G	7	502	55	Editorial assistant	G502 TN F WC Editorial assistant
RC	G	7	503	49	Administration	G503 TN M MC Administration
WCL	G	7	504	38	Clerical	G504 TN F WC Clerical
MCC	G	7	505	42	Sales	G505 TN M MC Sales
AM	G	7	506	47	Librarian	G506 TN F MC Librarian
RNC	G	7	507	49	Electronic publishing coordinator	G507 TN M WC Electronic publishing coordinator
WCR	G	7	508	44	Accounting	G508 TN F WC Accounting
RC	G	7	509	53	Music teacher	G509 TN F MC Music teacher
AM	G	7	510	27	Self-employed	G510 TN F MC Self employed
AM	G	7	511	39	Bookkeeper	G511 TN F MC Bookkeeper
WCL	G	7	512	40	Small-business owner	G512 TN M WC Small business owner
WCL	G	7	513	26	Web designer	G513 TN M WC Web designer
RWL	G	7	514	56	School system administrator	G514 TN M MC School system administra- tor
AM	G	7	515	42	Chef	G515 TN M WC Chef
RWL	G	7	516	40	Record producer musician	G516 TN M MC Record producer musician
AM	G	7	517	31	Musician	G517 TN M MC Musician
RC	G	7	518	48	Construction manager	G518 TN M MC Construction manager

Appendix B *(Continued)*

Sociopolitical Group ^a	Batch	Group Number	Survey/ Interview Number	Age	Occupation	File Name ^b
WCL	G	7	519	43	Commercial artist	G519 TN M WC Commercial artist
WCR	G	7	520	27	Graphic designer	G520 TN M WC Graphic designer
RWL	G	7	521	53	Health care executive	G521 TN F MC Healthcare executive
AM	G	7	522	36	Vending machine route man	G522 TN M WC Vending machine route man
WCL	G	7	523	33	Massage therapist	G523 TN F WC Massage therapist
WCR	G	7	524	36	Co-owner of small company	G524 TN M WC Co-owner of small company
RC	G	7	525	46	Manager at industrial firm	G525 TN M MC Manager industrial firm
RC	G	7	526	43	Telecommunications executive	G526 TN M MC Telecommunications executive
RC	G	7	527	28	Essential materials specialist	G527 TN F MC Essential materials specialist
RC	G	7	528	25	Office manager	G528 TN F MC Office manager
RC	G	7	529	23	Trim carpenter	G529 TN M WC Trim carpenter
RWL	G	7	530	25	Musician	G530 TN M MC Musician
RC	G	7	531	37	Accounting	G531 TN F WC Accounting
AM	G	7	532	31	Self-employed entertainer	G532 TN M WC Self employed entertainer
WCL	G	7	533	40	Electronics engineer	G533 TN M WC Electronics engineer
RC	G	7	534	48	Sales	G534 TN M MC Sales
RC	G	7	535	36	Aircraft assembler	G535 TN M WC Aircraft assembler
AM	G	7	536	33	Self-employed photographer	G536 TN F WC Self employed photography
RC	G	7	537	44	Homemaker	G537 TN F WC Homemaker

Source: Author's compilation.

^aSociopolitical Groups: AM = Apolitical Majority; MCC = Middle-Class Conservative; RC = Religious Conservative; RNC = Religious Nonconservative; RWL = Rich White Liberal; WCL = Working-Class Liberal; WCR = Working-Class "Racist."

^bFile Names: OH = Ohio; NJ = New Jersey; TN = Tennessee; M = Male; F = Female; MC = Middle-Class; WC = Working-Class.