2012

Racialized Perceptions: a Comparative Study of Symbolic Racism in Europe

Brandi D. Pikes

RACIALIZED PERCEPTIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SYMBOLIC RACISM IN
EUROPE

A Thesis
presented in partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Political Science
The University of Mississippi

by

BRANDI D. PIKES

May 2012

ABSTRACT

Symbolic racism is a concept that has been heavily publicized and studied in the American context. However, less is known about what factors may influence levels of symbolic racism outside of America, and more specifically, in Europe. Nevertheless, it expected that symbolic racism is present in European countries whose residents have a relationship with the African Diaspora and/or Great Migration of North Africans and Caribbean. Furthermore, symbolic racism is present where the state has laws implemented that prohibit actions of overt racism, old-fashion racism, and discrimination. Thus, this thesis examines symbolic racism in eight European countries: France, Italy, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Spain, Ireland, Belgium, and Germany.

The inquiry begins constructing a six item additive scale of symbolic racism for each country using data from Eurobarometer 53 taken in 2000. A confirmatory factor analysis is utilized to insure that items used to conceptualize symbolic racism belong together. In addition, a Cronbach's Alpha test was also conducted to insure reliability of scale. The findings suggest that the operationalization of symbolic racism used is appropriate.

The analysis continues with an examination of background characteristics that help explain individuals' levels of symbolic racism. The results of an ordinary least squares regression analysis for each country support some of the previous finding that age and political ideology can affect symbolic racism. Moreover, this research suggests that education not income is the most helpful explanatory variable in explaining individuals' symbolic racism in Europe.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Tabatha Pikes who taught and showed me that perseverance is the key to success and to never be afraid to achieve my dreams, because one can literally do all things through Christ who strengthens.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I express my deepest appreciation to my advisor, Dr. Robert Albritton and my committee members, Dr. Alice Cooper and Dr. Greg Love. Special thanks to Dr. Albritton, for always being so encouraging and patient throughout my thesis writing journey.

In addition, I would like to thank Dr. Donald Cole and Ms. Demetria Hereford for allowing me to participate in the Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program in Summer 2009, which encouraged me to pursue a graduate degree.

Lastly, I acknowledge the collegial support from my classmate Emmitt Y. Riley, who I spent many long nights discussing how symbolic racism and injustice is present everywhere.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

.

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The tardy recognition of color-consiousness long present but earlier denied has produced the

paradox in which a society not free of racism must remain race-consiuous for a while in order to

end race consciousness.- Dr. Allision Blakely

From forced migration to mass emigration, the African Diaspora has been deemed as the

movement of Africans and descendents of Africans throughout countries around the world. In

many countries these decedents have been victimized and marginalized by not only political

elites in power, but also by the institutions, which those in power regulate. Common examples of

this include implementation of Jim Crow Laws in the south of the United States and racial

eugenic policies in Germany. Theories of racism suggest that after overt-racism and

discrimination has been prohibited, symbolic racism tends to take formation. Symbolic racism is

a concept that has been heavily publicized, defined, and studied in the American context. Despite

the many advances of this theory, there has been a lack of literature examining symbolic racism

in European countries, where many members of the African Diaspora also live. Mirroring the

 Rodney King Riot in LA in the 1990s, there have been recent race riots due to frustration of

injustice and prejudice in Liverpool in 2011 and Paris 2005 suggesting there is a need to

understand symbolic racism, which is extremely important to understanding disadvantaged

minorities and their response to inequality and injustice. Therefore, the purpose of this research

project is to first determine what factors influences Europeans to have higher levels of symbolic racism, secondly to analyze how symbolic racism affects Europeans response to survey questions measuring stereotypes and black policy, and finally explore stereotypes of black Europeans and their quest for equality in an unequal world.

Previous research on racism of experiences by Blacks in Europe has been conducted in qualitative manner. In addition the few previous studies examining symbolic racism in European countries empirically have done so in limited manner. Defining symbolic racism is essential to the progress of this research study. In the past symbolic racism has been conceptualized as feelings or perceptions of Blacks as no longer victims of discrimination or injustice, black success attributed to them getting more they have earned, and those Blacks who are not as progressive can be attributed to laziness and lack of drive and motivation to work (McConahay & Hough 1976; Sears 1988; Sears and Henry 2003). In the past, symbolic racism has been used to explain Whites American' attitudes and perceptions on candidate preference, opposition to affirmative action policies, and increase in taxes to support black programs and communities (Sears and Kinder 1981; McConahay 1982; Sears and Citrin 1985). As it relates to the study of racism in Europe, Sociologists, Pettigrew and Meertens suggests that overt (referred as blatant) and symbolic (referred as subtle) racism is able to be operationalize separately and can be measured empirically in Western Europe (Pettigrew & Meertens 1995; Pettigrew & Meertens 2001). Moreover, much research is needed in order to understand what types of individual characteristics influence symbolic racism and how symbolic racism explains anti-black feelings in Western Europe.

There are several reasons why it is important to understand the relationship between symbolic racism and individuals' socioeconomic and political characteristics and how this can be

used to explain anti-black feelings seen in stereotypes and preferred policies. First such as an investigations is warranted, because the countries being examined in this research project are countries that are often projected as being examples of what it means to have social equality within a society and a high regard for human rights. In addition, understanding this relationship also demonstrates that racism affects not only the victims, but also those who have racists' tendencies. It is also imperative to understand that Blacks have been placed at a disadvantage in numerous developed countries, despite their quest for equality. Furthermore, in order for racism and inequality to be overcome within a society, more research is needed to suggest the harming effects of symbolic racism. Finally, this research is significant because it will not only fill a gap within the literature, but also increase scholars' understanding of and call attention to the obstacles diasporants face and how they respond.

In this comparative research study using data from Eurobarometer 53 taken in 2000, this paper presents a comparative analysis of symbolic racism and its determinants and symbolic racism as an explanatory variable for racialized perceptions in France, Italy, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Ireland, Spain, Belgium, and Germany. The findings suggest higher levels of symbolic racism can be attributed to individuals' who have lower socioeconomic status and in some countries lower education levels.

Outline of this study

The underlying assumption of this study is that symbolic Racism is present the countries being analyzed. Thus warrants an investigation into what types of characteristics explain individuals' levels of symbolic racism. In the second chapter of this work, I review the literature on symbolic racism. Symbolic Racism theory begins with the notion that those individuals who

exhibit traits of symbolic racism will have an anti-Black belief system, which is encompasses four types of anti-Black feelings.

In chapter 3, I provide a brief historical background on Blacks in France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, Spain, and Ireland. While Blacks are not the only minority group in many of the European countries, a historical context of Blacks is necessary since Blacks in Europe are often understudied throughout the discipline. After an examination of history of Blacks in Europe, one is able to acknowledge that while Blacks may not be a large minority group in many Europeans countries, they still have been victims of discrimination, overt-racism, injustice, and prejudice.

In Chapter 4, I develop the theory on why symbolic racism is present in these countries and how these conditions set the baseline for racialized perceptions of Blacks, which is demonstrated through symbolic racism. Moreover, the theory developed could also be applied to other minority groups, whose historical background is not explored in this study.

In Chapter 5, the four hypotheses for explaining symbolic racism are presented. In addition, the data set utilized and the method of analysis employed is also described in this section.

In Chapter 6, the results of the relationship between symbolic racism and its determinants in each country are presented. Through the use of an OLS regression analysis, a series of discoveries are made about how age, education, income, and political ideology affect individuals' levels of symbolic racism.

Finally, in Chapter 7 there is a restatement of the findings and conclusions of this work. In addition, the shortcomings of this work along with suggestions for future research are presented.

CHAPTER 2

PREVIOUS LITERATURE ON SYMBOLIC RACISM

I.   What is Symbolic Racism?

As early as 1970, the term symbolic racism was coined in academic literature by Sears and Kinders to represent the mixture of traditional American morals such as hard work and every man for his self with anti-black feeling sentiments (Sear & Kinder 1970, Sears & Kinder 1981). Furthermore symbolic racism was conceptualized in order to explain the "political role of white racial attitudes" (54). With the end of the Jim Crow Laws era and the implementation of laws prohibiting overt forms of racism, old-fashion racism and discrimination, symbolic racism theory suggests that a new form of racism developed , which was more subtle but still potent (Sears & Kinders 1971; Sears& Kinder 1981; Sears 1988; Tarman and Sears 2005).

In previous research studies, symbolic racism has been defined as encompassing four components in a coherent belief system. The first aspect of the symbolic racism as a belief system is that Blacks are no longer experiencing prejudice or discrimination. The second theme of symbolic racism is that Blacks refuse to work in general or work hard enough is what causes their lack of success. The third assumption is that Blacks are making too many demands on the government. Finally, Blacks do not deserve the opportunities they have received (Sears and Henry 2003; Henry & Sears 2002; Sears, Henry, and Kosterman 2000; Tarman and Sears 2003).

According to Sears and Henry 2003, the usage for term "racism" in this symbolic racism theory reflects "underlying prejudice towards Blacks" while "symbolic" reflects the idea that perceptions about Blacks are formed or developed on the basis of this stereotype that they lacking morals or values. Furthermore these racialized perceptions apply to all Blacks in general and lack differentiating between Blacks from different classes, geographic areas, or political ideology (Sears and Henry 2003).

II. Previous Studies Operationalization of Symbolic Racism

In the past symbolic racism has been measured using a single survey item as well as using as many as thirteen items (Kinders and Sanders 1996; McConahay 1986, Sears et al. 1997;Sears1981). Previous instruments of symbolic racism scales have relied on responses to various questions within the four components of symbolic racism belief system. Table 1 presents previous studies measures of symbolic racism:

Table 1

Previous Studies of Items Measuring Symbolic Racism											
Denial of prejudice and racism											
Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of lower classes											
Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States											
How many black people in Louisville and Jefferson County do you think miss out on jobs or promotions because of racial discrimination											
Refuse to work hard enough											
It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would try harder they could be just as well off as whites											
Do you think blacks who receive money from welfare programs could get along without it if they tried, or do they really need the help											
Blacks are too demanding											
Negroes shouldn't push themselves were they're not wanted											
Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights											
Blacks are demanding too much from society											
Blacks are undeserving											
Over the past years blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve											
Of the groups on the card, are there any which have gained more than they are entitled too.											
Sources: Kinders & Sears 1981; Sears 1981											
Sears& Henry 2003; McConahay and Hough 1976											

Critics of symbolic racism have attacked the theory in various aspects. One common critique is that the components used to measure symbolic racism vary from study to study. However, Sears, in 1981, suggested that differences in studies conceptualizing symbolic racism in a minor issue, as long as all of the conceptualization has "robust and reliable measures of racial attitudes" (Sears 1981:63). Some opponents of symbolic racism have also suggested that symbolic racism theory is not a separate belief system, but in fact symbolic racism is a proxy for other models such as principled conservatism model (symbolic racism theory taps conservative ideology) or a one racism model (symbolic racism theory is not different from overt racism. Thus all items measuring overt racism and symbolic racism are conceptualized and measured together) (Sniderman and Telock 1986; Tetlock 1994; Bobo 1988, Weigal and Howes 1985). However, studies utilizing confirmatory analysis suggest that symbolic racism is a distinct concept from other theories that can be conceptualized (Tauman and Sears 2005).

Previous research has also suggested that symbolic racism can be used to understand some Whites' position on black policy issues (Sears, 1988; Sears and Henry 2003). Black policy issues refers to issues such as the funding of black youth programs, election of black politicians, and busing black students to better schools (Kinder and Sears 1981, McConajay 1982, Sears and Citrin 1985). Symbolic racism has also been alleged to explain Whites' resistance to racial equality (Tarman and Sears 2005). Using symbolic racism as an independent variable to explain Whites support for a black candidate or opposition to busing has been criticized especially by racial threat theorists, who suggest that is inappropriate to use a dependent variable which in other studies could used as part of the independent variable of symbolic racism.

III. Determinants of Symbolic Racism

In order to understand symbolic racism and its possible effects on policy, it is imperative to understand the relationship between certain characteristics of an individual's background and the link with symbolic racism. In the American context individuals of lower socioeconomic status are more likely to have higher levels of symbolic racism. Furthermore previous research asserted that education, age, income, and political ideology could be correlated to symbolic racism. Older age has been associated with higher levels and positive correlation with symbolic racism. On the other hand, higher education is associated with lower levels of symbolic racism as well. Gender is not always significant in explaining levels of symbolic racism. However, in one study males were associated with higher levels of symbolic racism. Finally conservative ideology correlates with higher and significant levels of symbolic racism in the American context (Sears 1981; Tarman and Sears 2005).

IV. Symbolic Racism Theory Outside of the United States

It is important to note that most of the research on symbolic racism has been done in the United States. Nevertheless, there have been limited research studies examining symbolic racism in France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Ireland, United Kingdom and Spain. However, Pettigrew and Marteen study of subtle and blatant prejudice suggests that subtle prejudice,(which I refer to as symbolic racism) is indeed present and distinct from blatant racism concepts in western European countries such as France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom (2001;1995). Their studies suggest that individuals who are less educated and individuals who are more conservative will have higher levels of symbolic racism. Despite the research is strong points, their study has some limitations. For example, in their study the results for each country are not presented. The results are presented for Western Europe as a whole. In addition the

8

questions which could proxy symbolic racism, do not ask always about Blacks or minorities in general. Instead they ask about different minority groups in different countries. The difference in the wording of the survey item could pose a problem in the effectiveness of comparing symbolic racism across nations. Furthermore their study does not examine the relationship between income and symbolic racism (Pettigrew and Marteen, 1995).

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BLACKS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

In order to understand the plausibility of symbolic racism theory being applied outside of the United States it is imperative to provide a brief historical analysis of presences of Blacks, who represent one of the minority groups who are experiencing symbolic racism in France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, and Spain. Thus this chapter presents an overview of the experiences of Blacks in Europe.

I. Blacks Presence in France

To examine racism and discrimination in France one must first agree with the assumption that in spite of the lack of racial categorical breakdown in statistics and the legal ban of using these categories, racism and discrimination based on race or ethnicity can exist in a society that says everyone is French. Similarly in this research, I agree with Balibar 1991 and Stolcke 1995, concept "Racism without races" (Balibar 1991, Beriss 2005). Nevertheless the presence and development of Blacks in Frances stems from the end of WWI and WWII. Much of the historical literatures of the wars discuss the occupation of French troops including those who were colored. Furthermore, there are even accounts referred to as "Rhineland Bastards" in which the Black French soldiers had sexual relations with German women and fathered children. Common stereotypes of the black French soldiers included bad-manners, and rapist. After the wars the black French soldiers returned to France expecting to be treated with dignity and

fairness. However, despite them fighting in war representing France, these soldiers were not seen during that era as French men or citizens.

It would not be until 1946, that those individuals from countries who had department status such as Martinique and Guadeloupe would be officially recognized as full citizens (Stovall 2000). The 1946 law, which transformed Martinique and Guadeloupe into departements d'outre-mer (oversea departments) was supposed to provide equal political rights for Blacks. In addition they were allowed to receive unemployment benefits and health care provided by the French government. Thus, these people were declared to be French citizens and thus should have all the rights of French citizens. However, many of the African countries that were once colonized by France chose complete liberation and independence from France. Thus individuals from Northern African countries residing in France were not granted French citizenship after they became independent.

The next wave of Blacks migrating to France occurred in the 1960s, when the French government invited people from many of their former colonies in Northern Africa and from the French Antilles to fill the positions in both the private and public sector due to mass labor shortages. Furthermore, these Black resided in highly populated areas of low-income housing in became known as "habitations a loyer modere," especially in Paris, which in America is considered housing projects (Stoval 2000, 187).

During the civil rights movement of the United States, France was often portrayed as a mecca for racial equality. During the Harlem Renaissance period, history books share that James

Baldwin and Josephine Baker, as well as many other African-American writers, dancers, and singers traveled from the U.S. to France, where they felt they were treated better in the land of a colorblind society. However, while African-Americans may have been treated fairly, there is much evidence that Black Caribbean or North Africans did face discrimination. Despite the lack of France having racist laws targeted towards Blacks, stereotypes of Blacks were still present in the media and political campaigns. Some common stereotypes of Blacks were loud, party-goers, sexual maniacs, athletic, practitioners of black magic, exotic, and criminals (Beriss 2004).

Furthermore, it is suspected that symbolic and institutional racism has been even more present despite the notions of France as a color-blind society. Traces of racism and discrimination can be seen in poor housing as well as failure to prosecute discrimination on the accounts that some landlords would not allow Blacks to rent better, because some areas had met their tolerance level for amount of Blacks which can be in the area (Beriss 2004). There is an extreme fear of a rising increase in the number of "ethnic ghettos" (Beriss 2004). Often in France, Black- French are victims of discrimination in employment opportunities (Beriss 2004). However, black citizens of France are often times overlooked by policies and politicians because politicians assume that those Blacks who have French citizenship will not be or have not been treated differently than the other French, because they do not have legalized race categories even though individuals have different skin colors. In addition ethnographic interviews have presented evidence of racial profiling done by police as well as lack of government funds in black neighborhoods for public buildings like city halls. One interview presented in Beriss' *Black Skins, French Voices*, recounts how Blacks could not use city hall to host functions as well as how the governor of the city refused to believe there was racism in his town (Beriss 2004, 92). The governor's line of reasoning is aligned with the notion that there is no reason for

discrimination and racism law because in France there are no races. Not only are Black-French victims of housing and employment discrimination, they are also victims of police brutality and racial-profiling (Beriss 2004; Begag 2007). Furthermore, the 1990s brought about strong racial tension when Blacks were portrayed as a "source of social disorder", because of the disillusion met with the amount of violence and crime committed in areas where there is high concentration of Blacks (Beriss 2004, 43).

Black power movements have also been short-lived in France. The first was one emphasizing Negritude, which started in 1920 and 1930s. The movement was focused on asserting black identity in order to counter European oppression of Blacks and the notion that black culture was inferior to European culture (Hine 2009, 67). There was even Antillanite movement which sought to promote Antillean or Caribbean culture and counter French government assimilation efforts. In 2005, the CRAN, representatives council of black association was founded (Hine 2009, 190). Today, there are about 337,000 Martinicans and Guadeloupians in France (Marie 2002, 32; Boeldieu and Borrel 2002, 2; Beriss 63). Overall, there are an estimated 2.5 million Blacks in France (Hine 2009).

II. Blacks Presence in Belgium

In order to understand the history of Blacks in Belgium one must first understand there is no such thing as a just one black community in Belgium. Nowadays the black communities are broken down into a black Flemish community and a black Francophone community.   The black Flemish speak Dutch. They are settled in northern Belgium. However, the black Francophone speak French and tend to settle in the southern part. Many of the blacks in Belgium arrived from the country former colonies Congo/Zaire, Rwanda, and Burundi. The mass migration of blacks came from Congo and Rwanda-Burundi during the later 1950s and early 1960s when many

parents from these countries sent their children to Belgium for education purposes. Often times many of them from these countries were adopted by white families who were part of the Flemish culture.

Another mass migration of Blacks, those from francophone countries many of whom were from former colonies, migrated to Belgium after WWII. These Blacks settled in cities of Belgium such as Brussels and Wallonia, where French was the main language. These two cities are known for having larger populations of Blacks than northern Belgium. Nearly 70,000 Blacks are estimated to reside in Belgium. It is important to note that there is limited English information on the Afro-Belgium community.

Furthermore, the Belgium government first created legislation on July 30, 1981 to combat racism and discrimination. However no components of this legislation stressed or emphasize equal opportunities would be provided despite race or ethnicity (Hine 2009, 218).

III. Blacks Presence in Netherlands

Prior to the 1970s, the presence of Blacks in the Netherlands consisted of Suriname Creoles students who had come to attend the university. However, once Suriname became independent from the Dutch in 1975, there was mass migration of natives of Suriname, because there was strong ethnic tension between the Creoles and the Hindus. During this time, some feared an ethnic war would soon manifest itself, which led many to migrate to the Netherlands. However, no civil war ever occurred. After this migration, it seems that racial discrimination began to become more prevalent (Blakely 2000). In addition Black Dutch people also originated from the Netherland Antilles. From 1970-1974, 150,000 Black Suriname and 40,000 Black Antilleans arrived in the Netherlands (Blakely 2000, 9).

The Netherlands is another country, which, during 20th century, was thought of by the international community as being racially tolerant. Despite being painted as being a race neutral society, the Netherlands has been the victimizer of institutional racism especially targeted towards black people. For centuries, the story of Sinterklass (equivalent to American Santa Clause) and Zwarte Piet (Santa's black help) has been a part of Dutch Christmas traditions. In the story, Zwarte Piet is portrayed as being an evil villain, becoming Sinterklass help or servant (Blakley 2000). It has been alleged by some black parents that Zwarte Piet has negative impact on black children and adolescence, thus creating low self-esteem (Blakely 2000). No legislation has been brought forth to stop or hinder the production of these story books.

What is furthermore surprising is the tradition of mocking the Black Surinamese once each year. In the Netherland's an official holiday called Sinterklass, which began in November has been suggested to be a prime example of institutional racism. On this holiday white people dress in colonial clothing and afro wigs as well as paint their face with black-face make-up and wear black gloves and socks in addition to imitating black Surinamese accents. They allege that they are dressing as Zwarte Pete, Sinterklass' black help. When Blacks have protested at this event held in various cities throughout the Netherlands, they have been met with police brutality and arrest for ruining what officers have called Dutch children event. Supporters of the holiday insist there is nothing racist or immoral about mocking black Surinamese. In this instance, one is able to see anti-racism movements are not well tolerated in the Netherlands.

It has also been suggested that there has been a history of unfair sentencing in murder cases. For example Blacks murdering White would get longer sentences or the death penalty than Whites murdering Blacks (Hine 2000, 19). In addition, in recent years there has been lack of

enforcement by the juridical system to find guilty defendants who incite hatred of Blacks through hate speech as in the case of politician Geert Wilders.

The black Surinamese community resides in Rotterdam and Amsterdam. In the areas, heavily populated by Blacks they created strong black identity through the establishment of Black business markets. Today Blacks in the Netherlands represent 500,000 of total population (Hines 2009).

IV. The Presence of Blacks in Germany

When examining the history of racism and discrimination against Blacks in Germany one notes knows that much of the as it relates to Germany and race relations has been centered on Anti-Semitism, anti-Turkisism, or anti-gypsyism. However, it is important to note that while the Afro-German population may be smaller than the African-American population in America they too have experienced the plight of an un-equal society. While Germany was a colonial power during late 19th century, the increased presence of Blacks in Germany stems from WWI and WWII (Opitz et. al 1991). Following WWI, the Treaty of Versailles stated that the British, French, Belgian, and British would occupy the Rhineland for the next 15 years but would slowly withdraw troops as the years progressed. Around the 1920s, at the end of the 1st world war the French military sent over troops. Some of them were from Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Madagascar, who occupied the German Rhineland. Many German politicians especially those of right-wing parties felt the use of black occupation soldiers by the French was a way for the French government to humiliate Germany and bring about disgrace. Their logic was that they once operated colonies in Africa and now it seemed as if those who should be colonized actually had power over them (Opitz et. al 1991, 41). In addition all parties except the Socialist party submitted unsuccessful legislation for the removal of all black troops.

16

In addition, due to the increased presence of Blacks there was a mass propaganda campaign launched which portrayed all black troops as rapists, incompetents, and mass murderers (Opitz et. al 1991). The propaganda campaign was referred to as "Schwarzer Schmach," which translates to Black Horror in English. These types of campaigns can be seen as a scapegoat for the occupation children who had black fathers. It had also been suggested that any German women who had a child with a black soldier was automatically labeled as a prostitute and an un-fit mother in the media. The children with black fathers and German mothers during this period were also too referred to besatzungskinder (colored occupation children), mischlingskinder (mixed blood children) or negermischlingskinder. These children of mixed-race where also commonly called "Rhineland Bastards" by government officials and the media. The mixed race off-spring were stereotyped by the media, politicians, and even race anthropologists as being overly-energetic, hot-tempered, disease-spreading, and incompetent. While some German women kept their children, others placed their children in state institutional care. During this same period, The Society of Racial Hygiene began performing sterilization of these children who were in group homes, in order to prevent what they called "racial disease" (Opitz et. al 1991, 48).

Furthermore, once Adolf Hitler came to power, he implemented Nuremberg Laws of 1935 which prohibited Germans from having interracial sexual relations and reproduction. These unlawful acts could be punished by law. Early on during his reign he introduced legislation that mandated sterilization of black children for racial eugenic reasons (Opitz et. al 1991, 49).
It is important to note that many of the children eventually were sterilized secretly to prevent international outrage from other countries. The German Foreign Office issued a memo stating the importance of keeping the abuse of black children quiet, since the international society was

already taking noting of the mistreatment of Jews (Opitz et. al 1991, 50-26). The sterilization was carried out by doctors who asserted these individuals were "unworthy of life due to physical and mental infirmity." While only 400 children were recorded as having being sterilized, it is quite possible that many more were sterilized but were not recorded (Opitz et. al 1991, 53).

During WWII, the American military was composed of Black and White soldiers who still operated under a segregated system. The black soldiers stationed in Germany lived in poor military bases. While initially not allowed to marry or have a public relationship, many African-American soldiers and German women did have sexual relations. At the end of the war it has been estimated that nearly 5,000 occupation children had African-American fathers and German mothers. This second wave of occupation children was often times framed as "The Negro Problem." In some cases the Afro-German children were taken away by welfare officials from their German mother, who some anthropologists continued to deem as unfit and troubled, because they had sexual relations with a black man (Fehrenbach 2007). With the end of WWII and the Holocaust, German officials wanted to rebuild their image in a more positive light. Hence there was no mandate for the new wave of occupation children of African American fathers and German mothers to be sterilized. Despite the fact that government wanted to project a new image of equality and fairness, Blacks and Whites were not allowed to marry and schools were not integrated by government officials until the 1950s (Fehrenbach 2007).

Furthermore, there was not a prominent black empowerment movement until the 1980s Farbe Bekennen publication, Initiative Schwarze Deutsche, and Afro-deutsche Frauen organizations. During this time a black German history month was also created (Fehrenbach 2007). These organizations were committed to social equality and preventing injustice. It is

estimated that around 700,000 Afro- Germans are dispersed throughout Germany today (Hine 2009).

V. Black Presence in Italy

Italy is one of the closest European countries to the continent of Africa. Most of the Blacks in Italy including those Blacks who are Italian citizens are from West African countries such Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Ghana, and Senegal. In 1975, Italy enacted legislation which coincides with the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (218). The mass migration of blacks in Italy occurred during the early 1980s (Hine 2009, 15). This was during when the Italian economy and job marketing were booming (Hine 2009, 7), thus, creating a stronger, visible black presence.

Interesting enough there are few immigration laws in Italy (Hine 2009, 124). However, in recent years there has been legislation addressing issues of "stranieri" or foreigners.

It is important to note that the media and legislative debates tended to avoid issues of race, Blacks in Italy and immigration in social policy concerns. One of the events that force the media and politicians to take a stand on racial matters, was the racially- motivated death of Jerry Masslo, a young South African who was murdered by an Italian gang in 1989(Hine, 2009 125). His death prompted the first legislation of its kind, enacted in 1990, referred to as the Martelli Law, that would grant immigrants migrating before December 1989, "permesso di soggiorno," which made them legal residents (Hine, 2009 125). Those who arrived after 1989 had to reside in Italy for 10 years before they would receive Italian citizenship. In 2002, with the rise of right-wing politicians, legislation was passed which made it mandatory for all non-Italians to be fingerprinted (Hine 2009, 125). It is also important to point out that legislation granting

birthright citizenship has not been successfully in passed by the government. Today there are about 300,000 Blacks in Italy.

VI. Black Presence in Spain

As early as 1461, Blacks arrive in Spain as slaves. Slavery would not be abolished in Spain and Spanish territories or every colony except Cuba, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo until 1811. There are no precise figures for how many Blacks resided in Spain after the abolition of slavery. However, it is estimated that prior to Columbus, exploration there were already 10,000 North Africans enslaved on the mainland of Spain. Furthermore, it has been alleged that many of the Blacks that arrived in the 20th and 21th century, came illegally by sneaking across of the border of two of Spain's territories Melilla and Cuerta. These two Spanish territories geographically are a part of Morocco. Spain is a member of Western Europe's passport free zone, which means that if African immigrants do manage to get into Spain, they can stay if they find work or move to other passport free countries. The latest wave of a great migration of Blacks to Spain occurred in the last twenty to thirty years (Hine 2009).

According to Alto Consejo de las Comunidades Negras (High Council of Black Communities), there are 683,000 individuals of African descent, who make up 1.5 % of the total population in 2009. The focus of this organization is to make Blacks more visible in politics and policy-making. It is important to note that there is no government sponsored census, which takes into account the respondents race and ethnicity. Blacks in Spain mostly have origins in Nigeria, Guinea, Senegal, and Morocco. The majority of those Blacks reside in Madrid and Barcelona.

Similar to Blacks in other Western European countries, Blacks in Spain do endure discrimination and racism, especially when looking for housing and applying to higher paid employment (Hine 2009). Many Blacks in Spain live in housing projects in Barcelona. It is

20

important to note that in Spain there is no racist or xenophobic political party or mainstream newspaper or tabloids. However, much of the political debate rarely relates to the conditions or mistreatments of Blacks in Spain, but is focused on how to prevent illegal immigration. There have been commercials sponsored by the Spanish government, airing in western African countries, suggesting that individuals of African descent should not come to Spain. Furthermore, the media and elite discourse tends to also focus stereotyping all immigrants and their descendents as criminals instead of focusing on the legal immigrants who came to Spain due to labor shortages. In Spain, incidents of discrimination tend to be unreported, because of Blacks' fear that they may be deported or face an increase in harassment. However, there are several internet blogs, which discuss the amount of racially motivated violent acts committed against Blacks. Furthermore cases of racism are also underreported in the media (Teun A. van Dijk. 2005). However, one of the instances of racism which gained international media spotlight was seen in the World Cup when Spain's soccer coach made a racist remark about a French black soccer player.

As it relates to Black power movements, there have been some initiatives by Blacks in Spain called Africa Vive (Africa Lives), which occurs every year with events from April to July. The cultural and political events are sponsored by Casa Africa, whose goal is to foster positive discussion about the positive efforts of Blacks as well as frame Blacks in Spain and Africa in a more positive light.

VII. Black Presence in the United Kingdom

Blacks residing in Britain date from to the Atlantic slave trade era, when many white elite Europeans had one or two black African slaves in English households (Fryer, 1984). Liverpool, Lanchestor, London, Portsmouth, and Bristol are known historically for serving as British Slave

ports in the Atlantic slave trade. Once the selling of slave was prohibited, it is estimated that there were 15,000 blacks through-out the country in the 18th century (Fryer, 1984). By the mid-1790s most Blacks were free due to Mansfield law or by escaping from their slave owners (Fryer, 1984, 132). But, throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, documents were published encouraging racism and racist ideology. It has been suggested that racist ideology developing back that time is pertinent to understanding the mistreatment of Blacks for the next 200 years (190). Interestingly enough in 1786, there was a committee for the relief of black poor which distributed clothes and food to former black slaves (Fryer 1984, 194). (For a more in-depth look at the history of Blacks in the United Kingdom see *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* by Peter Fryer.)

Examples of overt racism can be seen in race riots of 1919 in Liverpool, which was the result of Blacks being rejected from employment after paying 2 pounds for their union books to be updated. One of the officials, J.B. Fye used a racist language to get a group of white seamen rallied up and started a fight with the Blacks, ironically, which resulted in Blacks being arrested (Fryer, 1984, 299). After this incident, Blacks became a prime target for racism overtly. Other incidents similar to the Race Riot of 1919 took place in Cardiff and London among other places. In some cases Blacks' houses were set on fire and broken into. There was also this notion of anti-black rioting. These openly racist attacks would persist throughout 1940s.

Researching black power movements, one is able to discover that the first Pan-Africanism conference took place in London in 1900 (Fryer 1984, 273). However the first Pan-African Congress did not take formation until the 1970s with W.E.B. Dubois.

In the 20th century, the growing presence of Blacks in the United Kingdom had much to do with the British government recognizing the need for labor. To fill this need they turned to

their colonies in the Caribbean as a source of labor (Small 1994, Small 1997). While Blacks came prepared to work for low-wages, they were not prepared for the racialized hostility they would encounter.

While Blacks only make-up a small percentage of the populations, they are quite visible in the community because of many residing in areas which are highly concentrated with Blacks. Today Blacks are more likely to be self-employed, unemployed or paid low wages compared to other races (Small 1994, 362). One of the key issues in the 1990s was the increase in social stratification thus increasing racialized inequality (Small 1994, 263). In the 1990s, incidences of overt or symbolic racism became hard to prove (Small 1994, 364).

VIII.   Ireland

While there is a Black population living in Ireland, there is a lack of literature documenting the history of Blacks in Ireland. Nevertheless, despite the limitations of providing a historical background of Blacks in Ireland it still was important to include Ireland in this study of symbolic racism.

CHAPTER 4

SYMBOLIC RACISM AND THE PRESENCE OF BLACK EUROPEANS

Despite the lack of previous studies investigating symbolic racism and racialized perceptions of Blacks in Europe, there are several reasons why the symbolic racism concept that has been highly conceptualized and operationalize in the U.S. can also be theorized in France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Ireland, United Kingdom, and Spain. For the purpose of this paper symbolic racism can defined as feelings of anti Black-European which are demonstrated through more subtle forms of discrimination such as housing and employment discrimination that has often been hard to prosecute in judicial court systems in western Europe.

Furthermore, symbolic racism is expected to be found in various countries in Western Europe, because when reviewing the literature on the treatment and experiences of Afro-Europeans one is able to see that there was once a long history of legalized racism in many countries. One of the legalized forms of racism described earlier was racial eugenics and the sterilization of Afro-German children in Rhineland and segregated group's homes and schools. In addition, while reparations payments have made to the Jewish community for the injustice they suffered at hands of government officials due to legalized racism and discrimination during the Holocaust, no reparation payments have been made to Afro-Germans.

Secondly, symbolic racism is expected to be present in these countries, because there are high levels of housing and employment discrimination. For example, in France, Blacks have faced what some may call legal housing discrimination when attempting to rent houses or

24

apartments in better neighborhoods, because of this accepted notion that white French have a certain tolerance level for the amount of black French and black minority that should be present in his or her neighborhood (Beriss 2005).

In additions just as Blacks have been humiliated in America, in some countries Blacks are still put down or humiliated in front of masses. For example in the Netherlands, Black Suriname are mocked every year on the national holiday of Sinsterklass, when white people dress up as black people including painting their faces black, dressing in colonial servant attire and attempting to speak in manner in which the black Suriname speaks (basically mock their accents). While the definition of what is overt racism or how to determine if one has been discriminated against may vary by country, in all of these countries overt-racism and discrimination became outlawed before or after WWII. Finally, similar to the United States in all these countries Blacks have been portrayed as a social problem to nation.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

This chapter begins by presenting the hypotheses for explaining individuals' symbolic racism in each of the countries being analyzed as well as the data source. Next there is an explanation of the conceptualization of the dependent variables and the independent variables. Finally, a description of the method of analysis is presented.

I. Hypothesis

H1: In France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, Ireland, and Spain individuals who are older will have higher levels of symbolic racism (Sears and Kinders 1971; McConahay 1982; Sears 1988; Pettigrew & Merteens 1995; Sears and Kanders 1996).

H2: In France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, Ireland, and Spain individuals with higher levels of education will have lower levels of symbolic racism (Sears and Kinders 1971; McConahay 1982; Sears 1988; Pettigrew & Merteens 1995; Sears and Kanders 1996).

H3: In France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, Ireland, and Spain individuals who have lower income, will have higher levels of symbolic racism (Sears and Kinders 1971; McConahay 1982; Sears 1988; Sears and Kanders 1996).

H4: In France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, Ireland, and Spain individuals whose political ideology lean more to the right will have higher levels of symbolic

racism (Sears and Kinders 1971; McConahay 1982; Sears 1988; Pettigrew & Merteens 1995; Sears and Kanders 1996).

II. Data

In order to tests the hypothesis presented, I rely on data taken from the Eurobarometer 53: Racism, Information Society, General Services, and Food Labeling survey conducted in 2000. While the survey was conducted in over twenty countries in Europe, I will only be relying on data for seven countries. Again the countries being examined are France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany (west), Italy, Ireland, United Kingdom, and Spain. The countries were selected, because of their history of maintaining a population of Blacks who have lived in the country for at least the past twenty to thirty years. In addition, the countries have at one point and time had some instances of racial violence. Furthermore they all have signed the United Nations' Convention on the Eliminations of all Forms of Racial Discrimination of 1965 (MacEwen 1995). The unit of analysis implemented in this study is country year.

III. Dependent Variable: Symbolic Racism Conceptualization

The dependent variable is symbolic racism. In order to conceptualize symbolic racism it was necessary to develop a 6 item additive score to measure symbolic racism in each country. The symbolic racism scale used in this research study ranges from 6-12 with 6 representing low and 12 representing high symbolic racism. The six items used to conceptualize symbolic racism and for factor analysis were taken from a pool of nearly 40 items. A single factor emerged for each exploratory factor analysis for each country. The item responses were agree or disagree. The table below shows the variable and the survey question from Eurobarameter 53 that measures that component of symbolic racism. Further details of the scales are provided below in Table 2.

Table 2

Composition of Symbolic Racism Scale

Variable	Question
Education Suffers	In schools where there are too many children from these minority groups, the quality of education suffers.
Abuse Benefits	People from these minority groups abuse the system of social benefits.
Create Insecurity	The presence of people from these minority groups is a cause of insecurity.
Prefertial Treatment	People from these minority groups are given preferential treatment by the authorities.
Increase Umemployment	The presence of people from these minority groups increases the umemployment in (country).
Increase Crime	They are more often involved in criminality than the average.
	* The answer choices were 1.agree. 2. diagree

There are several benefits to using this method of operationalization. First by using an additive score of symbolic racism we are able to encompass several aspects of theories of symbolic racism. Furthermore this measure allows one to see the effects of modern day stereotypes of Blacks in Europe. While some previous studies of symbolic racism have used two-four items to conceptualize a symbolic racism scale, relying on a six item additive score makes it possible to ensure our measure of symbolic racism is capturing all of the various components where symbolic racism can be present.

Previous research on the theory of symbolic racism has suggested that symbolic racism is attributed to anti-black feeling. While the survey questions relied upon use the word minority instead of using black, this proxy is sufficient for measuring anti-black because the countries being analyzed of the long-standing history of a sufficient black community. Overall the operationalization of the dependent variable is both reliable and valid in our quest to understand symbolic racism.

IV. Independent Variables

In the regression analysis for each country, symbolic racism is used as a dependent variable in order to determine if the results of previous American literature on who will have higher symbolic racism holds true in European countries.

Earlier research has demonstrated linkages between symbolic racism and five of the independent variables. While many of the seminal and previous research studies on symbolic racism have been done in American context, it is important to see if the same relationships between symbolic racism and these variables exist in various European countries with diaporic and black minority history.

The first variable is *Political Ideology* which is measured by self-placement on a 10-point scale ranging from political left to right. In this regard, on the scale 1 is extreme left and 10 can be seen as extreme right. The individuals were asked, "In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right." How would you place your views on this scale?"

The next set of independent variables relates to socioeconomic status. These variables are education and monthly income. *Education* is measured by the number of years of schooling. *Monthly income* is measured by self-placement into which monthly income brackets the individual felt represented him or her using the currency of the country. Finally, *Age* is measured from the reported birth date.

V. Description of Method of Analysis

In order to determine what type of characteristics cause higher or lower symbolic racism in each country, regression of analysis was used. This research study required a regression analysis in order to understand what factors may contribute to individuals having high levels of

symbolic racism in France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, Spain, Ireland, and Netherlands.

The empirical analysis begins by presenting the results of a descriptive analysis and Pearson's Correlation of symbolic racism and each of the independent variables. Furthermore, in order to understand the relationship between symbolic racism and these variables an OLS regression analysis was conducted.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS: SYMBOLIC RACISM IN AMERICA & EUROPE

I.   Results of an Analysis of Symbolic Racism in America

Before presenting the results of the comparative analysis of symbolic racism in Europe, it

is necessary to present the results of symbolic racism in American, since this the country where

symbolic racism theory originally developed. Thus, data for symbolic racism in America analysis

was taken from the National Election Studies 2008-2009. The conceptualization of symbolic

racism in America is a 6-item additive score. It is important to note that during the time, this

study was taken place it was extremely pivotal time in racial politics, because in 2008 the first

black president was elected. The mean score of symbolic racism was 12 on a scale ranging from

7 to 21. Nevertheless, the results of symbolic racism in America are presented in the Table 3

below.

Table 3

Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in America	
Age	-.014 (.03)***
Education Level	-.275 (.04)***
Income	-.031 (.013)*
Political Ideology	.209 (.025)***
Gender	-.372 (.095)***
Constant	13.36 (.34)***
N=	
R(2) .09	
Degrees of Freedom 5	
Significance .000	
P-Values Significance Levels *=.05, **=.01, ***=.005	

Contrary to previous research lower age in this model is associated with higher levels of symbolic racism. Similar to previous research studies lower education levels and lower income are correlated with higher levels of symbolic racism. Finally, as individuals become more aligned to the right on the political ideology they tend to have higher levels of symbolic racism.

II. Descriptive Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Europe

Before presenting the results of regression analysis for the European Countries, it is important to present and discuss the mean level of symbolic racism in each country as well as present the frequencies for each country. Table 4 presents the mean level of symbolic racism and standard errors in each of the countries being analyzed.

Table 4

Mean Level of Symbolic Racism in each Country								
	France	Belgium	Germany	Italy	Ireland	United Kingdom	Spain	Netherlands
Mean (S.E)	9.66 (.09)	9.84 (.08)	9.42 (.09)	8.82 (.08)	8.91 (.09)	8.83 (.09)	8.25 (.08)	8.24 (.08)
Stadard Deviation	2.17	1.97	1.83	1.85	1.92	2.01	1.84	1.82
N=	612	656	431	489	415	556	525	515
	*Scale range from 6-12							

Again, the symbolic racism scale created and relied upon ranges from 6 suggesting

no/low symbolic racism, to 12 suggesting high symbolic racism. Examining the means and

standard errors of symbolic racism in each country, there appears to be only marginal differences

between the scores for most of the countries.

In addition it came as no surprise that France, a country which in the past and recently

has been in the news because of increasing race relation tension, would have a higher mean score

of symbolic racism. Contrary, Belgium a country that is very low-profile in the international

media as it relates to issues of race had the highest mean of symbolic racism. For a more in-

depth examination of symbolic racism in each of the countries, the frequencies and percentages

table is presented below in Table 5.

Table 5

Levels of Symbolic Racism in Europe (frequencies and percentages)																
	France		Belgium		Netherlands		Germany		Italy		Ireland		UK		Spain	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent
6	86	14.05	56	8.54	114	22.14	36	8.35	57	11.66	48	11.57	94	16.91	113	21.52
7	59	9.64	53	8.08	93	18.06	45	10.44	82	16.77	65	15.66	80	14.39	109	20.76
8	44	7.9	68	10.37	99	19.22	52	12.06	85	17.38	69	16.63	83	14.93	86	16.38
9	56	9.15	69	10.52	75	14.56	72	16.71	88	18.00	68	16.39	82	14.75	80	15.24
10	80	13.07	105	16.01	60	11.65	80	18.56	69	14.11	52	12.53	72	12.95	57	10.86
11	116	18.95	129	19.66	45	8.74	88	20.42	57	11.66	60	14.46	74	13.31	48	9.14
12	171	27.94	176	26.83	29	5.63	58	13.46	51	10.43	53	12.77	71	12.77	32	6.1
Total	612	100.0%	656	100%	515	100%	431	100%	489	100%	415	100%	556	100%	525	100%

Nearly 60% of those in France had a symbolic racism score ranging from 10-12. Similarly in Belgium 63% of those surveyed had a symbolic racism score ranging from 10-12. Contrary in the Netherlands, 26% of those surveyed had a symbolic racism ranging from 10-12. In Germany, 52.4% of the sample had symbolic racism scores ranging 10-12. While in Italy 36% of the sample fell in the 10-12 range. Similarly 39% of the sample in Ireland fell in the 10-12 range. However in the United Kingdom, 39% of the sample scored a level 10-12. Finally, in Spain, 26% of the sample had a 10-12 level of symbolic racism.

After examining frequencies and percentages of symbolic racism in each country sample, it seems evident that one of the countries that have the largest black population in Europe (United Kingdom) does not have highest percentage of individuals falling in the high symbolic racism range. This preliminary result is quite interesting. Perhaps, in the United Kingdom there is more of a class struggle than race struggle in the modern era. On the other hand, it is quite possible individuals who have racist tendencies or are racist tend to be more overt. Therefore, the researcher decided to examine the available information on hate crimes of race in the United Kingdom. 2010 was the first the United Kingdom government released official hate crime statistics. Prior to 2010, there were only estimates. In 2009, there were 45,000 racially-related hate crimes. Much more investigation is needed before we determine what causes certain countries to have higher or lower amounts of symbolic racism in relation to proportion of Blacks as well as low-class.

When the data on age, education level, income, and political ideology are used to analyze symbolic racism, there are mixed findings for the influence of individuals' background characteristics. An examination of the relationships between symbolic racism in each country and each of the independent variables suggest there is little association between symbolic racism

and political ideology and income in most of the countries. However, in Spain there is a strong

and positive association between symbolic racism and higher income.   There is an also a very

limited correlation between symbolic racism in each country and age. As it relates to education

level, the results of the Pearson's correlation suggest that there is some negative correlation

between education and symbolic racism in France, Belgium, and the United Kingdom. See

Table 6 for a more detailed presentation of the results.

Table 6

Associations Between Symbolic Racism in								
Western Europe and Age, Education, Income, and Political Ideology								
(Pearson's r)								
	France	Belgium	Netherlands	Germany	Italy	Ireland	United Kingdom	Spain
Age	.23***	.16***	-.12 ***	.15***	.09*	.14***	.18***	.10*
Education	-.31***	-.27***	.15***	-.22***	-.25***	-.20***	-.30***	-.15***
Income	.06	-.11***	.04	-.01	-.12***	-.04	-.04/ .21***	.89*
Political Ideology	.08*	.06	-.11**	.14***	.02	.06	.02	.04
N=	612	656	515	431	489	415	556	525
P-Values Significance Levels *=.05, **=.01, ***=.005								
Source: Eurobarometer 53								
Note: In the UK the income variable the / seperates Great Britian and Nothern Ireland								

Again, an ordinary least squares regression analysis of symbolic racism was conducted

for each country. Each country results will be reported in a separate table, followed by a

discussion for each.

III. Results of OLS Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in France

Table 7

Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in France	
Age	.19 (.09)*
Education Level	-.19 (.03)***
Income	.004 (.002)*
Political Ideology	.003 (.002)*
In-group/Out-group	-.05 (.09)
Gender	-.11 (.17)
Constant	10.2 (.48)***
N=612	
R(2) .11	
Degrees of Freedom 6	
Significance .000	
P-Values Significance Levels *=.05, **=.01, ***=.005	

First the independent variables will be interpreted. There was a significant and positive

relationship between age and symbolic racism in France. As individuals age increased there was

a higher level of symbolic racism. Thus providing support for Hypothesis 1. Secondly, the

regression analysis revealed there were negative and highly significant relationship between

education level and symbolic racism. Individuals with higher levels of education were more likely to have higher levels of symbolic racism, which supports Hypothesis 2. On the other hand, there was a significant relationship present between income and an individual's level of symbolic racism. Those who had higher levels of income also had higher levels of symbolic racism. In addition as individuals move towards the conservative side of the political ideology scale symbolic racism, the level of symbolic racism increases, leading support for Hypothesis 4. Neither of the control variables in-group/out-group classification or gender was statistically significant. Above, the results of the OLS regression for France is symbolic racism is presented in Table 7.

IV. Results of OLS Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Belgium

Table 8

Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Belgium	
Age	.02 (.08)
Education Level	-.17 (.03)***
Income	-.003 (.002)**
Political Ideology	.004 (.002)**
In-group/Out-group	.06 (.10)
Gender	.08 (.15)
Constant	10.62 (.46)***
N=656	
R(2) .08	
Degrees of Freedom 6	
Significance .000	
P-Values Significance Levels *=.05, **=.01, ***=.005	

Unlike France, there was no statistically significant relationship between age and symbolic racism. Thus a lack of support is found for Hypothesis 1 in Belgium. However, lower education does continue to correlate with higher levels of symbolic racism. In addition the relationship is highly significant at a .000 level. This supports Hypothesis 2. Furthermore in Belgium income and symbolic racism have negative and significant relation. It is important to note this is the only country where income was significant and supported Hypothesis 3. Political ideology was also significant and in positive direction as individuals move to the political right, symbolic racism increases. This supports Hypothesis 4. Neither in-group/out-group selection nor gender was shown to be very significant. The results of the OLS regression for Belgium symbolic racism is presented in Table 8.

V. Results of OLS Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Netherlands

Table 9

Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Netherlands	
Age	-.09 (.09)
Education Level	.09 (.03)***
Income	.003 (.003)
Political Ideology	.007 (.002)***
In-group/Out-group	.10(.10)
Gender	.31 (.16)*
Constant	7.45 (.52)***
N=515	
R(2) .05	
Degrees of Freedom 6	
Significance .000	
P-Values Significance Levels *=.05, **=.01, ***=.005	

Similar to Belgium, there was no significant relationship found between age and symbolic racism in the Netherlands. However, it is interesting that the direction of the relationship is negative unlike many of the other countries. Therefore no support is indicated for

Hypothesis 1. In the Netherlands a relationship between symbolic racism and age was detected. As individuals' become older, their level of symbolic racism increased as well. Thus no support is found for Hypothesis 2. In addition, the relationship between income and symbolic racism is close to being statistically significant, with a significance level of .1. However, the direction of the relationships is also interesting- as income increases, symbolic racism increases. Likewise Hypothesis 3 in Netherlands lacks support. As it relates to political ideology, as individuals become more conservative, symbolic racism increases, which supports Hypothesis 4. Again, in-group/out-group selection was not significant. However, gender is significant. Females tend to have higher levels of symbolic racism. The results of the OLS regression for Netherlands symbolic racism is presented in Table 9.

VI. Results of OLS Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Germany (West)

Table 10

Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Germany	
Age	.17 (.09)**
Education Level	-.11 (.03)***
Income	-.001 (.002)
Political Ideology	.006 (.002)***
In-group/Out-group	-.006(.10)
Gender	-.11 (.17)
Constant	9.53 (.49)***
N=431	
R(2) .07	
Degrees of Freedom 6	
Significance .000	
P-Values Significance Levels *=.05, **=.01, ***=.005	

Similar to France, in Germany age is correlated with higher levels of symbolic racism, thus providing support for hypothesis 1. Again education level is negative and significant. Individuals in Germany with lower education have higher levels of symbolic racism, supporting Hypothesis 2. There was no significant relationship found between income and symbolic racism. Finally, support for Hypothesis 4 is evident since in Germany, as individuals become more righting on the political ideology scale symbolic racism increase. Neither gender nor in-group/out-group selection was significant. Above, the results of the OLS regression for Germany symbolic racism are presented in Table 10.

VII.   Results of OLS Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Italy

Table 11

Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Italy	
Age	-.01 (.08)
Education Level	-.12 (.03)***
Income	-.004 (.002)*
Political Ideology	.001 (.002)
In-group/Out-group	-.19 (.09)*
Gender	-.18 (.16)
Constant	10.2 (.42)***
N=489	
R(2) .08	
Degrees of Freedom 6	
Significance .000	
P-Values Significance Levels *=.05, **=.01, ***=.005	

Despite the lack of statistical significance, the relationship between age and symbolic racism in

Italy is in a negative direction. Once again, education level is significant suggesting support for

Hypothesis 2. Individuals with higher education, tended to have lower levels of symbolic racism. Furthermore support for Hypothesis 3 is also projected; as income increases symbolic racism increased. Interesting enough in Italy political ideology was not statistical significant in explaining levels of symbolic racism. Gender was not significant, but in-group/out-group selection was significant. Individuals who identified themselves as being apart of the in-group had higher levels of symbolic racism. Above, the results of the OLS regression for Italy symbolic racism are presented in Table 11.

VIII. Results of OLS Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in United Kingdom

Table 12

Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in United Kingdom	
Age	.13 (.08)*
Education Level	-.22 (.03)***
Great Britain Income	.003 (.002)*
Northern Ireland Income	.01 (.003)***
Political Ideology	.000 (.002)
In-group/Out-group	.10(.09)
Gender	-.27 (.15)*
Constant	7.97 (.53)***
N=556	
R(2) .15	
Degrees of Freedom 7	
Significance .000	
P-Values Significance Levels *=.05, **=.01, ***=.005	

Similar to France and Germany, in the United Kingdom there is a positive and significant relationship between age and level of symbolic racism, thus supporting Hypothesis 1. Furthermore, both age and education were age highly significant. Individuals with higher education levels can be linked to having lower levels of symbolic racism, therefore supporting Hypothesis 2. The income variable for the United Kingdom is broken down into Great Britain income and Northern Ireland income. The results suggested that individuals with higher income can have higher levels of symbolic racism, supporting Hypothesis 3. However, political ideology and symbolic racism were not found to be significant. While in-group/out-group selection was not significant, gender was significant. Men in the United Kingdom tend to have higher levels of symbolic racism. Above the results of the OLS regression for United Kingdom symbolic racism is presented in Table 12.

IX. Results of OLS Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Spain

Table 13

Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Spain	
Age	.05 (.09)
Education Level	-.08 (.03)***
Income	.004 (.002)**
Political Ideology	.002 (.002)
In-group/Out-group	-.05(.08)
Gender	-.03 (.16)
Constant	8.34 (.41)***
N=525	
R(2) .04	
Degrees of Freedom 6	
Significance .000	
P-Values Significance Levels *=.05, **=.01, ***=.005	

Finally in Spain there is no significant relationship between age and symbolic racism. There is a

lack of support for hypothesis 1. As it relates to education, as individuals level of education

decrease, symbolic racism increase. Therefore support for hypothesis 2 is demonstrated. In addition in Spain as income increases, symbolic racism increases. However, political ideology is not statistically significant in explaining individuals' level of symbolic racism. In addition, neither in-group/out-group selection nor gender was significant. Above the results of the OLS regression for Spain symbolic racism is presented in Table 13.

X. Results of OLS Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Ireland

Table 14

Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Ireland	
Age	.08 (.10)
Education Level	-.11 (.04)***
Income	-.000 (.002)
Political Ideology	.003 (.003)
In-group/Out-group	.07(.10)
Gender	-.01 (.19)
Constant	9.23 (.54)***
N=415	
R(2) .08	
Degrees of Freedom 6	
Significance .000	
P-Values Significance Levels *=.05, **=.01, ***=.005	

As it relates to Ireland, there was no significant relationship demonstrated between age, income, or political ideology. Only support for hypothesis 2 was found. Likewise as individuals' level education decreased higher level of symbolic racism are to be associated. As it to the controls neither in-group/out-group selection or gender demonstrate significance. Above, the results of the OLS regression for symbolic racism in Ireland is presented in Table 14.

XI. Symbolic Racism Across Europe

Table 15

OLS of Regression of Symbolic Racism In Europe (controlling for fixed effects)		
Age	.13 (.02)***	0.07
Education Level	-.10 (.01)***	-.17
Income	.00 (.00)*	.03
Political Ideology	.00 (.00)*	.02
In-group/Out-group	-.00 (.02)	-.00
Gender	-.16 (.04)***	-.04
France Dummy Variable	.35 (.08)***	.05
Netherlands Dummy Variable	.39 (.08) ***	.06
Germany Dummy Variable	-.07 (.09)	.00
Italy Dummy Variable	-.61 (.09)***	-.08
Ireland Dummy Variable	-.39 (.10) ***	-.04
United Kingdom Dummy Variable	-.64 (.08)***	-.08
Spain Dummy Variable	-1.17 (.09)***	-.15
Constant	9.72 (.12)***	
R(2) .08		
Degrees of Freedom 13		
Significance		
P-Values Significance Levels *=.05, **=.01, ***=.005		
*Belgium is excluded		

Table 15 above presents the results of an OLS regression analysis of symbolic racism across Europe. This model includes dummy variables for each country except Belgium, which was excluded from the model. It is important to note that most of the beta weights for each variable in this model is relatively small (column 3 of Table 15). When examining symbolic racism across Europe, older age is associated with higher levels. Moreover lower education is correlated with higher levels of symbolic racism. While income and political ideology was not significant in the OLS regression for many of the countries analyzed in this study, in this model income and political ideology are significant, but their coefficients are zero. In addition, males were also associated with higher levels of symbolic racism.

Furthermore, upon examination of the dummy variables for the various countries, one immediately notices Germany is not statistically significant. In comparison to Belgium, which is excluded from the model, the baseline for Spain symbolic racism is extremely different. The coefficient was -1.17. This suggests that Spain in relation to the rest of Europe has lower levels of symbolic racism. Likewise, United Kingdom, Ireland, and Italy also have negative coefficients. Finally, in relation to other countries, France as a country appears to have higher symbolic racism.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Despite the extensive amount of literature on symbolic racism, much of the discussion of symbolic racism has been framed and analyzed in the American context. Nevertheless, racism and discrimination is not just an American concept. Therefore, it is imperative that scholars understand the individual characteristics that explain levels of symbolic racism in other countries. Overall the purpose of this thesis was to understand what types of characteristics of individuals such as age, income, education, and political ideology can affect one's level of symbolic racism in Western Europe. Analyzing this relationship is extremely important to expanding the disciplines' knowledge of the difference in determinants of higher and lower levels of symbolic racism in France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Ireland, Spain, and the United Kingdom.

Thus, Chapter 2 presented a review of the literature on symbolic racism. Chapter 3 presented a historical analysis of the treatment of one of the smaller minority groups in Europe. Chapter 4 presented a theory for why symbolic racism can be conceptualized outside of the United States. In Chapter 5 the methodology was presented. Finally, chapter 6 provided the results of each country's OLS regression analysis of symbolic racism, which address the cross-national puzzle of symbolic racism and age, income, education, and political ideology.

Moreover, the various models analyzing symbolic racism in seven European countries contribute to the broader symbolic racism literature in several ways. With regards to age, previous literature has found that individuals who are older tend have higher levels of symbolic racism (Sears and Kinders 1971; McConahay 1982; Sears 1988; Pettigrew & Merteens 1995; Sears and Kanders 1996). The models presented for France, Germany, and the United Kingdom support this notion. Thus, support for hypothesis 1: increases in age correlate with higher levels of symbolic racism. The results for the other countries indicate that age is not statistically significant in explaining levels of symbolic racism.

The education variable was significant in all models. The extant literature on symbolic racism asserts that lower education can be correlated with higher levels of symbolic racism (Sears and Kinders 1971; McConahay 1982; Sears 1988; Pettigrew & Merteens 1995; Sears and Kanders 1996). The results of all but one country in this study support previous literature findings. Note that in the Netherlands, higher education was found to be correlated with higher levels of symbolic racism.

Furthermore, previous literature has argued that lower income is associated with higher levels of symbolic racism (Sears and Kinders 1971; McConahay 1982; Sears 1988; Sears and Kanders 1996). Only the results of Italy and Belgium support hypothesis three that has been heavily supported in the American context. Interestingly enough, in France, United Kingdom, and Spain those individuals with higher incomes had higher levels of symbolic racism.

Finally, the political ideology variable was significant in four countries: France, Belgium, Netherlands, and Germany. This supports existing literature, which have found individuals whose political ideology lean more to the right will have higher levels of symbolic racism (Sears

and Kinders 1971; McConahay 1982; Sears 1988; Pettigrew & Merteens 1995; Sears and Kanders 1996).

Nevertheless this research project has a few limitations and several strengths. One of the limitations is that in the survey data "minority" was used in questions measuring perceptions. While early in this paper, a historical background of only minority group is presented, the data measures attitudes or racialized perceptions of all minority groups. Therefore, this study is limited in scope in exploring symbolic racism of various, specific minority groups.

Contrary, one of the main strengths of this research is that it allows for the comparisons to be made cross-nationally about determinants of symbolic racism. In addition, this research provides valuable insight into how certain factors that affect symbolic racism in one country may not affect symbolic racism in another country. Another strength of this research project is that it presents a short historical background of understanding the presence of Blacks in Europe. Implicitly, this project also suggests that the higher the Black population in a respective country does not necessarily correlate to having a higher mean of symbolic racism in a country. Finally, this research study presents support that symbolic racism theory can be applied globally.

Subsequently, this research project suggests several, new exciting avenues for future comparative research studies of symbolic racism. In America, symbolic racism has been used as an explanatory variable to explain support for Black political candidates and support for policies that would be beneficial to Blacks. For future research studies, it would be beneficial to examine whether symbolic racism can determine or affect individuals' support policy positions or candidate choice in countries outside the United States. Furthermore, it would also be fitting to analyze survey data, which ask specific questions measuring feelings about people who are of Middle Eastern, African, and Caribbean descent in Europe. This type of study would perhaps

broaden the theory of symbolic racism from anti-black feelings to include other minority groups such as Middle Eastern, who are also experiencing great prejudice and discrimination.

Overall, the implications of this study of symbolic racism in Europe suggest that education may be the factor that transcends from country to country to explain differences in symbolic racism. Furthermore, in countries where lower education is associated with higher levels of symbolic racism, perhaps governments should consider creating various initiatives for encouraging individuals to seek higher education. Thus, these types of initiatives might also cause those who experience the effects of symbolic racism to be victimized less. However, in countries, where higher education is associated with higher levels of symbolic racism, scholars should investigate at what level of education individuals appear to higher levels of symbolic racism. Understanding this inquiry would be beneficial to understanding how to eliminate or lessen the effects of symbolic racism, which marginalizing and harming minorities.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Balibar, E. and Wallerstein, I. (1991). *Race, nation, class: Ambiguous identities.* London: Verso Press.

Begag, Azouz. (2007) *Ethnicity & equality: France in the balance*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Beriss, D. (2004). *Black skins, French voices: Caribbean ethnicity and activism in urban France.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Blakely, A. (2000). *Blacks in the Dutch world: the evolution of racial imagery in a modern society.* Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press.

Bobo, Lawrence. (1988). Group conflict, prejudice, and the paradox of contemporary racial attitudes. In Katz, P. A. and Taylor, D. (Ed), *Eliminating racism: profiles in controversy* (pp. 85-116). New York: Plenum Press.

Boeldieu, J. and Borrel, C. (2000). La proportion d'immigres est stable depuis 25 ans. *INSEE Premiere,* 748.

Campt, T. (2004). *Other Germans: Black Germans and the politics of race, gender, and memory in the Third Reich.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Claude-Veraletin, (M).(2002). Les antillais en France: Une nouvelle done. *Hommes et migrations. 1*237, 26-39.

Dijk, T.A. (2005). *Racism and discourse in Spain and Latin America*. Amsterdam: Benjamins Press.

Fehrenbach, H. (2007) *Race after Hitler: Black occupation children in postwar Germany and America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Fryer, Peter. (1984). *Staying power: The history of black people in Britain*. London: Pluto Press.

Hine, D. C. (2009). *Black Europe and the African Diaspora*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Kinder, D. R., & Sanders, L. M. (1996). *Divided by color: Racial politics and democratic ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

MacEwen, M. (1995). *Tackling racism in Europe: An examination of anti-discrimination laws in practice*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

McConahay, J.B. (1982). Self-interest versus racial attitudes as correlates of anti-busing attitudes in Louisville: Is it the buses or the blacks?. *The Journal of Politics*, 44 (3), 692-720.

McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, the modern racism scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 91-126). Orlando: Academic Press.

McConahay, J. B. and Hough, J. C. (1976). Symbolic racism. Journal of Social Issues, 32 (2), 23–45.

Opitz, M., Oguntoye K. & Schultz, D. (1991) *Showing our colours: Afro-German women speak out*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Pettigrew, T. F. and Meertens, R. W. (1995). Subtle and blatant prejudice in western Europe. *European. Journal of Social Psychology*, 25 (1), 57–75.

Pettigrew, T. F. and Meertens, R. W. (2001). In defense of the subtle prejudice concept: a retort. *European. Journal of Social Psychology*, 31 (3), 299–309.

Sears, D.O. (1988). Symbolic racism. In Katz, P. A. and Taylor, D. (Ed), *Eliminating racism: profiles in controversy* (pp. 53-84). New York: Plenum Press.

Sears, D.O. and Kinders D.R. (1970). The good life white racism and the Los Angeles voter. Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of Western Psychological Association. CA, Los Angeles.

Sears, D.O. and Kinders D.R. (1971). Racial tensions and voting in Los Angelos. In W.Z. Hirsch

   (Ed.) *Los Angeles: Visibility and prospects for metropolitan leadership* (pp.51-88). New

   York: Praeger Press.

Sears, D.O. and Kinders, D.R. (1981). Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racism versus racial

   threat to the good life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40 (3), 414-431.

Sears, David O. and Jack Citrin. (1985). *Tax revolt: Something for nothing in California*.

   Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Sears, D.O., Laar, C., Carrillo, M., & Kosterman, R. (1997). Is it really racism? The origins of

   white Americans' opposition to race-targeted policies. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61 (1),

   16-53.

Sears, D. O., Henry, P. J., & Kosterman, R. (2000). Egalitarian values and the origins of

   contemporary American racism. In D.O. Sears, J. Sidanius, & L. Bobo (Eds.), *Racialized

   politics: The debate about racism in America* (pp. 75-117). Chicago: University of

   Chicago Press.

Sears, D. O. & Henry, P. J. (2002). The symbolic racism 2000 scale. *Political Psychology*, 23

   (2), 253-283.

Sears, D. O., & Henry, P. J. (2003). The origins of symbolic racism. *Journal of Personality and

   Social Psychology*, 85(2), 259-275.

Small, S. (1994). *Racialised barriers: The Black experience in the United States and England*.

   New York and London: Routledge.

Small, S. (1997). Racism, Black people and the city of Britain. In Green,C (Ed), *Globalization

   and survival in the Black Diaspora* (pp. 357-377). New York: SUNY Press.

Sniderman, P. M., & Tetlock, P. E. (1986). Symbolic racism: Problems of motive attribution in

   political debate. *Journal of Social Issues,* 42 (2), 129–150.

Stolcke, V. (1995). Talking culture: New boundaries, new rhetoric of exclusion in Europe.

   Current Anthropology. 36 (1), 1-24.

Stovall, T. (2000). Histories of race in France. *French Politics, Culture, and Society.* 18(3), 99-

   103.

Tarman, C. & Sears, D. O. (2005). The conceptualization and measurement of symbolic racism.

   Journal of Politics, 67 (3), 731–761.

Tetlock, P. E. (1994). Political psychology or politicized psychology: Is the road to scientific hell

   paved with good intentions? *Political Psychology*, 15 (3), 509–529.

Weigel, R. H. & Howes, P. W. (1985). Conceptions of racial prejudice: symbolic racism

   reconsidered. *Journal of Social Issues*, 41 (3), 117–138.

VITA
Miss Brandi D. Pikes
Email: bdpikes@hotmail.com

EDUCATION:

Master of Arts Political Science, **University of Mississippi**, Oxford, Mississippi**,** May 2012
Concentration: Comparative Politics, American Politics and International Relations
Thesis: Racialized Perceptions of Minorities: A Comparative Analysis of Symbolic Racism in Europe

Bachelor of Arts Mass Communication, **Alcorn State University**, Alcorn State, Mississippi, May 2010
Concentration: Print Journalism and Political Journalism
"Magna Cum Laude"

Emeritus Scholar, **Cardiff University**, Cardiff, United Kingdom September-December 2009
Concentration: Conflict and Media, Race, Nation, & Identity, and Political Journalism
"2nd Honors"

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY:

University of Mississippi
Office of Athletic Academic Support   Oxford, Mississippi
Tutor   January 2011 - Present
   Responsible for teaching at-risk students core concepts in Introduction to Politics and Introduction to
   Criminal Justice.
   Responsible for teaching students concepts of creative writing, journalism, and marketing principles.
   Responsible for teaching students core concepts in History and Business Law.
   Responsible for creating a positive learning environment where students feel comfortable expressing their
   ideas as well as discussing personal issues they may be experiencing.

University of Mississippi   Oxford, Mississippi
Faculty Senate   August 2011 - Present
Faculty Senate Administrative Assistant
   Responsible for copy-editing documents.
   Responsible for the sending mass emails.
   Responsible for facilitating communication between the executive chairman, executive committee, and
senate body.

Smurfit-Stone Container Corporation
Human Resources Department   Saint Louis, MO
Labor Relations Intern   June 2010 - August 2010
   Responsible for analyzing union and non-union labor agreements.
   Responsible for analyzing settlement summaries.
   Responsible for completing Fibre Box Association reports.

Responsible for serving as a point of contact between the company and Fibre Box Association.

Schnuck's Markets Inc.
Community and Consumer Affairs Department   Saint Louis, MO
Community Affairs and Communications Intern   July 2009 - September 2009
   Responsible for analyzing company's complaints and compliments for the specified periods.
   Responsible for creating company's total monetary donations to the American Cancer Society Report.
   Responsible for representing the company at community outreach events such as the St. Louis Cardinals Red Rookies Fair.
   Responsible for writing press releases for company and community partnership events.
   Responsible for researching competitors' community functions.

Schnuck's Markets Inc.
Community and Consumer Affairs Department   Saint Louis, MO
Community Relations Intern   June 2008 - August 2008
   Responsible for coordinating written correspondence between company and nonprofits.
   Responsible for mailing gift certificates of various amounts to nonprofits.
   Responsible for representing the company at community outreach events.
   Responsible for assisting in preparation of the department's weekly and fiscal reports.

Wachovia Securities (Formerly known as AG Edwards)   Saint Louis, MO
I.T. Problem Management Intern   June 2007 - August 2007
   Responsible for assisting in the facilitation of departments conflict meetings.
   Responsible for updating monthly reports.
   Responsible for correlating a procedures book for the entire department.
   Responsible for running daily system reports.

WORKING PAPERS/RESEARCH PROJECTS:

"Racialized Perceptions of Minorities: A Comparative Study of Symbolic Racism" (Thesis Research)
Advisor: Dr. Robert Albritton, Committee Members: Dr. Alice Cooper and Dr. Greg Love
Presented at the 2012 National Conference of Black Political Scientist, Las Vegas, NV.
Presented at the 2012 National Conference of Black Studies, Atlanta, GA.
-Used data from the Eurobarometer 53.
-Conducted several logistic regression models and created factorization scores using SPSS statistic analysis software.
-Analyzed public opinion to questions measuring symbolic racism and its influences in France, Italy, United Kingdom, Ireland, Spain, Belgium, Sweden and Germany.
-Used symbolic racism additive scores to determine the influence of symbolic racism on individuals' likelihood to support diversity initiatives and equal rights.

"Social Equality: The Stability of Democratic Institutions"
-Used data from the Quality of Governance Institute.
-Conducted OLS regression model using SPSS statistic analysis software.
-Analyzed the stability of new democracies around the world, which are still in process of consolidating their political institutions.

-Analyzed the stability/strength of democratic institution when social equality measures such welfare regime, political participation, political and social integration, and private property rights are present.

"Why the Have-Not's Have Not: A Comparative Study of the Relationship between News Media Engagement and Explanations of Poverty"
- Used data from the European Values Survey database.
-Conducted a multinomial regression analysis using Stata10 analysis software.
- Analyzed the public's media engagement habits and explanations they give for why the poor are in need in their country to determine if there are different types of relationships in different welfare regimes.

"In the Land of Opportunity, But Still Facing Challenges: Legal Immigrants and Welfare in the United States"
Presented at the 2006 Undergraduate Conference for McNair Research, University at Buffalo, Buffalo, NY.
- Conducted research on the eligibility requirements for legal immigrants to qualify for welfare before and after the implantation of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.
- Compared legal immigrants' use of federal government public assistance and poverty rates before and after the reform, specifically comparing 1994 and 1999.
- Suggested policy implications and recommendations based off research findings.

RESEARCH INTERESTS:

- Juvenile Delinquency and Justice Systems
-Social Welfare and Health Policy
-Housing Policy
- Union Rights
-Symbolic Racism
-Inequality

JOB/COMPUTER SKILLS:

Communication
Organizational

Leadership
Multitasking

STATA
SPSS

Microsoft Office
Remedy

HONORS:

Departmental Full Tuition Fellowship   2011-
University of Mississippi

Minority Graduate Student Fellowship   2010-
University of Mississippi

Alpha Kappa Mu Honor Society   2010
Kappa Upsilon Chapter

Benjamin A. Gilman International Scholarship   2009
U.S. Department of Education and Cultural Affairs

Institute for Study Abroad Scholarship   2009
Butler University

Ronald E. McNair Scholar   2009
University of Mississippi

Dean's List   2007-2010
Alcorn State University

Sam Walton Community Service Scholarship   2007-2008
Wal-Mart Foundation, Inc

Full Academic Scholarship   2007-2010
Alcorn State University

AFFLIATIONS:

National Black Council Studies   2011-

American Political Science Association   2010-

National Conference of Black Political Scientists   2010-

Graduate Student Council (University of Mississippi)   2010-
Political Science Graduate Student Senator/Constitution Committee Member

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority Incorporated   2009-