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Commonality, competition, and stereotypes: can whites, blacks, and Latinos play politics together in the United States

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COMMONALITY, COMPETITION, AND STEREOTYPES: CAN WHITES, BLACKS, AND LATINOS PLAY POLITICS TOGETHER IN THE UNITED STATES?

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This manuscript is dedicated to:

my parents, Rosario and Gabriel Cutaia, for all of the incredible sacrifices that they have made and continue to make for my sisters and me.

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ABSTRACT

The literature on racial attitudes and coalition formation has focused on Latinos and African Americans in the U.S. In this project, I present a theoretical framework exploring what whites, blacks and Latinos think of each other specifically examining perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes. The two major theories that I test are contact theory and the racial threat hypothesis.

This project is unique in its comprehensive analysis of the precursors of coalition formation regarding African Americans, Latinos *and* whites and its adoption of quantitative and qualitative approaches to answer the main research questions. Moreover, very little research has explored the effects of contact and context on perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes among these three groups. The analysis includes five parts: exploring Latinos' perceptions of commonality and competition with blacks and whites using national survey data; examining Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites using focus groups in New Orleans, Louisiana; examining African Americans' perceptions of closeness, competition and stereotypes of Latinos and whites using national survey data and focus groups; exploring whites' perceptions of closeness, competition and stereotypes of Latinos and African Americans using national survey data; and examining whites' attitudes toward Latinos and African Americans using focus groups in New Orleans.

I find strong support for contact theory in explaining Latinos', whites' and blacks' commonality with the other racial groups; yet I find that the racial threat hypothesis does a very good job in explaining Latinos' competition with blacks. Nevertheless, I conclude that some Latinos, blacks and whites may not think in terms of race when considering what they have in common with other racial or ethnic groups. In addition, skin color significantly shapes Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites. Dark-skinned Latinos have a greater

predisposition to perceive commonality with blacks than light-skinned Latinos and light-skinned Latinos are more likely to perceive commonality with whites than Latinos with darker complexions. Regarding the implications of these results for the formation of future political coalitions, I suspect that Latinos and whites are more likely to form political coalitions than African Americans and Latinos.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The U.S. population is comprised of a variety of races and ethnicities. Although the majority of this country's population is white, Latinos[1] and African Americans make up a significant portion of the population. In recent years, the Hispanic population has outgrown the African American population[2] in size; and the Pew Research Center projects that in the year 2050, Latinos will make up 29 percent of the U.S. population (Passel and Cohn, 2008). Consequently, the racial makeup of the U.S. is changing and it seems that race relations are changing as a result with Latinos destined to emerge as a significant political force.

Race has always been central in American political discussion, but recently the discussion regarding race relations in the U.S. has been broadened to include not only whites and blacks, but Latinos as well especially given Latinos likely emergence as the dominant minority group in the U.S. For instance, on August 6, 2009, Sonia Sotomayor was sworn in as a Judge on the U.S. Supreme Court. She is the first Hispanic and third woman to serve on the Supreme Court (Savage, 2009). However, African American President Obama's nomination of Sotomayor was not received without criticism from whites such as Newt Gingrich, who has called her a "Latina woman racist" and Karl Rove who has mentioned that she is "not necessarily" smart even though she has graduated from Princeton and Yale and has more experience as a judge than those on the Court today had when they were nominated for the Supreme Court (Herbert, 2009:1).

The recent emergence of the Tea Party movement has revived racial discussions about relations between whites and African Americans as well. For instance, some Tea Party protestors, most of whom are white, have been arguing that President Obama has pushed an

[1] As is customary in the racial attitudes literature, the terms Latinos and Hispanics are used interchangeably.
[2] As is customary in the racial attitudes literature, the terms African American and blacks are used interchangeably.

agenda of government expansion over the objections of U.S. citizens, culminating in the recent passage of health care legislation (Saslow, 2010). While some of these criticisms are not ostensibly racist, some Tea Party protestors' recent dissatisfaction with the White House have been expressed with racially toned insults of President Obama.

One popular Tea Party protestor sign has a picture of the President and a caption that reads "Undocumented worker." Another sign shows President Obama and the caption, "The Zoo Has an African Lion and the White House has a Lyin' African." (Benjamin, 2010). Another very recent example of racial tensions in the U.S. occurred the day before the vote on health care reform in Washington. As Democratic legislators were heading to a gathering of House Democrats before hearing the President's speech, several health care and Tea Party protestors reportedly expressed racist remarks. Reportedly, African American Representative Emanuel Cleaver (D-Mo) was spat on by a protestor and Representative John Lewis (D-Ga) was called a 'n***r.' (The Huffington Post, 2010). To paint a better picture of the seriousness of the incident, African American Representative James Clyburn (D-SC) stated:

> It was absolutely shocking to me...Last Monday, this past Monday, I stayed home to meet on the campus of Claflin University where fifty years ago as of last Monday... I led the first demonstrations in South Carolina, the sit ins... And quite frankly I heard some things today I have not heard since that day. I heard people saying things that I have not heard since March 15, 1960 when I was marching to try and get off the back of the bus (Huffington Post, 2010)

Even in 2010, and even long after the civil rights and women's movements and the abolishment of slavery in the U.S., race relations between whites and blacks are not completely peaceful.

These events raise questions about future race relations in the United States. What will race relations among whites, blacks *and* Latinos look like in the 21st century? Certain observers have take a particular interest in the emerging relationship between blacks and

Latinos and argue that due to their similar socioeconomic backgrounds and experiences of discrimination, Latinos and blacks have a lot in common and should form coalitions as argued by advocates of rainbow coalition theory (Kaufmann, 2003). On the other hand, there is reason to expect strategic relations between Latinos and blacks might not emerge so easily. Some scholars assert that Latinos have better relations with whites than with blacks, since Latinos profess to have more affinity with whites and have more in common with whites than with blacks (McClain and Stewart, 2002). Moreover, these scholars assert that Latinos may carry negative beliefs and prejudices against dark-skinned individuals (as opposed to lighter-skinned individuals) as they move from Latin America to the United States, and this may shape their opinions of and relations with African Americans (McClain and Stewart, 2002; McClain, Carter, Soto, Lyle, Grynaviski, Nunnally, Scotto, Kendrick, Lackey, and Cotton, 2006). In short, despite the various assertions and arguments important questions remain and warrant scholarly attention.

This dissertation explores race relations among whites, blacks and Latinos by examining what they think of each other through the precursors of mass coalition formation: perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes. What do Latinos think of blacks and whites? What do blacks and whites think of Latinos? Do Latinos perceive that they have more in common with blacks than whites? Do whites perceive that they have more competition with blacks than Latinos? Do blacks think that Latinos are more hardworking than whites? How does contact influence what blacks, whites and Latinos think of each other?

PRECURSORS OF COALITION FORMATION

What is a political coalition? A political coalition can be seen as an informal or formal alliance or partnering between two or more groups in order to achieve a common

purpose or perform a certain activity. These groups can include political parties or groups of individuals with distinct ideas, values or beliefs (Spangler, 2003). Political coalitions can be created and exist among political elites such as legislators and presidents or among the masses. In this dissertation, I focus on the creation of mass political coalitions.

A common type of coalition discussed in the racial attitudes literature is the rainbow coalition. This type of coalition refers to the coalition of minorities, particularly blacks and Latinos in the U.S., since they possess less political power than whites. In order to be part of a governing majority, these groups join forces since neither blacks nor Latinos would be able to make up the governing majority by themselves (Meier and Stewart, 1991).

I argue that the development of political coalitions depends on three major factors: perceptions of commonality, competition and negative stereotypes. With regard to commonality, McClain and Stewart (2002) assert that the formation of political coalitions require that groups "have similar goals, desire similar outcomes, and be willing to pursue their objectives in a collaborative and cooperative fashion" (156). Competition is also seen as a precursor to the formation (or non-formation) of political coalitions. For instance, Barreto and Sanchez (2008) argue that when one group maintains power or an advantage over another group, biracial coalitions are not very likely to flourish (3). Similar to competition, adopting negative stereotypes of a particular group impedes the formation of political coalitions. Stereotypes are associated with negative generalizations made about a particular group and adopting jaundiced views of a racial group as lazy or violent (Peffley and Hurwitz, 1998) and some research conducted on stereotypes associates its findings with coalition building among Latinos, blacks and whites (Oliver and Wong, 2003; Gay, 2006; McClain et. al, 2006). If individuals adopt negative stereotypes of particular groups it may decrease the likelihood that they would decide to form a political coalition with said groups.

BACKGROUND LITERATURE

The literature on commonality and competition focuses heavily on relations between Hispanics and blacks with an emphasis on the implications for coalition building between Latinos and blacks (Kaufmann, 2003; McClain et. al, 2006; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008). However, as suggested by McClain et. al (2002, 2006), Latinos' attitudes toward blacks may be influenced by Latinos' views and relations with whites, and little work has been conducted on this topic. In order to truly understand Latinos' attitudes and relations with blacks and vice versa, Latinos' attitudes toward whites and perceived commonality with whites must also be considered. Whites have been the majority of the population since the birth of the United States. Their relations with blacks, the largest minority for numerous decades, have been studied extensively in the fields of political science, history, sociology and psychology (Key, 1949; Bonacich, 1976; Fields, 1982; Pettigrew, 1997). Whites' relations with Latinos, the largest minority group currently, have drawn far less attention until fairly recently (Hood and Morris, 1998).

In this dissertation, I explore race relations in the U.S. by examining two central topics: (1) Americans' response to immigrants and later generations from Latin America (Latinos)[3] who have made themselves at home in the U.S., and (2) Latinos' (immigrants from Latin America and later generations) response to U.S. residents, particularly blacks and whites.[4] Due to the size and saliency of Latino immigration and the Latino population in the U.S., Latinos have and will continue to influence the U.S. historically, socially, politically, demographically, and psychologically in the decades to come. Undoubtedly, Latinos will continuously surface in discussions in classrooms, newsrooms, dinner tables, workplaces and elsewhere in the decades to come. Furthermore, these two topics will be prevalent in the

[3]Latinos are commonly referred to as the outsiders or the out-group in the racial attitudes literature.
[4] Whites and blacks are commonly seen as the insiders or the in-groups in the racial attitudes literature.

literature on U.S. race relations for some time. What will be critical to note is whether Latinos and blacks, Latinos and whites or whites and blacks will form coalitions. Exploring the precursors of coalition formation among blacks, Latinos and whites will shed light on future political coalitions and increase our understanding of what it means to be a minority or a majority group in the United States.

In order to zero in on the two topics mentioned above and fill in some of the gaps in the interracial coalitions literature, I explore the potential for coalition formation by looking at the degree to which whites, blacks and Latinos see commonality, competition, and stereotypes in each other. I do not center my study on whether commonality, competition, and stereotypes actually lead to coalition building; instead, I focus on Latinos', whites' and blacks' perceptions of commonality and competition with each other, and stereotypes held toward each other. Specifically, I focus on the determinants of these – which I refer to as "precursors" of interracial coalitions.

Why is exploring perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes important? How is studying perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes among blacks, whites and Latinos going to increase our understanding of race relations in the U.S.? The question of who builds coalitions with whom is an important predictor of race relations and racial politics. If blacks and Latinos can never join forces to support shared candidates, they may miss vital opportunities to improve their respective political power through substantive, if not descriptive, representation. Similarly, if whites perceive no commonality with blacks and Latinos but perceive them as competitors and view them in terms of negative stereotypes, race relations are likely to suffer.

However, in lieu of actual coalition formation, it might be helpful to first examine how much Hispanics and blacks perceive to have in common with each other and the

perceived competition and negative stereotypes that they adopt. We might think of these as the building blocks of coalition formation. When we think about the state of race relations in the U.S. and how far we have come to stating (in the words of the Declaration of Independence) "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," we think about recent examples where competition, stereotypes and sharing something in common abound. We think about Tea Party protestors shouting negative comments at African American legislators as they prepare to vote on the President's proposed health care legislation (The Huffington Post, 2010). We even think about how blacks and whites came together throughout the city of New Orleans to cheer for the New Orleans NFL team the Saints with a "Who Dat!" and then giving each other a fist-bump and then a hug (Hammer, 2010). The Saints football team was one of the only things that could bring blacks and whites together so quickly and easily in a city with a long history of discrimination and racial tensions between blacks and whites. Moreover, in the last couple of weeks, the first white mayor was elected in New Orleans (a majority African-American city) after several decades. His electoral success is widely attributed to an extraordinary amount of support from the African American community and a cross-racial, city-wide citizen frustration with the city's recent governance (Krupa, 2010).

While examining whites', blacks' and Latinos' commonality, competition, and stereotypes, I focus on two main determinants of these attitudes: contact and context. These factors have been studied extensively in the racial attitudes literature through contact theory and the racial threat hypothesis, but seldom explored when it comes to individuals' perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes. Besides being able to test contact theory, the effects of contact and context on perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes have great implications for public policies such as neighborhood zoning and

busing laws. If contact and/or racial context have a positive effect on racial attitudes, then we could argue that laws that promote desegregation result in more peaceful race relations and they must continue to be reinforced. On the other hand, if contact and/or racial context were to affect racial attitudes negatively, then desegregation laws can be assessed to determine the best way to improve race relations.

In order to explore the questions and topics raised above, I rely on national survey data as well as focus group data from the city of New Orleans. The survey data comes from the 2004 National Politics Survey and the 2005-2006 Latino National Survey. The focus group data are obtained by conducting focus groups of Latinos, blacks, whites in the Greater New Orleans area.

PLAN OF DISSERTATION

In this chapter, I have outlined the precursors of coalition formation that are central to the literature on racial attitudes. Further, I have reviewed some of the pertinent research regarding these precursors. Here, I have also argued for the importance of exploring perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes among blacks, whites and Hispanics and the effects that contact and context have on these attitudes in order to increase our understanding of race relations in the U.S.

In Chapter 2, I provide a review of the literature that pertains to the precursors of interracial coalition formation as they relate to blacks, whites and Latinos. In addition, I discuss the factors that influence these precursors and introduce contact theory, intergroup-conflict theory and the racial threat hypothesis. Contact theory argues that contact has a negative effect on racial attitudes and the intergroup-conflict theory states the opposite. The racial threat hypothesis specifically attempts to explain racial context effects and asserts that

as the number of out-group individuals increase, the in-group is more likely to adopt negative views toward the out-group.

In Chapter 3, I provide the theoretical background for the models on attitudes among Latinos, African Americans and whites. I discuss the dependent variables (perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes) and the independent variables thoroughly and the directional hypotheses that I pose for each. The independent variables are categorized into two categories: contact and context variables. I also describe the control variables included in each model.

In Chapter 4, I explore Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites using national survey data. By running separate models for blacks and whites and comparing them, I increase my understanding of what Latinos think about blacks and whites and how they view blacks and whites differently. I am able to examine the potential for the creation of a rainbow coalition or coalition between Latinos and whites from the perspective of Latinos. In addition, by running models for Latinos in emerging states versus Latinos in traditional states, I am able to capture how states with distinct Latino histories influence the racial dynamics among blacks, whites and Latinos.

In Chapter 5, I take a qualitative approach to examining Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites. I rely on focus group data from the city of New Orleans. No existing research relies on focus group data to examine Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites in New Orleans. The focus groups allow me to observe Latinos' thought patterns and capture the intensity of their attitudes toward blacks and whites.

In Chapter 6, I examine blacks' attitudes toward Latinos using blacks' views of whites as a comparison. I take a quantitative and a qualitative approach to exploring these attitudes. In this chapter, I explore the potentiality of the formation of a rainbow coalition

from the perspective of blacks from a sample of blacks nationwide and blacks in the city of New Orleans.

In Chapter 7, I explore whites' attitudes toward Latinos using national survey data. In order to obtain a better understanding of whites' attitudes, I use whites' views toward African Americans as a comparison. Here, I am able to explore whether the potential exists for a white/Latino or white/black coalition from the perspective of whites.

In Chapter 8, I take a qualitative approach to exploring whites' attitudes toward Latinos. By using focus group data from the city of New Orleans, I am able to examine what whites think about Latinos and blacks and am able to capture the depth and intensity of whites' attitudes toward a group with a short history in New Orleans.

In Chapter 9, I present a conclusion that ties the chapters of my dissertation together. Here, I return to the major research questions and topics that I addressed in the introduction of the dissertation. I summarize the main conclusions of each chapter and make note of the results' implications on coalition formation among Hispanics, African Americans and whites. Finally, I discuss the overall implications of my results as it relates to future race relations among whites, blacks and Latinos in light of the continuing presence of Latinos in the U.S.

CHAPTER 2: MAJOR DEBATES IN THE RACIAL ATTITUDES LITERATURE

In the previous chapter, I indicated that the literature on interracial coalitions is well developed, yet some significant gaps are still left to fill. Before presenting the ways that I hope to fill these gaps in the literature, it is important to examine what actually has been found, discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the findings and flesh out the questions that are left unanswered. Consequently, I dedicate this chapter to do just that. In the next several pages, I provide a review of the racial attitudes literature. I begin by discussing the two major theories and the topics around which this research has centered. I then provide a summary and critique of the literature on interracial coalitions, focusing particularly on individuals' perceptions of commonality and competition with members of other racial and ethnic groups. This discussion is followed by a review of the literature recognizing the effects of individuals' contact with members of other racial and ethnic groups and their racial and ethnic context in their local communities as significant determinants of racial attitudes. Lastly, I present a summary of the major findings.

COMMONALITY AND COMPETITION

The literature on race and public opinion has extended fairly recently its definition of racial attitudes to include racial groups' perceptions of commonality and competition with each other.

In this chapter I discuss the literature regarding commonality and competition among the three largest racial groups in the U.S. who have a history of building and destroying bridges: whites, blacks and Latinos. After the discussion on commonality, I provide a brief review of the literature on skin color as it relates to race relations and racial attitudes.

Commonality

The literature on commonality greatly centers on the prospects for and the determinants of coalition building. McClain and Stewart (2002) assert that the formation of political coalitions require that groups "have similar goals, desire similar outcomes, and be willing to pursue their objectives in a collaborative and cooperative fashion" (156). In addition, these scholars argue that at the root of the debate on the formation of biracial coalitions is the argument of interests (what brings individuals together) versus ideology (common beliefs and values) (157). The scholars suggest that both ideology and interests affect coalition building.

A major theory in the racial coalitions literature is the rainbow coalition theory, which states that blacks and Latinos possess less power in American society than whites (Meier and Stewart, 1991). In order to be part of a governing majority, these groups must join forces since neither blacks nor Latinos would be able to make up the governing majority by themselves. Moreover, if they were to join with whites, blacks and Latinos would be the weaker part of the coalition. This Latino/black coalition makes sense since both groups' interests are closer than either group's interests to white interests (Meier and Stewart, 1991).

However, Meier et. al (1991) finds support for a contesting theory to the rainbow coalition theory: the power theory (originally coined by Giles and Evans, 1986). They argue that white-Latino coalitions are more likely to form than black-Latino coalitions. Moreover, intergroup relations are more likely characterized by competition and conflict than by cooperation, as implied by the rainbow coalition theory. They find that a growing Latino population negatively affects black political representation (1132). Nevertheless, some support for the rainbow coalition theory may continue to exist. In a recent work relating to

black-brown coalitions in school board elections, Rocha (2007) finds that a growing Latino population positively affects black representation.

White Perceptions of Commonality with Latinos

Overall, the literature on white/Latino commonality is pretty scant. Mindiola, Niemann, and Rodriguez (2002) indirectly address whites' commonality with Latinos. They find that blacks think that whites are more likely to form coalitions with Latinos and in doing so are likely to keep Latinos from forming coalitions with blacks. Moreover, they find that blacks think that whites favor Latinos over blacks and that whites are fearful of blacks (62).

Regardless of the small amount of literature on white/Latino commonality, throughout the racial attitudes research regarding blacks and Latinos, there have been several mentions of how black/Latino relations compare to white/Latino relations. For instance, McClain et. al (2002) state that Latinos are more likely to perceive commonality with whites than with blacks. Furthermore, Kaufman (2003) discusses rainbow coalition theory which argues that blacks and Latinos should come together and form a coalition since they possess less power than whites. McClain et. al (2006) also examines the prospect of coalition formation among whites, blacks and Latinos and asserts that immigrants from Latin America may carry negative stereotypes of individuals with dark skin to the U.S. influencing how they perceive African Americans. Hence, Latinos may be more likely to form political coalitions with whites than with blacks.

Black Perceptions of Commonality with Latinos

In comparison to the literature on whites' commonality with Latinos, studies on black/Latino commonality are more abundant and have been developed in more detail. Furthermore, numerous works on black/Latino commonality and competition directly address implications for coalition building between these two groups.

When discussing the prospects for coalition-building among blacks and Latinos, McClain (1996) argues that both groups have similar concerns regarding poverty and discrimination, creating a situation that is conductive to the formation of coalitions between the two groups. Moreover, McClain states that some of the factors that influence the formation of coalitions include perception of prejudice of the other group, group size, other group size, socioeconomic status, and political rewards. With regards to political rewards, she asserts that if one group feels that it is strong enough to act on its own, then it may not turn to another group. Furthermore, if one group begins to receive more socioeconomic and political rewards than the other group, then the smaller group may not want to work with the one receiving the rewards. Thus, reward discrepancies can cause competition leading to a breakdown of political coalitions.

McClain (1996) provides an interesting rational choice perspective to coalition building. She proposes that rational self-interest significantly influences coalition building. Alliances and coalitions between blacks and Latinos do not form and develop because the groups perceive they are too weak. Thus, they make a rational calculation not to form because it will not benefit their own group; coalitions form only to the extent that they benefit the groups.

In a more recent study of black/brown relations using national survey data, McClain et. al (2002) examine blacks' perceptions of their commonality with Latinos. They find that blacks feel closer to Latinos (45%) than whites (34%) and Asians (7%) (182). The authors speculate as to why blacks feel closer to Latinos but do not find the same results for Latinos' closeness with blacks. However, beyond speculation, is it possible to delve into this matter by asking respondents why they felt close or did not feel close to a particular group? The implications of feelings of closeness are critical to explaining race relations. In this study, I

attempt to delve into the reasons for individuals' commonality and competition by conducting focus groups of whites and blacks and exploring their racial attitudes toward Latinos.

Mindiola et. al (2002) examine black/Latino relations using survey data from Houston, Texas, an area with an extended and vast presence of blacks and Latinos. The scholars find that blacks and Latinos have similar racial attitudes in several topics including protection of gay rights, prayer in public schools, maintaining ethnic culture, and government support for the needy. Moreover, they contend that electoral politics is a possible area of coalition building. Since both groups tend to align themselves with the Democratic Party and have similar issue stances, they have the potential to shape the results of a citywide election (Mindiola et. al, 2002, 109). Mindiola et. al also distinguish native-born Latinos from foreign-born Latinos and suggest that commonality between native Latinos and blacks can be strong since they both share experiences with racism and are more knowledgeable about American culture than Latinos who were not born in the United States (110).

This distinction between native-born and foreign-born Latinos is very interesting. Although this distinction has been made in prior studies regarding Latino immigration attitudes (Garcia, 1981; Polinard, Wrinkle and de la Garza, 1984; Miller, Polinard and Wrinkle, 1984; Rouse, Wilkinson, and Garand, 2006; Branton, 2007), Latino nativity should play a more prevalent part in the racial attitudes literature. Studying the influence of nativity on racial attitudes broadens our knowledge of Latino immigrants' assimilation process to the U.S. as well as increases our perspective on the differences that exist (and to what extent) among Latino immigrants and second, third and later generation Latinos. I test the influence

of Latino nativity on Latinos' competition, commonality, and stereotypes of blacks and whites in my study.

In a study involving focus groups and surveys of African Americans and Latinos residing in New Orleans before and after Hurricane Katrina, Lee and Associates (2008) examine commonalities between blacks and Latinos and their views toward future coalition building. They find that when it comes to views toward affordable housing, health care and criminal justice, both groups strongly view these issues as integral to their survival and well-being. Both Latinos and African-Americans mention that their experiences with discrimination are problematic and assert that discrimination is a significant hindrance to their success in society. Furthermore, the study finds that more than 50 percent of blacks interviewed think that alliances with Latinos in New Orleans are very important (60%) or somewhat important (23%).

One major criticism of Lee et al. (2008)—which is often discussed in the racial attitudes literature—is the idea that social desirability influences respondents' answers to survey questions. For instance, when the authors ask black respondents how important it is to build alliances with Latinos, social desirability may influence their answers. It is not socially desirable for individuals to state that they do not think that building coalitions with another group is important; hence, individuals may be more likely to convey more importance to this particular matter than they would normally. In my study, I take the effects of social desirability into account by providing a qualitative approach to studying what blacks, Latinos and whites think of each other. Specifically, I use focus groups where I try to create a comfortable group setting for participants and I ask concise, open-ended questions that are designed to elicit responses that are truthful. Moreover, open-ended

questions allow me to explore the intensity and depth of individuals' responses to controversial topics.

Latino Perceptions of Commonality with African Americans

Kaufmann (2003) focuses her research on Latinos' commonality with African Americans. She finds that Latinos perceive as much commonality with blacks as they do with whites. In addition, Kaufman argues that a significant determinant of Latinos' commonality is their affinity with members of their own ethnicity. When it comes to nationality, she finds that Puerto Ricans and Dominicans are more likely to perceive commonality with blacks than Mexicans and Salvadorans.

Similar to Kaufmann (2003), McClain et. al (2006) explore Latinos' commonality with African Americans but particularly focus their attention on respondents in Durham, North Carolina. The scholars find that a significant portion of Latinos think that blacks are not hardworking, not easy to get along with, and not trustworthy. Also, Latinos in this region feel that they have more in common with whites than with blacks. When it comes to the determinants of perceptions of commonality, education, social contact and being male have negative effects on Latinos' adoption of negative stereotypes of African Americans. Similar to Kaufmann's findings regarding linked fate, McClain et. al argue that the presence of linked fate among Hispanics increases their perceptions of commonality with blacks.

Another interesting finding in the McClain et. al (2006) study is that length of stay in the U.S. does not significantly influence Latinos' perceptions of commonality with blacks, suggesting that no difference in commonality with blacks exists between first generation and fourth generation Latinos. The authors note that this finding suggests that Latinos may carry certain prejudices of individuals with darker skin colors from their native country to

the U.S. Overall, the authors contend that future prospects for coalition building between Latinos and African Americans look pretty grim.

The McClain et. al (2006) work is very useful to this study. Besides the fact that it explores Latinos' commonality with blacks, the study examines the determinants of Latinos' negative stereotypes of blacks. Examining stereotypes as well as perceptions of commonality tap into several dimensions of racial attitudes. Similar to McClain et. al, I include commonality and stereotypes as precursors to coalition building between blacks and Latinos as well as affect and perceptions of competition.

In a recent study using a highly representative sample of 8,634 Latinos throughout the United States, Nteta and Wallsten (2007) explore Latino attitudes toward African Americans specifically focusing on Latinos' commonality with blacks. They argue that Latinos' commonality with whites and other Latinos has a positive effect on their commonality with blacks. Moreover, they find that the more likely that Hispanics experience discrimination, the more likely that they perceive commonality with blacks. The scholars differentiate native-born Latinos from foreign-born Latinos and assert that native-born Latinos are more likely to perceive commonality with blacks than those born outside the United States.

Sanchez (2008) examines Latino group consciousness (in the form of Latino internal commonality) as a determinant of attitudes toward blacks. He finds that Latino commonality and perceptions of discrimination significantly influence Latinos' perceptions of how much they share in common with African Americans.

Perceptions of discrimination are not tested often as a determinant of Latino/black commonality, yet such perceptions are able to provide a lot of information as to whether Latinos and blacks build coalitions. As mentioned previously, some suggest that Latinos and blacks are likely to form coalitions since they share similar experiences with discrimination

and socioeconomic status. Therefore, by actually examining the effect of perceived discrimination, one is able to explore more specifically the coalition building process between blacks and Latinos.

Although not directly exploring Latinos' commonality with blacks, Lee et. al (2008) examine how comfortable Latinos are with blacks in the workplace, the neighborhood and as friends. They find that Latinos in the city of New Orleans do not feel very comfortable with blacks in the workplace and in the neighborhood. However, more than half of the survey sample asserts that they feel comfortable with blacks as friends.

Latino Perceptions of Commonality with Whites

A topic that often circulates in the literature on Latinos' commonality with blacks and whites is the presence of racism in Latin America and the possibility that some Latinos carry prejudices and stereotypes of blacks to the U.S. (McClain et. al, 2006). Dulitzky (2005) argues that many in Latin America do not want to admit that racism exists in Latin America and argue that it is something else (40-41). However, a bigger problem in race relations forms when individuals in Latin America camouflage racism and blame the victims for their situation or even pretend like racism and racial discrimination do not exist (47). Evidence of possible precursors to racism and discrimination in Latin America is the history of "whitening" society in numerous countries of Latin America. Several regimes in Latin America participated in the killing of indigenous people as well as pushing for intermarriage between indigenous people and whites in order to "whiten" society (48-49).

McClain et. al (2002) delves into the implications of some Hispanics' prejudice toward light-skinned individuals by exploring Latinos' perceptions of commonality with whites in the U.S. They assert that Latinos and Asians feel closer to whites than blacks. More than half of the Latinos interviewed stated that they had more in common with whites

(55 percent) than with any other racial group. In a later work, McClain et. al (2006) also find that Latinos feel that they have more in common with whites than with blacks.

Overall, the literature on interracial commonality is more developed in some areas than others. For instance, Latinos' commonality with blacks and blacks' commonality with Latinos is studied extensively. However, very little work has explored whites' perceptions of commonality with Latinos. The works on black/Latino and Latino/black commonality focus on demographic attributes, nativity, and social distance as determinants. However, perceived discrimination as a determinant of black/Latino commonality must be given more emphasis.

Skin Color

As mentioned previously skin color may shape Latinos' attitudes, particularly perceptions of commonality. Although I do not focus this study on the effect of skin color on racial attitudes, it is important to note some of the major works regarding the relationship between skin color as it relates to race relations and racial attitudes.

When exploring the effect of skin color on racial attitudes in urban settings, Edwards (1973) finds that blacks of darker complexion are more likely to perceive discrimination and hostility from whites than those with light-skinned blacks. Moreover, blacks with dark complexion have a greater predisposition to identify as black and report negative racial experiences. With regards to socioeconomic status, Edwards finds that light-skinned blacks have higher socioeconomic statuses than dark-skinned blacks.

Similar to Edwards, Keith and Herring (1991) explore the relationship between skin color and socioeconomic status. Specifically, Keith and Herring conclude that individuals' complexion significantly shapes stratification outcomes in that it shapes occupation and income and it is more likely to shape individuals' socioeconomic status than their parents'

socioeconomic status. Hence, they conclude that dark-skinned blacks are discriminated against leading them to be at a continuous disadvantage.

Unlike the articles mentioned previously, Breland (1998) explores African American color consciousness. The author finds that blacks differ based on how they internalize cues from European Americans and on how they develop their racial identity. In a society dominated by European Americans, attractiveness is valued and is associated with competence. Breland concludes that light-skinned African Americans are perceived by other blacks as more attractive and, thus, more competent than blacks with darker complexions.

Similar to Keith and Herring (1991), Hunter, Allen and Telles (2001) explore the effects of skin color on socioeconomic status, yet study Mexican Americans as well. They find that darker-skinned individuals continue to have lower socioeconomic statuses than those with a lighter complexion. Nevertheless, the scholars recognize skin color is more likely to have a significant effect on the education and income of blacks than that of Mexican Americans.

Applying similar questions as in the previous work but applying it for women, Hunter (2002) examines the effect of skin color on educational attainment, personal earnings and spousal status. She finds that light-skinned black women and Latinas have more of an advantage when it comes to educational attainment and earnings than women with darker complexions. Having a light complexion increases the likelihood that African American women become married; however, this relationship does not hold for Mexican American women.

Unlike the works mentioned above, Harvey, LaBeach, Prigden, and Gocial (2005) explore the relationship between racial context and the importance place on skin tone and they find that context matters. African Americans who attend predominantly black

universities place a higher importance on skin tone than blacks in majority white universities. Furthermore, blacks with dark complexions at a at majority black university have higher self-esteem and perceived peer acceptance than blacks in majority white universities. Nonetheless, the scholars find that racial context does not shape the racial identity of blacks with dark complexions.

Levin and Banaji (2006) explore the degree to which expectations of skin tone shape perceived lightness of faces. They find that white faces were continuously judged as lighter than black faces even for ambiguous faces that were not labeled clearly. Hence, the scholars conclude that individuals' expectations of how an object reflects influences their perceptions of the object's lightness.

Specifically regarding neural processes in the brain and racial attitudes, Ronquillo, Denson, Lickel, Lu, Nandy and Maddox (2007) explore the distinct amygdala (regions in brain) responses by whites in response to images of African Americans. They find that skin tone influences certain amygdala activity in the brain. This activity is due to an individual's assessment of potential threat.

Considered together, the growing literature on the effects of skin tone is very relevant to the work presented here for several reasons. Most importantly and most broadly, it suggests that skin tone influences self-perception and perceptions about others. With regard to this work, skin tone influence on self-perception is important because it undoubtedly influences perceptions about commonality with others. In other words, how I perceive myself influences my understanding of shared characteristics and/or circumstances with others. Skin tone's influence on perceptions of others is also important. The literature suggests that white and non-white groups alike are prone to assign characteristics such as attractiveness and economic status based on others' skin tone (Breland 1998); and suggests

that whites' neutrally based perceptions of threat are triggered variably by skin tones (Denson, et. al 2007). Obviously, perceptions of attractiveness, economic status, and threat may influence perceptions about stereotypes, commonality and competition with regard to others. Thus, the research on skin tone can inform the hypotheses examined here.

Competition

The idea of minority competition is not new. Blalock (1967) defines competition as the struggle between two groups for scarce resources in which the success of one group in obtaining such resources adversely effects the prospects of the other group. This is a classic zero-sum game. Regarding the interaction among blacks, whites, and Latinos, the idea is that gains made by one racial or ethnic group must be offset by losses suffered by one or more other racial and ethnic groups. Perceptions by one group that benefits must come at the expense of other groups has the potential of interfering with coalition formation.

A significant portion of the literature on minority group relations underscores the significance of competition (Mladenka, 1989; McClain and Karnig, 1990; Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; Mindiola, Niemann, and Rodriguez, 2002; Gay, 2006; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008). Furthermore, in the literature on the precursors of coalition formation, competition is seen as an impediment to the formation of coalitions. For instance, Barreto and Sanchez (2008) argue that when one group maintains power or an advantage over another group, biracial coalitions are not very likely to flourish (3). Furthermore, any form of competition between two racial groups can lead to antagonism and frustration, and these feelings/attitudes between the two groups will prevent them from coming together and forming a mass political coalition.

White Perceptions of Competition with Latinos

Similar to the literature on white/Latino commonality, very little has been written on whites' perceptions of competition with Latinos. Nevertheless, in a study of interracial competition in Los Angeles, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) explore the determinants of whites', blacks', Asians' and Latinos' perceptions of competition. They find that whites' perception of competition with Latinos is strongly driven by education level and household income. For instance, whites with only a high school degree are much more likely to express a sense of competitive threat than the most highly educated whites. Furthermore, household income has a negative effect on whites' perception of competition with Latinos, suggesting that low-income whites are more likely to perceive competition with Latinos.

Black Perceptions of Competition with Latinos

The increased presence of Latinos over the last several decades has caused a rise in the multi-minority population, especially in urban settings (McClain and Karnig, 1990; Gay, 2006). The close contact and proximity of African-Americans and Latinos, as well as their similar socioeconomic status, lead many to speculate that these two groups inevitably compete for finite political, social, and economic resources.

Mladenka (1989) examines the degree to which racial minorities, particularly blacks and Latinos, are close to obtaining equal shares of public resources. He does this by exploring the process that occurs when racial groups have access to or are excluded from access to these resources. He finds that Latino and black representation in a city council creates an environment conducive to favoring both blacks and Latinos through the creation of more and better jobs (185). Hence, he implies that city council representation can assist both Latino and black communities while decreasing the competition level between the two.

In a later work, McClain and Karnig (1990) explore the presence of socioeconomic and political competition between Latinos and blacks. Using data from 49 U.S. cities with populations over 25,000 and that meet the criteria of having at least 10 percent black and 10 percent Hispanic, their exploratory research unveils mixed evidence of direct competition between blacks and Latinos. They find that little socioeconomic competition exists between the two groups, but that political competition among blacks and Latinos may be present under certain conditions (e.g. as blacks and Hispanics succeed politically, political competition between the two groups occurs particularly when the presence of whites in minority-majority cities is small).

It is important to mention that although the works by Mladenka (1989) and McClain et. al (1990) do not directly address individuals' perceptions of competition, they are included in this review of the literature since they address various types of competition that provide insight into attitudes that can develop because of the variety of these competitions.

On the other hand, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) explore the extent that whites, blacks, browns and Asians perceive that they are in competition with each other. They find great support for the racial alienation hypothesis—i.e., when members of a particular race feel alienated from society, they are more likely to respond by perceiving other group members as social and political threats (951). They assert that blacks perceive much smaller levels of competition with Latinos than whites with Latinos. In addition, they argue that racial alienation positively shapes and income negatively affects blacks' perception of competition with Latinos. My study differs from Bobo and Hutchings' since I use national survey data to explore black, Latino and white stereotypes and perceptions of competition as well as perceptions of commonality. Moreover, I focus my study on testing the effect that contact has on racial attitudes.

Particularly regarding labor competition, Mindiola et. al (2002) find that competition exists between blacks and Latinos. Blacks feel a sense of entitlement to some institutions because of the struggles that they experienced in the past and throughout the civil rights movement, and this leads many blacks to believe that Latinos are taking advantage of their achievements. This belief negatively affects the relationship between these two groups. Furthermore, Mindiola et al. assert that Latinos do not always support affirmation action policies because they do not always think that the policies help Latinos that much, and this then negatively influences their relations with blacks (27-28). When directly discussing competition and resentment, Mindiola et. al (2002) argue that blacks' competition and resentment toward Latinos are affected by Mexican immigrants entering formerly black residential and business areas and Hispanics taking jobs formerly held by blacks.

Gay (2006) examines how the environment in which blacks live affects their attitudes toward Latinos. Specifically, Gay looks at how blacks' feelings of fear and hostility toward Latinos are amplified by competition for economic resources. She finds that "where Latinos enjoy an economic advantage relative to blacks, African Americans are more likely to express racial prejudice toward the group and to engage in defensive political behavior" (2006: 995). Interestingly, Gay argues that the hostilities of African Americans toward Latinos are distracting from a more important issue—the hostility of whites toward minority groups as the population of these groups increases. Gay states that the animosity blacks harbor toward Hispanics prevents the two groups from engaging in coalitional politics, something that would improve their power in relation to the white majority.

Gay's (2006) work is particularly useful. Although it does not directly explore the determinants of blacks' competition with Latinos, it provides a more specific glimpse on black/Latino racial attitudes by focusing on the effect of economic context on black

stereotypes. This is one of the only works that addresses the implications of blacks' attitudes of Latinos on race relations amongst whites, blacks and Latinos. Similar to Gay, I plan on exploring the effect of socioeconomic context on racial attitudes in future models.

Latino Perceptions of Competition with Blacks

Only until the last couple of years has the literature on Latinos' perception of commonality and competition with blacks truly developed. Furthermore, although the literature on blacks' commonality and competition with Latinos overlaps with Latinos' perceptions of their commonality and competition, it is important to differentiate these two literatures since African Americans and Hispanics can differ in culture, socioeconomic status, political power and desire to form coalitions with each other (McClain et. al, 2002; McClain et. al, 2006).

McClain (1993) explores whether employment competition exists between Latinos and blacks as one racial group increases its presence in the work force. She finds that as the size of the black work force grows, less work is available for Latinos, resulting in labor competition between the two racial groups.

On the other hand, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) argue that Latinos perceive more competition with Asians than with blacks. Moreover, they find that place of birth and social distance influence Latinos' competition with blacks. The scholars assert that foreign-born Latinos are more likely to perceive competition with African Americans than native-born Latinos. They also find that social distance has a positive effect on Latinos' competition with blacks.

Mindiola et. al (2002) argue that Hispanics hold more negative stereotypes of blacks than blacks do of them. Furthermore, they find that Hispanics think that government programs provide more benefits to African Americans than Latinos.

Using the same recent and highly representative Latino sample data as Nteta and Wallsten (2007), Barreto and Sanchez (2008) examine Latinos' overall perceptions of competition with African Americans and the role that racial identification plays in shaping perceptions of competition. After providing a base of comparison (i.e., competition with other Latinos) to Latinos' perception of commonality with African Americans, the scholars find that Latinos perceive a higher degree of competition with other Latinos than with African Americans. Moreover, competition with blacks is not due to anti-black sentiment but rather is a result of observations made in their surrounding political and social environments (27). When exploring the determinants of Latinos' competition with blacks, they find that, unlike what was expected, dark skin has a positive effect on Latinos' competition with blacks. Hence, Hispanics with darker skin (and those from countries with a significant portion of individuals with dark skin) are more likely to perceive competition with African Americans than those with lighter skin.

There are several strengths and weaknesses in the competition literature. First, instead of exploring one type of competition, numerous authors explore various forms of competition including educational, political and job competition. A second strength in the works cited above is that some scholars associate stereotypes with competition such as in Gay's (2006) study exploring blacks' stereotypes of Latinos. Gay argues that when blacks live in a neighborhood with Latinos who are economically advantaged blacks are very likely to perceive competition with Latinos and, hence, adopt negative stereotypes toward Latinos. It seems that competition can elicit stereotypes or visa versa. A third major strength in the literature on competition is the fact that Barreto and Sanchez (2008) provided a Latino comparison group in order to explore Latinos' competition with blacks. This has never been

done before and provides a clearer picture of black/Latino racial attitudes. The comparison groups that I include in my models are blacks or whites.[5]

Nevertheless, the competition literature is not without weaknesses. One major weakness is the lack of studies that attempt to capture in-depth responses for individuals' competition. In such a study of such a controversial and complex topic, asking individuals plainly if they perceive competition with another group is not enough. This weakness is mostly due to the constraints of survey questioning; hence, I will include a qualitative analysis to study racial attitudes, particularly competition, using focus group data. With a qualitative study such as a focus group, researchers are able to probe study participants and ask open-ended questions. Only in this way will they be able to examine clearly what participants perceive as competition, how much competition they perceive, and to what extent this competition shapes their relations with another racial group.

EFFECT OF CONTACT ON COMPETITION AND COMMONALITY

Theories regarding contact have a long history in the literature on racial attitudes (Allport, 1954; Jackman and Crane, 1986; de la Garza et. al, 1991; Dyer, Vedlitz and Worchel, 1989; Hood and Morris, 1998; Fetzer, 2000; Morris, 2000; McClain et. al, 2006). Furthermore, contact effects have been frequently examined in the formation of attitudes toward immigrants and immigration as well as perceptions of commonality and competition (de la Garza et. al, 1991; Dyer, Vedlitz and Worchel, 1989; Morris, 2000; McClain et. al, 2006).

In this study, I explore and test contact theory, a critical theory exploring the effects of contact on racial attitudes: The principal contours of this theory can be associated with

[5] I include whites as the comparison group for Latinos' attitudes toward blacks. I include whites as the comparison group for blacks' attitudes toward Latinos. I include blacks as the comparison group when exploring whites' attitudes toward Latinos.

Allport (1954), who asserted that close contact between different racial groups (with common goals and of equal status within a situation) has a positive effect on the attitudes that these groups adopt of each other, and lack of contact has the opposite effect. Contact theory has developed in the racial attitudes literature to state that when individuals have close, equal-status, and supportive contact with other groups, their hostility toward these groups is likely to decrease as each group gets to know the other better. Hence, individuals living in close proximity to immigrants should develop more favorable attitudes toward immigration (Stephan, 1985; Jackman and Crane, 1986; Hood and Morris, 1998; Fetzer, 2000; Stein, Post and Rinden, 2000; Wilkinson and Garand, 2007).

A significant portion of the literature on contact theory comes from the field of psychology. The literature on contact theory in psychology provides several discussions as to the applicability of the theory. For instance, Sheriff, Harvey, White, Hood and Hood (1961) argue that the contact theory does not apply when individuals are forced to cooperate with each other, in reference to the results of their "Robbers Cave" experiment. However, Meer and Freeman (1966) find some support for contact theory. They find that when blacks and whites reside in the same middle to upper class neighborhood, whites are more likely to accept blacks as neighbors. However, this change does not always follow for all types of contact between blacks and whites. Amir (1969) tests contact theory on intergroup relations and finds that "favorable" conditions decrease intergroup tension and prejudice and "unfavorable" conditions lead to the opposite. "Favorable" conditions are established with positive initial contact and constant, equal-status, and intimate contact with another individual.

Based on the idea that having a black friend automatically denotes that whites are not prejudiced against blacks, Jackman and Crane (1986) examine the effect that contact with

blacks, particularly friendship, has on whites' attitudes toward them. They find that having a black friend does not decrease whites' hostility toward blacks since contact with members of a lower status does not have a positive effect on attitudes. Hence, in my models of white racial attitudes, I explore how the interaction of contact and socioeconomic status shapes whites' attitudes toward Latinos and blacks.

Unlike the racial groups studied by the previous scholars, Ellison and Powers (1994) examine the effect that contact has on blacks' racial attitudes. They conclude that interracial friendships are a key predictor of black attitudes and early childhood contact with whites increases the likelihood that blacks develop close relationships with whites.

Pettigrew (1997) explores the applicability of contact theory in Western Europe. He finds strong support for the theory using a sample of German, French, Dutch and British respondents. Moreover, he concludes that in order to have optimal interpersonal contact, having the potential to be friends with someone is very important.

Voci and Hewstone (2003) also test contact theory in Western Europe, particularly in Italy. They conclude that contact in and of itself may not completely influence racial attitudes since mediating and moderating processes exist. They find that positive contact with an out-group *and* group salience improve intergroup race relations often when anxiety is low.

Also, Eller and Abrams (2003) study contact theory by testing specifically Pettigrew's (1998) and Gaertner and Dovidio's (2000) models (largely based from contact theory) in the socio-political context of NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement). They find support for contact theory in that contact decreases out-group bias. More specifically, contact at school has more significant effects on out-group bias than

friendship. The scholars also recognize that other mediating factors (e.g. knowledge, behavior and identification) can influence out-group bias regardless of contact.

In a more recent work, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conduct a meta-analytic test of contact theory. They find support for the theory in that intergroup contact has a tendency to reduce intergroup prejudice. In addition, the authors conclude that Allport's optimal conditions[6] do not have to be met in order for contact to have a negative effect on prejudice. However, if the optimal conditions are met, then the relationship between contact and prejudice is that much stronger. When it comes to the endogeneity issue between prejudice and contact,[7] the scholars find that the negative relationship between contact and intergroup prejudice sustains even when taking into consideration participant selection. Moreover, contact theory holds for a variety of contact settings and out-group targets.

On the other hand, several scholars explore the applicability of contact theory in political science. Scholars studying immigration attitudes find strong support for contact theory. Hood and Morris (1997) examine the effects of contextual variables on whites' opinion toward immigration policy and conclude that racial context has a significant effect on whites' immigration attitude formation, since whites living in areas with large Hispanic and Asian populations are likely to have positive evaluations of these minority groups. Contact theory is also tested in the literature on blacks' immigration attitudes. Morris (2000) examines the effect that contact has on blacks' support for Proposition 187[8] and finds mixed results. He finds that, as the number of Asian Americans living in close proximity to blacks

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[6] Often defined as when individuals have do not have competition, have equal-status, constant and close contact and institutional support for their contact.

[7] Some have found that contact affects prejudice, yet others have found that prejudice affects contact in that prejudiced people may be less likely to have contact with certain groups than others (Herek and Capitanio, 1996). I discuss this issue in more detail later on.

[8] Proposition 187 was a ballot initiative created in 1994 to prohibit illegal immigrants from using social services, health care, and public education in the state of California. It was passed by the voters but then found unconstitutional by a federal court.

increases, black support for Proposition 187 decreases. On the other hand, as the number of Latinos living in close proximity to blacks increases, black support for the proposition is augmented.

In the racial attitudes literature, Sigelman and Welch (1993) do not give up on contact theory. When exploring white and black racial attitudes, the authors find that interracial contact, particularly interracial friendships and neighborhood contacts, decreases perceptions of hostility between whites and blacks. Moreover, they find that whites' desire for racial integration is positively affected by their interracial friendships and neighborhood contacts. Friendship is a very important form of contact and I explore the effect of this type of contact on whites', blacks' and Latinos' racial attitudes.

Outside of the literature of contact's effect on white attitudes, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) provide some support for contact theory using data from the 1992 Los Angeles County Social Survey. They explore the effect of social alienation on perceptions of competition. They find that the more Latinos and Asians are socially isolated from blacks, the more likely that they perceive them as competitors. When it comes to African Americans' and Asians' social alienation from Latinos, the authors argue that social alienation has a positive effect on viewing Latinos as competitors.

When it comes to social contact between whites and Latinos, Welch and Sigelman (2000) examine Puerto Ricans', Mexicans' and Cuban Americans' contact with whites. This is a key study in the contact theory literature since it is one of the first studies to explore the effect of contact on Latinos' attitudes. They find overall that Latino and white social contact is more frequent than contact between African Americans and whites and for all three groups the determinants of contact seem to be the same. In addition, they conclude that contact does not significantly affect Latinos' attitudes toward whites. In a later work, Welch,

Sigelman, Bledsoe and Combs (2001) examine the role that racial composition plays in shaping race relations and find some support for the contact theory. They find that whites' contact with blacks has a negative effect on their adoption of negative stereotypes of blacks.

In a more recent study, McClain et. al (2006) focus their study on the effect of contact on Latinos' attitudes toward blacks in the city of Durham, North Carolina. Similar to the work by Sigelman and Welch (2000), this is one of the first studies exploring the effect of contact on Latinos' attitudes. They find that Hispanics who have more social contact with African Americans are less predisposed to espouse negative stereotypes of blacks than those who do not have a lot of contact.

Although they do not specifically focus their study on the effect of contact on Latinos' attitudes toward blacks, Nteta and Wallsten (2007) find some support for contact theory. They find that having black friends positively affects Latinos' perceptions of economic and political commonality with blacks. Barreto and Sanchez (2008) also examine the effect of contact on Latinos' attitudes, particularly perceptions of competition, and find some support for contact theory. They conclude that having black friends has a significantly negative effect on perceptions of competition with blacks. On the other hand, having black coworkers increases Latinos' predisposition to perceive competition with African Americans.

Taken as a whole, contact theory has played a key role in explaining blacks', whites' and Latinos' attitudes toward each other and toward racial groups considered out-groups and in-groups. As noted in the literature, there are different types of contact and these types of contact can have similar or opposing effects on distinct racial attitudes. Only in the last couple of years has contact theory been tested on Latinos' attitudes. Moreover, contact theory can apply in certain circumstances for some racial groups and then not for others, conveying the complex relationship between contact and racial attitudes. In this study, I test

this prominent theory in the racial attitudes literature by taking into account a variety of forms of contact and their effects on attitudes of whites, blacks and Latinos toward each other. Hence, this study fills some gaps in the racial attitudes literature and increases our understanding of contact theory and general racial attitudes among whites, blacks and Latinos.

EFFECT OF CONTEXT ON COMPETITION AND COMMONALITY

Context theories and contact theories are intertwined and have similar elements, yet the processes associated with these theories are not the same. Contact theory relates to the direct interaction and physical proximity with a particular racial group or members of that group. The theory argues that contact positively affects racial attitudes. On the other hand, context involves more diverse forms of connection with the Latino or immigrant culture, such as the ethnic composition of one's community, the headlines of local news stories, and context relevant information learned from contact with friends, neighbors, and coworkers in one's social network.

A key theory in the contextual effects literature is the racial threat theory (also called the threat theory, power theory), which suggests that members of the majority may perceive a threat by the aggregation of minority members in their home contexts. As the size of the minority population increases, the perception of threat by members of the majority also increases, and this results in increased negative perceptions of the minority population. However, the relationship between minority population and perception of threat may be nonlinear. At low levels of minority population, members of the majority do not perceive a threat. As the minority population increases, perception of threat increases, particularly as the minority population approaches 50%. Once the minority population increases past 50%

(and hence becomes a majority), the level of threat perceived by the previous majority declines (Giles and Evans, 1986; Giles and Buckner, 1993; Glaser, 1994).

The racial threat hypothesis can be seen as a counter to contact theory, insofar as the racial threat hypothesis suggests that contact has a *negative* effect on racial attitudes. More specifically, the theory states that as the size of the minority population increases, the perception of threat also increases, and this results in increased negative perceptions of the minority population. However, it is important to mention that, unlike contact theory, the racial threat hypothesis does not explicitly discuss the effects of racial contact. This theory was designed to provide an explanation to how whites respond when the black population increases and they become threatened and concerned about being in the minority and losing political, economic and social power. Hence the causal mechanisms for these two theories are quite different. For contact theory, the causal instrument is contact between majority- and minority-group members. For the racial threat hypothesis, the causal mechanism is the perceptions of members of the majority that they are losing majority status. Nevertheless, the literature on racial attitudes often associates contact theory as the opposite of the racial threat hypothesis and vice versa (Hood and Morris, 1998: 3; Rocha and Espino, 2008: 2). In addition, context and contact are very much related.[9] Hence, in this work, I treat the contact theory and the racial threat hypothesis as competing theories.

The formation of the racial threat hypothesis can be associated with V.O. Key's (1949) work on southern politics. Key states that where blacks are concentrated the most, whites possess the most prejudiced views toward blacks. Glaser (1994) evaluates some of Key's (1949) arguments and finds that whites who live in black areas are not more prejudiced than those who do not live in black areas.

[9] For instance, if one is surrounded by a large Latino population, more than likely he/she will have Latino neighbors, coworkers or friends.

However, Glaser asserts that when whites live in areas where blacks have numerous opportunities to obtain power, whites become more antagonistic.

The racial threat hypothesis has been studied frequently in the racial attitudes literature. Some supporters of this theory include scholars exploring the determinants of attitudes toward immigrants and immigration (Hood and Morris, 1997; Hood et. al, 1997; Wilkinson and Garand, 2007; Rocha and Espino, 2008). For instance, Hood and Morris (1997) examine whites' immigration attitudes and find support for the racial threat hypothesis. They find that the growing Latino and Asian population in the state of California has a negative effect on whites' attitudes toward immigration. They hypothesize that living in a state with large and ever-increasing populations of Latinos and Asians, yet not having close proximity to these groups, causes one to view these groups negatively, perhaps even as threats. Similarly, Hood and Morris (1998) find some support for this theory regarding whites' attitudes toward undocumented migrants in California.

In a more recent work, Rocha and Espino (2008) test the racial threat hypothesis as well as examine the effect of segregation on Anglos' attitudes toward immigration and English-language policies. They argue that "segregation is an intervening factor that makes the conditions for either racial threat or social contact more likely, thus affecting Anglo attitudes" (10). In general, Rocha and Espino find that the size of the Latino population and residential segregation between Latinos and whites has negative effects on whites' adoption of policies that are favorable toward Latinos.

Nonetheless, the racial threat hypothesis is not fully supported by all scholars. Oliver and Mendelberg (2000) explore the environmental determinants of whites' racial attitudes, focusing on their attitudes toward racism, negative stereotypes, anti-Semitism and authoritarianism. Although the authors do not completely discredit the racial threat

hypothesis, they argue that socioeconomic contexts, particularly an area's education level, significantly influence whites' perceptions of threat.

In a later work, Oliver and Wong (2003) test the racial threat hypothesis in multi-ethnic settings and strongly contest this theory. They argue that inter-ethnic proximity leads to low levels of out-group prejudice and competition. Moreover, ethnic isolation actually bolsters out-group prejudice and perceptions of competition.

In the racial attitudes literature regarding commonality and competition, support for the racial threat hypothesis is mixed. Mollenkopf (1997) examines the determinants of the formation biracial coalitions in the city of New York and asserts that population size of Latinos and blacks results in great tensions between the two groups. Moreover, the growing Dominican population in New York has resulted in competition and severe tensions between Puerto Ricans and Dominicans and African Americans and Dominicans. These tensions have even caused some Puerto Ricans and blacks to support banning Dominicans from voting in New York City elections.

Similar to tensions and competition in New York, the city of Miami has experienced tensions among Cubans, whites and African Americans. Warren (1997) also finds support for the racial threat hypothesis when discussing the resulting social and political tensions among Cubans, whites and blacks due to the rising Cuban population in Miami.

Overall, the literature on the effect of context on perceptions of commonality and competition is scant. However, as portrayed above, context plays a significant role in shaping a variety of racial attitudes. Furthermore, context is multifaceted. Context can include the percentage of Latinos at the county level, a state unemployment rate and a region's homeownership rate. Consequently, by exploring contextual effects on racial

attitudes, scholars can delve into a variety of elements of context that can elicit various responses and increase our knowledge of contextual effects.

Taking into consideration these points, I explore the effect of context in numerous forms (such as percent Latino, unemployment rate, and percent living below the poverty level) in my Latino models and examine the effect of region (living in the south) in my white and black models.[10]

Other Works

Besides exploring contextual effects on coalition formation, there are other major works in the racial attitudes literature that specifically focus on context and its effects on attitudes. For instance, Glaser and Gilens (1997) examine how political context shape the attitudes that whites and blacks develop as adolescents. The authors find that whites who move from the conservative South to the North (and visa versa) embrace the attitudes of their new neighbors (73).

In a study using survey data from the Detroit area, Welch, Sigelman, Bledsoe and Combs (2001) compare 1968 and 1992 data to explore the role that neighborhood racial context influences whites' and blacks' racial attitudes. They argue that neighborhood racial context significantly shapes individuals' choice of friends, contacts, public policy stances and attitudes toward interracial relationships. The authors find that black and white residents who live in mixed neighborhoods were more likely to acknowledge anti-black discrimination than those who live in a homogenous neighborhood. In addition, Welch et al. find significant support for the social density hypothesis, which states that blacks who live in majority black neighborhood have greater solidarity with other blacks than those who live in heterogeneous neighborhoods. They also find that heterogeneous neighborhoods are less

[10] Once I obtain more racial and socioeconomic contextual data, I will include racial and socioeconomic context variables in my black and white models.

likely to have black solidarity than homogeneous neighborhoods. When it comes to whites' attitudes, they assert that contact with blacks reduces the likelihood that whites adopt negative stereotypes of blacks.

This study by Welch et. al (2001) is very important and interesting. Their work encourages scholars to value context greatly when studying racial attitudes. Exploring blacks and whites' racial attitudes at the neighborhood level while taking into consideration homogeneity of neighborhood has not been studied very often. Nevertheless, due to data constraints, I am not able to examine contextual effects at the neighborhood level, yet I will include several contextual variables in my models at the county or at the metropolitan level in the near future. Furthermore, studying the effect of neighborhood context seems to be at the core of race relations. When we think of racial conflict and race relations, many of us have a tendency to think of neighborhood gangs or neighborhood brawls.

Similar to Welch et. al (2001), Gay (2004) asserts that context matters, but unlike Welch et. al, Gay concentrates her study on the contextual determinants of blacks' racial attitudes. She measures socioeconomic environment in terms of residents' education level and neighborhood quality (such as presence of safe, clean streets and high home values). Gay finds that neighborhood quality has a negative effect on linked fate and perceived discrimination. In addition, blacks who live in proximity to other blacks are more likely to possess linked fate and state that they have experienced discrimination.

Like Welch et. al (2001), Gay's (2004) study is critical and useful for the present study. Examining the effect of socioeconomic environment (especially at the neighborhood level) on perceptions of linked fate and discrimination is very interesting and innovative. What occurs at the neighborhood level can portray a degree of intimacy and provide a certain amount of insight to race relations that no other contextual level may be able to

capture. As mentioned previously, I am not able to explore contextual effects at the neighborhood level, but I will examine the role of context on racial attitudes using county level or metropolitan area level data in the near future.

Gay's (2004) findings raise questions bout the extent to which socioeconomic environment shapes perceptions of linked fate in comparison to socialization. As mentioned previously, socialization has been found to influence public opinion. Hence, it would be interesting to see if blacks interacting with other blacks shapes linked fate in the same way as the effect of blacks living near other racial groups would have on perceptions of linked fate.

In a later study, Gay (2006) explores the effect of context on blacks' attitudes toward Latinos and finds that the economic resources that blacks demand influence their attitudes toward Latinos. Therefore, when Latinos have an economic advantage over blacks, African Americans are likely to express racial prejudice toward Latinos and act defensively (995).

Media Effects

The literature on media effects also plays a key role in the general racial attitudes literature; as a whole it suggests that depictions of minority groups in the media influence citizen attitudes with regard to the group depicted (e.g. Gilliam and Iyengar 2000). A critical theory in the media effects literature is the economic theory of news making. This theory asserts that news organizations create news content geared toward viewers who are most attractive to advertisers. Moreover, news organizations' economic incentives have influenced them to follow a "crime news script" especially when stories involve racial and ethnic minorities (Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon and Wright, 1996; Gilliam and Iyengar, 2000; Gilliam, Valentino and Beckmann 2002). This means that mainstream news media have a tendency to portray nonwhites in an unappealing way (Gilens, 1999). These results apply to Latinos as well. The National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) argues that

Latinos are rarely depicted in a positive manner and often portrayed as a racial group associated with crime and many problems (Subervi 2004).

So how do these negative images influences attitudes? Most relevant for the present study is the general finding that negative and stereotypical media portrayals reinforce negatively held stereotypes on the part of the audience (Gilliam and Iyengar 2000). In comparison to neutral or positive information, negative information is more likely to remain in people's mind than other types of information (Bless, Hamilton, and Mackie, 1992; Baumeister, Bratslavsky, and Finkenauer, 2001). Gilens (1999) portrays the importance of negative information on individuals' attitudes. He finds that images which display blacks in a negative manner influence people to associate blacks with poverty and with depending on governmental welfare programs. He also concludes that those who associate poverty with blacks were more likely to harbor negative views toward welfare recipients than those who associated poverty with whites.

Another work that examines the implications of negative portrayals is by Gilliam and Iyengar (2000). Using an experimental design, the authors find that exposure to a violent black perpetrator causes white viewers to possess negative stereotypes toward blacks. In addition, these portrayals increase whites' predisposition to support the death penalty.

Overall, although the media studies do not directly address commonality and competition, they do directly address the formation and use of negative stereotypes regarding minority groups, which is important in its own right and may also have implications for perceived commonality and/or competition between groups. High volumes of negative news stories depicting non-whites as criminals (Gilliam and Iyengar 2000), welfare recipients (Gilens 1999), or illegal immigrants (Brader, Valentino, and Suhay 2008) may indirectly influence perceptions of commonality or competition by highlighting negative

stereotypes or elevating a sense of threat. For example, exposure to high volumes of negative news stories regarding immigration has a strong independent effect on the degree to which whites rate immigration as a most important problem facing the country (Dunaway, Branton and Abrajano. 2010). These studies are also valuable because they provide innovative perspectives to exploring general race relations among whites, blacks and Latinos.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this literature review, I summarize and critique the literature on interracial coalitions, focusing particularly on commonality and competition and providing a brief section on the literature on skin color. Following this discussion I present a review of the literature recognizing contact and context as significant determinants of racial attitudes and recognize the importance of media effects on racial attitudes.

The literature on commonality has made numerous interesting findings. First, Latino/black commonality has been studied extensively. Second, we know that demographic attributes, nativity, and social distance significantly shape blacks' and Latinos' perceptions of commonality. However, more research needs to be conducted on whites' perceptions of commonality with Latinos, and my study will explore this topic.

When it comes to competition, numerous works explore various forms of competition between Latinos and blacks, including educational, political and job competition. Studying competition in a variety of ways only enhances one's understanding of racial attitudes. Another strength of the competition literature is portrayed in a study by Barreto and Sanchez (2008) where they provide a measure of black/Latino competition based on how much competition Latinos perceive with African Americans in comparison to how much competition Hispanics perceive with other Latinos. This has never been done before and provides a clearer picture of black/Latino racial attitudes. In this paper, instead

of comparing Latinos' competition with blacks to their competition with other Latinos, I compare Latinos' perceptions of competition with blacks to those with whites.

A major weakness in the competition literature is the lack of depth in individuals' responses regarding competition. In such a study dealing with such a controversial and complex topic, asking individuals plainly if they perceive competition with another group is not enough. This weakness is mostly due to the constraints of survey questioning. Hence, I include a qualitative perspective to studying interracial competition, using focus group data. With a qualitative study such as a focus group, I am able to ask open-ended questions and probe study participants. Only in this way am I able to examine clearly what participants perceive as competition, how much competition they perceive, and to what extent this competition shapes their relations with another racial group.

Contact has been found to be a critical determinant of racial attitudes. The field of psychology has numerous works that study the applicability of contact theory. In addition, several scholars in political science have tested this theory with regards to racial attitudes. However, only a few works have explored contact as a determinant of interracial competition and commonality. Hence, my study focuses on the effects of contact on whites', blacks', and Latinos' perceptions of commonality and competition with each other.

The racial attitudes literature focusing on contextual effects on perceptions of commonality and competition is not vast, yet the applicability of the racial threat hypothesis has been debated quite frequently. Nevertheless, the works that do focus on context provide innovative perspectives such as exploring the effect of neighborhood quality and neighborhood education level on perceptions of linked fate and discrimination. Due to data and financial constraints, I am not be able to estimate commonality and competition models at the neighborhood level, but I will do so at the county levels in the near future.

In conclusion, my dissertation attempts to fill the gaps in the commonality and competition literature as well as provide new perspectives to studying these racial attitudes through focus groups, providing a comparison group when studying black, Latino and white racial attitudes and exploring stereotypes among these three racial groups as well.

CHAPTER 3: MODELING WHITES', BLACKS' AND LATINOS' RACIAL ATTITUDES

BROAD THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The United States is made up of a diverse population. Our president is African American; the vice president is white; and a Latina has just recently become a Justice on the U.S. Supreme Court. There are more racial minorities and women in political positions of power than there have ever been in the United States. With this racial diversity in politics come diverse political views and policy stances. Because there is no one group in the United States that constitutes a unified majority, various groups must form coalitions in order to pursue their desired policy outcomes. Whites seemingly may not have to create coalitions with other racial groups, since they make up the majority of the U.S. population. However, white Americans are not sufficiently unified on policy matters to dominate the policy process on their own. Some whites' views are closer to those of blacks and Latinos, yet others' views may be similar to other whites. Given this, whites, Latinos, and blacks (in some combination) need to form electoral and governmental coalitions in order to be able to achieve their electoral and policy goals (Kaufmann, 2003; McClain et. al, 2006).

Race has a long history in political science research. One scholar who is prominent for relating race to political behavior and institutions in the south is V.O. Key (1949). The scholars states that race is at the center of white political behavior and political institutions in the south. Issues regarding race surpass other factors that influence the politics of the south, such as the type of political party system established, voting regulations and voting behavior. Race discussions may have centered on the relationship between blacks and whites in the middle of the 20th century, but today Latinos and Asians also play a leading role in discussions of race. Will race and ethnicity continue to play such a leading role in political behavior and institutions in the U.S. as it was believed to be in the south in the 20th century?

More specifically, will coalitions between whites and blacks (often associated as the in-group) and against Latinos (otherwise known as the outsiders or the out-group) form? Will Latinos be the new blacks? Or will blacks continue to be the "out" group? Will Latinos and whites form coalitions against the policy positions of blacks?

It is important to recognize that coalitions can be brought about through leadership and created among political leaders at the mass level. An example of a coalition formed through leadership is the development of the civil rights movement through the help of Martin Luther King, Jr. This civil rights leader brought whites and blacks together to fight for the civil and human rights of African Americans in the U.S. Coalitions created among political leaders are studied extensively in the political science literature. For example, legislators can form coalitions to get bills passed and to suppress the power of the opposing political party.

On the other hand, coalitions can be created through the political activities of the masses. Groups of individuals of one or multiple races or ethnicities can come together to protest or work towards a particular cause. Examples of coalitions created through masses are endless. Any type of riot, protest, or war in the history of the world can be considered a coalition created through masses.

This study focuses on the precursors of coalitions formed at the mass level. However, it is important to examine whether Latinos and blacks have actually formed coalitions in the past. During the end of the 20th century, Latinos and blacks formed coalitions to elect black and Mexican American mayors in several major cities throughout the U.S. On the other hand, later on in 2001, some would say that this amicable relationship began to deteriorate since blacks strongly voted against a Latino mayoral candidate in Los Angeles, and Latinos voted against a black mayoral candidate in Houston (Barreto and

Sanchez, 2008: 1). Moreover, after the large influx of Latinos in the Greater New Orleans area for the reconstruction of hurricane-ravaged neighborhoods, the African American mayor of New Orleans even publicly suggested that the city may be swamped by Mexican workers (Eaton, 2006). Therefore, what could have brought Latinos and blacks together at the end of the 20th century that was not present in the beginning of the 21st?

When thinking about whites/Latino coalitions, a common visual that comes to mind is white presidential candidates attempting to attract the Latino vote by addressing a Hispanic crowd in the Spanish language or deliberately portraying Latino interests in immigration and border-related issues. As presidential candidates attempt to lure the Latino vote, Latinos respond by cheering and waving the U.S. flag and signs of support for the candidates. However, does this image truly illustrate a coalition between whites and Latinos? Moreover, as mentioned previously, Latinos born in other countries may carry prejudices against individuals of darker skin to the U.S. Some whites may exhibit negative racial attitudes against blacks conveyed through the history of slavery and discrimination against African Americans in the U.S. and the recent offensive comments aimed toward President Obama on signs held by majority white tea party protesters (Benjamin, 2010). Hence, whites and Latinos may hold similar (negative) views toward blacks. Does having similar views lead to the formation of coalitions? Are coalitions between Latinos and whites likely to exist?

Racial and ethnic identification for Latinos can render who makes coalitions with whom very tricky. Some dark-skinned Latinos in New York City identify themselves as black and make it a point to surround themselves with African Americans. Other Latinos with light skin and "white" features also identify themselves as black or perceive that they are close to blacks. On the other hand, approximately 50 percent of Latinos identified themselves as white in the U.S. Census. Consequently, with this race and ethnicity dilemma,

does identifying as white as opposed to black convey Latinos' willingness to form coalitions with whites instead of blacks? Moreover, some Latinos state that they permit society to influence how they categorize themselves (Navarro, 2003). What role does context play in shaping Latinos' alignment with whites or with blacks?[11]

In this study, I focus on the precursors of coalitions (commonality, competition and stereotypes) created through masses racial groups, centering on whites, blacks and Latinos[12] and the conditions that facilitate the creation of these precursors. The conditions/determinants are contact and context. I test contact theory and racial threat hypothesis as competing theories to explain attitudes among whites, blacks and Hispanics. Figure 3.1 presents the general model for this study. The highlighted portions indicate the main focus of this manuscript.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: CONTACT THEORY

The main focus of this dissertation is the exploration of the effect that contact has on what blacks, whites and Latinos think of each other. Why is contact an important topic of study for scholars of racial politics? First, contact with others can affect an individual socially, psychologically and even politically. With such a long history in the fields of psychology, sociology and political science, contact has been explored as a determinant of

[11] The main issue here is that no one scholar or theory has specifically defined race and stated how and to what extent one should identify as white, black, Latino, Asian, Native American, etc. Some may state that one's race or ethnicity should be based on physical features, others may state that it is how one feels, and yet others may state that one should identify with the race or ethnicity of his/her parents. Consequently, race and ethnicity can be very difficult to define and identify. Hence, the race and ethnicity of the individuals studied in this manuscript is obtained through self-identification.

[12] I do not include Asians in my study since Asians make up a less than 5 percent of the U.S. population (2008 estimate of the 2000 U.S. Census). Furthermore, the literature on racial attitudes and coalition formation centers on blacks, Latinos and whites and does not include Asians. In order to continue to build on this body of work, I focus on the same racial groups that the literatures studies.

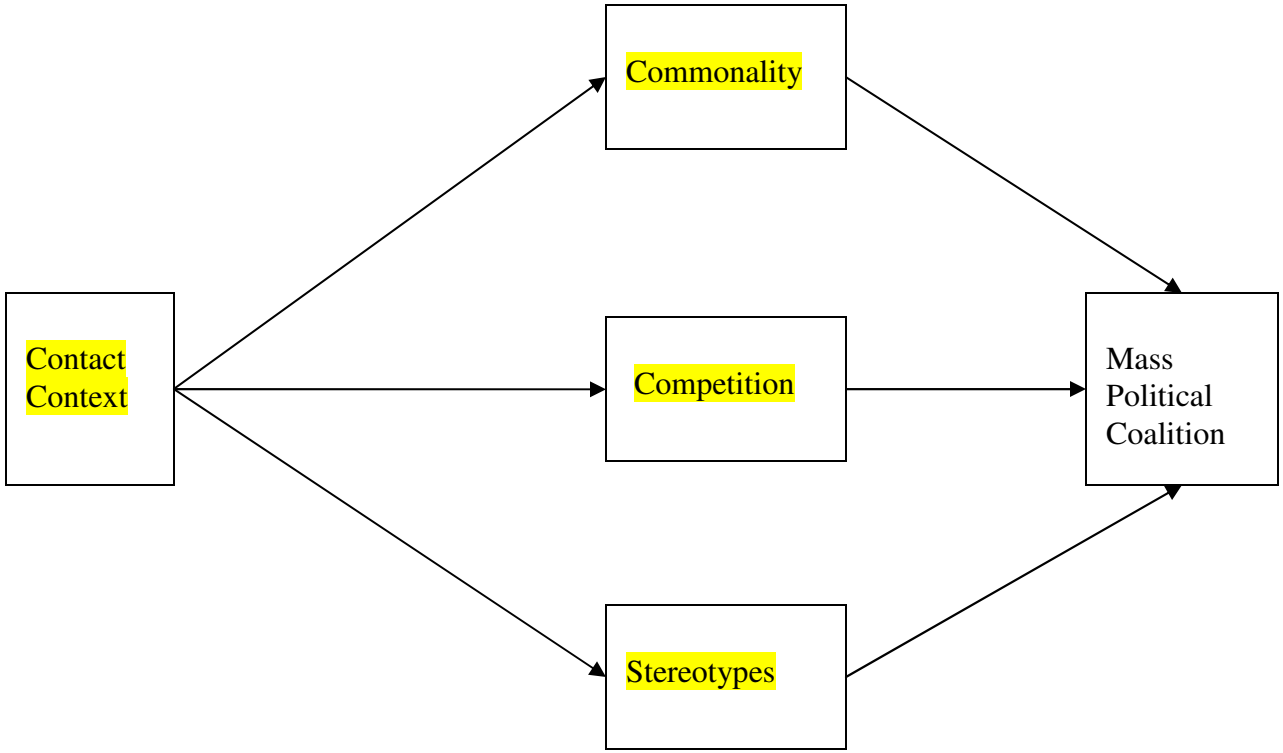

Figure 3.1 Model of Commonality, Competition, and Stereotype Effects on Political Coalition Formation

racial attitudes such as affect, prejudice, stereotypes and racial hostility in general between blacks and whites. Second, only recently has some work in political science been conducted on the effect of contact on attitudes toward Latinos (Gay, 2006; Rouse, Wilkinson and Garand, 2006; McClain et. al, 2006; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008; Rocha and Espino, 2008). Hence, the relationship between contact and attitudes toward Latinos has the potential to increase our understanding of the racial dynamics that occur outside of the black and white realm.

A third reason why it is important to study contact as a determinant of racial attitudes among whites, blacks and Latinos is that contact effects on racial attitudes have critical implications on several public policies in place and for the development of future policies. For instance, if contact were to have a positive effect on blacks' attitudes toward Latinos, then there may be strong support for desegregation and busing laws, and zoning laws may be altered to decrease social tensions between blacks and Latinos in neighborhoods where these two groups are isolated.

Some may state that contact and perceptions of commonality are intertwined and very similar. If one has commonality with another, then he/she surely has contact with that individual. How can individuals perceive commonality with another without actuality getting to know them? I argue that commonality and contact are not very similar and are not interrelated. For instance, individuals can perceive that they have something in common with a racial group by learning about the group through the news media or a documentary and never once experiencing indirect or direct contact with that particular group. In addition, as stated by the intergroup conflict theory, contact can result in negative views toward a particular group and perceptions of commonality can associated with possessing positive views and not negative views toward a certain individual or group of individuals.

Brief Review of the Literature on Contact Theory

One key theory in the racial and immigration attitudes literature regarding contact effects is contact theory. The principal contours of this theory can be associated with Allport (1954), who asserted that close contact between different racial groups (with common goals and of equal status within a situation) has a positive effect on the attitudes that these groups adopt of each other, and lack of contact has the opposite effect. Contact theory has developed in the racial attitudes literature to state that when individuals have close, equal-status, and supportive contact with other groups, their hostility toward these groups is likely to decrease as each group gets to know the other better. Hence, individuals living in close proximity to others should develop more favorable attitudes toward them (Hood and Morris, 1998).

Support for contact theory throughout the racial attitudes literature is extensive. Bobo and Hutchings (1996) assert strong support for contact theory after finding that racial alienation positively shapes blacks' perception of competition with Latinos. When it comes to whites' adoption of black stereotypes, Welch et. al (2001) also find strong support for contact theory. They find that whites' contact with blacks has a negative effect on their adoption of negative stereotypes of blacks. In a later work, McClain et. al (2006) greatly support contact theory while examining the extent to which Latino immigrants hold negative stereotypes of blacks. They find that Hispanics who have more social contact with African Americans are less predisposed to espouse negative stereotypes of blacks than those who do not have a lot of contact.

Intergroup Conflict Theory

Contrasting to the contact theory, intergroup conflict theory suggests that contact with minority groups generates conflicting interactions that increase negative attitudes toward those groups. This theory is discussed in the racial attitudes literature, particularly regarding immigrants and immigration. For instance, de la Garza et al. (1991) find strong support for this theory by

finding that Mexican Americans who have contact with illegal immigrants are less likely to support nonrestrictive immigration policies, regardless of having the same ethnic origin as those with whom they have contact.

Like de la Garza et al (1991), Hood, Morris and Shirkey (1997) support the intergroup conflict theory by finding that Latinos in states with a four percent undocumented immigrant population are more than twice as likely to favor diminishing immigration than Latinos in states with no undocumented immigrants. In a later study on blacks' immigration attitudes, Morris (2000) addresses the effect that contact has on immigration public opinion through the perspective of the inter-minority conflict theory and finds mixed results. He finds that, as the number of Asian Americans living in close proximity to blacks increases, black support for Proposition 187 decreases. However, as the number of Latinos living in close proximity to blacks increases, black support for the proposition is augmented.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: THE RACIAL THREAT HYPOTHESIS

The other major theory that I test in this dissertation is the racial threat hypothesis. This hypothesis is tested against contact theory. The racial threat hypothesis can be seen as a counter to contact theory, insofar as it suggests that contact has a *negative* effect on racial attitudes. More specifically, the theory discusses the effect of context on racial attitudes: as the size of the minority population increases, the perception of threat also increases, and this results in increased negative perceptions of the minority population.

However, it is important to mention that, unlike contact theory, the racial threat hypothesis does not explicitly discuss the effects of racial contact. Moreover, contact theory applies for contact at the individual-level and the racial threat hypothesis applies for context and at the aggregate-level. Even though the racial threat hypothesis does not directly mention contact, the literature on racial attitudes often depicts contact theory as the opposite of the racial threat hypothesis and vice versa

(Hood, Morris and Shirkey, 1997; Hood and Morris, 1998: 3; Rocha and Espino, 2008: 2). Moreover, in many of my focus groups, participants associated contact with context since they tended to apply their views toward specific individuals to the racial group overall. Also, I believe that context is related to contact since individuals who are surrounded by another racial group are likely to have personal contact with that group one way or another. Hence, in this work, I treat the contact theory and the racial threat hypothesis as competing theories.

So why did I choose to test the racial threat hypothesis? This theory has a long history in the literature on racial attitudes. The formation of the racial threat hypothesis can be associated with V.O. Key's (1949) work on southern politics. It was created to provide an explanation to how whites respond when the black population increases and they become threatened and concerned about being in the minority and losing political, economic and social power. Key states that where blacks are concentrated the most, whites possess the most prejudiced views toward blacks.

Besides black and white relations, the racial threat hypothesis has also been applied to attitudes toward immigrant groups such as Latinos and Asians. When it comes to whites' attitudes toward Latinos and Asians in California, the growing presence of Latinos and Asians populations negatively affects whites' attitudes (Hood and Morris, 1997; Hood and Morris, 1998). Moreover, Rocha and Espino (2008) find that segregation plays an intervening role in shaping whites' attitudes toward immigration and English-language policies.

Nevertheless, the racial threat hypothesis has not always been supported in the racial attitudes literature. Oliver and Mendelberg (2000) argue that socioeconomic contexts—as opposed to racial context—provides a much better explanation to whites' attitudes. Oliver and Wong (2003) actually find the opposite of what the racial threat hypothesis asserts in that interethnic proximity leads to low levels of prejudice and competition with out-groups.

DATA

The data used in this dissertation comes from the 2004 National Politics Study (NPS), the 2005-2006 Latino National Survey (LNS), and focus groups conducted in the city of New Orleans. Unlike the surveys used in previous research on commonality and competition, the 2004 NPS and 2005-2006 LNS use nationwide data. The 2004 NPS has representative samples of whites, blacks and Latinos as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Racial Makeup of Respondents in the 2004 National Politics Survey

Race	Number	Percentage
White	919	27.5%
Black	756	22.6%
Latino	757	22.7%

Furthermore, this survey explore a variety of topics that are central to the racial attitudes explored here: closeness to whites, blacks and Latinos; Latino education and economic commonality with blacks/whites; Latino political commonality with blacks/whites; Latinos' job competition with blacks; Latino competition in government with blacks; and Latino competition in education with blacks.

Unlike the surveys used in previous research on Latino assimilation, the LNS uses nationwide data with a highly representative sample of approximately 8,634 Latinos with lineage primarily from 20 countries in Central and South America. Table 3.2 provides information regarding the nationality of the survey respondents.

Another factor that distinguishes this survey data from other Latino surveys is that it explores a variety of topics that are central to the Latino immigrant experience in the U.S. that have been left uncovered in previous surveys.

Table 3.2 Nationality Makeup of Respondents in the 2005-2006 Latino National Survey

Nationality	Number	Percentage
Mexico	5706	66.1
Puerto Rico	822	9.52
Cuba	420	4.86
El Salvador	407	4.71
Dominican Republic	335	3.88
Guatemala	149	1.75
Colombia	139	1.61
Spain	105	1.22
Honduras	87	1.01
Peru	65	0.75

Some of the questions that the survey covers involve discrimination, skin color, linked fate, citizenship, immigration attitudes, assimilation, political participation, representation and perceptions of competition and commonality with blacks, whites and other Latinos. Moreover, this survey data is critical since it includes invaluable contextual data that allows me to distinguish Latinos by state and metro area.

CONTOURS OF MODEL

In this section, I lay out the contours of the empirical model of whites', blacks' and Latinos' racial attitudes in the U.S., focusing on perceptions of commonality and competition and stereotypes. In general, I examine how an in-group such as whites and blacks perceive Latinos, the outsiders, and how the growing out-group views whites and blacks. I center the present study on the effects of contact and context. As a result, I present four major hypotheses:

H1: Whites' racial attitudes toward Latinos (e.g., commonality, competition and stereotypes of Latinos) are greatly a function of their contact and context with Latinos.

H2: Blacks' racial attitudes toward Hispanics (e.g.,, commonality, competition and stereotypes of Latinos) are greatly a function of their contact and context with Latinos.

H3: Latinos' racial attitudes of whites (e.g., commonality, competition and stereotypes of whites) are greatly a function of their contact and context with whites.

H4: Latinos' racial attitudes toward blacks (e.g., commonality, competition and stereotypes of whites) are greatly a function of their contact and context with blacks.

These hypotheses will be discussed in detail below.

Dependent Variables

The literature on the determinants of commonality, competition and cooperation among blacks, Latinos and whites is associated with theories regarding coalition building among these racial groups (e.g. McClain and Karnig, 1990; Kaufmann, 2003; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007). For instance, Kaufman (2003) argues that minority coalitions require a symbolic "glue" such as similar values, life experiences and commitments. Thus, commonality between members of different minority groups is essential for the development of successful coalitions (200). Moreover, McClain and Stewart (2002) assert that commonality regarding goals and desires is crucial for the formation of political coalitions (156). Barreto and Sanchez (2008) discuss how competition relates to coalition formation. They argue that when one group maintains power or an advantage over another group and competition is present, biracial coalitions may not be likely to flourish (3).

The implications for coalition building are also discussed in the literature on the environmental determinants of whites', blacks' and Latinos' stereotypes (e.g., Oliver and Wong, 2003; Gay, 2006; McClain et. al, 2006). For instance, Gay (2006) argues that blacks' perception of competition with Latinos due to worsening material conditions may get to such a level that they express this antagonism with stereotypes (984). However, with the exception of McClain et. al (2006), these two sets of literature do not speak directly to one another. Consequently, in this dissertation, I attempt to unite these two literatures and build on the coalition formation literature by exploring whites', blacks' and Latinos' racial attitudes through perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes.[13] A summary of the issues analyzed in this study is presented in Table 3.3.

[13] Affect and affinity were also considered as precursors of coalitions. However, affect/affinity do not truly get at what it takes to form a coalition. Just because individuals like a particular group or think highly of a certain racial group does not necessarily mean that they will form a coalition with them. Furthermore, as the literature indicates, coalition

Table 3.3 Issues Analyzed/Dependent Variables

Commonality	Competition	Stereotypes
Measure 1. Closeness to whites, blacks and Latinos (2004 National Politics Survey)	**Measure 1.** Job competition among whites, blacks and Latinos (2004 National Politics Survey)	**Measure 1.** Hardworking-lazy scale of whites, blacks and Latinos (2004 National Politics Survey)
Measure 2. Latinos' political commonality with whites (2005-2006 LNS)	**Measure 2.** Political competition among whites, blacks and Latinos (2004 National Politics Survey)	
Measure 3. Latinos' political commonality with blacks (2005-2006 LNS)	**Measure 3.** Latinos' competition with blacks (2005-2006 LNS)	
Measure 4. Latinos' economic commonality with whites (2005-2006 LNS)	**Measure 4.** Latinos' competition with whites (2005-2006 LNS)	
Measure 5. Latinos' economic commonality with blacks (2005-2006 LNS)		

What distinguishes this study from many others on racial attitudes is the exploration of racial attitudes in terms of their relationship to political coalitions. Specifically, I explore what blacks, whites and Latinos think of each other in terms of the precursors of interracial coalition formation. Moreover, I examine Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites, blacks' attitudes toward Latinos relative to their views of whites, and whites' attitudes toward Latinos relative to their views of blacks. Very few studies on perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes have examined racial attitudes in this way. However, in the Latino racial attitudes literature, a few

formations require having commonality (common values, experiences, etc.) and the deterioration of a coalition can be caused by competition and racial antagonism (which can be associated with stereotypes) (Kaufmann, 2003; Gay, 2006; Barreto and Sanchez, 2007).

scholars have examined Latinos' attitudes toward blacks in comparison to their views of whites. For instance, Barreto and Sanchez (2008) examine Latino perceptions of competition with blacks while accounting for perceptions of overall competition, including competition with whites, blacks and other Latinos. Furthermore, Nteta and Wallsten (2007) explore Latinos' commonality and competition with blacks in comparison to their views of whites.

Why is it important to explore Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites? Why not just study Latinos' attitudes toward one racial group? Specifically, Latinos may not view blacks and whites in the same way (McClain et. al, 2002). Moreover, Latinos may carry certain preconceived notions of skin color with them when they come to the U.S. causing them to discriminate against blacks (McClain et. al, 2002; McClain et. al, 2006). On the other hand, supporters of the rainbow coalition theory may sustain the idea that Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites differ since the theory asserts that blacks and Latinos may join together and form a coalition since they have less power than whites (Meier and Stewart, 1993). Hence, immigrants from Latin America and Latinos in general may not just categorize blacks and whites into an "American" category and not think of them as separate groups. In order to examine Latinos' attitudes toward "Americans" or insiders, I must examine their views toward blacks as well as whites.

Why is it important to explore blacks' attitudes toward Latinos and whites? In order to get a good grasp on blacks' attitudes toward Latinos, it is not enough just to explore their views toward Latinos. Providing a comparison group like whites increases our understanding of what they think of Latinos and whether blacks view Latinos and whites in the same way. Whites have been identified as the majority racial group in the United States for decades. Due to the discrimination that blacks and Latinos have experienced in this country, blacks may perceive that Latinos are more like them as opposed to whites. Blacks may feel that they have more in common with Latinos than with whites (McClain et. al, 2002). On the other hand, blacks may perceive that Hispanics are more

like whites since Latinos are the out-group, the immigrants who have come over to this country and who are their economic and political competitors.

Furthermore, why is it important to explore whites' attitudes toward Latinos and blacks? Why not just study whites' attitudes toward Latinos? Studying whites' views toward Latinos as well as blacks actually increases our understanding of what whites think of Hispanics. By comparing whites' views of Latinos with that of blacks, I am able to provide some leverage on the question of the degree to which whites think of Latinos and blacks in the same way. Moreover, providing a black comparison group also increases my understanding of whether whites tend to lump groups who have a history of possessing a lower socioeconomic status than they do in the same category or if they distinguish an immigrant group from a non-immigrant group.

Commonality

Individuals' commonality with those of a different race or ethnicity implies having certain factors in common with others (Kaufmann, 2003; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007). Moreover, commonality can be associated with a sense of shared fate with other minorities (Kaufmann, 2003). In this study, I present seven measures of commonality. Four commonality measures from the 2005-2006 LNS and three measures come from the 2004 NPS. The 2005-2006 commonality measures compare greatly to those in previous works: amount of commonality Latinos have with whites in politics; amount of economic commonality Latinos have with whites; amount of commonality Latinos have with blacks in politics; amount of economic commonality Latinos have with blacks (Barreto and Sanchez, 2008; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007).[14]

When it comes to commonality measures in the 2004 NPS, I adopt measures of closeness. Although closeness to a particular individual is not exactly the same as examining how much

[14] The 2005-2006 LNS commonality variables are only used for Latino perceptions of commonality models since this topic was only asked of Latinos. Competition questions were only asked regarding blacks and not whites. These variables are eventually combined to form a main commonality variable using principal components factor analysis.

commonality one has with another, commonality was not directly measured in the dataset. Nevertheless, being close to someone is strongly associated with having something in common with them. Also, closeness with a particular racial group can serve as the symbolic "glue"[15] that brings groups together and leads them to form coalitions. The 2004 NPS variables used to measure commonality include: closeness to whites, closeness to Latinos and closeness to blacks.

Competition

As mentioned previously, Blalock (1967) asserts that competition is the struggle between two groups for scarce resources, in which the success of one group in obtaining such resources adversely impacts the prospects of the other group. Similar to other scholars, Blalock's definition of competition is adopted in this study (McClain and Karnig, 1990; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008). The 2005-2006 LNS competition measures include: Hispanics compete with blacks in jobs; Hispanics compete with blacks in education; and Hispanics compete with blacks in government. [16] The 2004 NPS competition measures include: more jobs for Latinos, less jobs for people like me; more jobs for blacks, less jobs for people like me; more jobs for whites, less jobs for people like me; more influential Latinos in politics, less influential people like me; more influential blacks in politics, less influential people like me; and more influential whites in politics, less influential people like me.[17]

[15] Term coined by Kaufmann, 2003 (200)

[16] The 2005-2006 LNS competition variables are only used for Latino perceptions of competition models since this topic was only asked of Latinos. Moreover, the LNS only asked questions regarding Latinos' competition with blacks and not with whites. These competition variables are later brought together to form one main competition variable using principal components factor analysis.

[17] It is important to note that not all of these variables are included in every model. When exploring blacks' competition with Latinos, the economic and political competition with Latinos variables are explored. For blacks' competition with whites, the economic and political competition with whites variables are used. Likewise, for whites' competition with Latinos models, the economic and political competition with Latino variables are used. When exploring whites' competition with Latinos, the economic and political competition with whites variables are examined. Also, all of the political and economic competition variables relevant to each racial group are eventually combined to form a single competition variable.

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are associated with negative generalizations made about a particular group and adopting jaundiced views of a racial group as lazy or violent (Peffley and Hurwitz, 1998). As mentioned previously, some research conducted on stereotypes associates its findings with coalition building among Latinos, blacks and whites (Oliver and Wong, 2003; Gay, 2006; McClain et. al, 2006). "A group stereotyped as 'difficult to get along with' or as 'people to fear' is unlikely to be viewed as a potential [coalition] partner" (Gay, 2006: 996). It makes sense that individuals who identify members of an out-group as violent, lazy or dumb are not very likely to form a political coalition with those n the out-group in comparison to individuals who are not associated with negative stereotypes. Moreover, a group that projects intolerant statements may find it hard to partner with another group for a certain cause. Hence, stereotypes and prejudice can impede cooperation among racial and ethnic groups (Gay, 2006: 996).[18]

In addition, some research suggests that stereotypes affect racial policy stances. For instance, Gilens (1998) and Gilens (1999) assert that whites' stereotypes of blacks shape their opposition to welfare in the U.S. Moreover, Sniderman and Piazza (1993) argue that when whites' negative stereotypes of blacks increase, the likelihood that they oppose government spending for blacks increases. These works may not directly discuss coalition building but their results provide implications for the creation of coalitions among various groups.

In this study, I adopt three measures of stereotypes, which are commonly used in the literature and portray strong stereotypes. The 2004 NPS stereotype measures include

[18] I recognize that some stereotypes such as laziness may not necessarily be a detriment to the formation of coalitions among individuals. Nevertheless, regardless of the negativity of the stereotype, negative stereotypes in general can decrease the formation of political coalitions.

hardworking/lazy scale of Latinos; hardworking/lazy scale of whites; hardworking/lazy scale of blacks (McClain et. al 2006).[19]

Tables 3.4 and 3.5 summarize the dependent variables that are used in the dissertation chapters as well as depict the operationalization of the dependent variables.

Independent Variables

In this section, I present the independent variables in my models. As mentioned previously, the main focus of my study on racial attitudes is to explore the effect that contact and context have on perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes among blacks, whites and Latinos.

Hence, I discuss the contact and context variables employed in my models as well as a set of control variables including demographic attributes and racial attitudes that increase my understanding of what whites, blacks and Latinos think of each other. Tables 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8 provide a list of the independent variables in all of my models as well as how they are operationalized.

Contact

Contact relates to the direct interaction and physical proximity to individuals. The effects of contact have been studied extensively in the field of political science and psychology. Moreover, contact has been found to explain a variety of attitudes from immigration to prejudice and stereotypes to views toward the elderly (Caspi, 1984; Hood and Morris, 1997; Welch et. al, 2001; McClain et. al, 2006).

By including contact as one of my key independent variables, I am able to test the applicability of contact theory and the racial threat hypothesis on racial attitudes.

[19] The 2005-2006 LNS does not include any stereotype questions.

Table 3.4 Operationalization of Dependent Variables in 2004 National Politics Survey

Dependent Variable	Operationalization
Commonality: Closeness to whites	0=not too close at all; 1=not too close; 2= fairly close; 3=very close
Commonality: Closeness to Latinos	0=not too close at all; 1=not too close; 2= fairly close; 3=very close
Commonality: Closeness to blacks	0=not too close at all; 1=not too close; 2= fairly close; 3=very close
Job Competition: More jobs for Latinos, less jobs for people like me	0=strongly disagree; 1=somewhat disagree; 2=somewhat agree; 3=strongly agree
Job Competition: More jobs for whites, less jobs for people like me	0=strongly disagree; 1=somewhat disagree; 2=somewhat agree; 3=strongly agree
Job Competition: More jobs for blacks, less jobs for people like me	0=strongly disagree; 1=somewhat disagree; 2=somewhat agree; 3=strongly agree
Political Competition: More influential Latinos in politics, less influential people like me	0=strongly disagree; 1=somewhat disagree; 2=somewhat agree; 3=strongly agree
Political Competition: More influential whites in politics, less influential people like me	0=strongly disagree; 1=somewhat disagree; 2=somewhat agree; 3=strongly agree
Political Competition: More influential blacks in politics, less influential people like me	0=strongly disagree; 1=somewhat disagree; 2=somewhat agree; 3=strongly agree
Stereotypes: Hardworking/lazy scale of Latinos	-1=hardworking; 0=neither end; 1=lazy
Stereotypes: Hardworking/lazy scale of whites	-1=hardworking; 0=neither end; 1=lazy
Stereotypes: Hardworking/lazy scale of blacks	-1=hardworking; 0=neither end; 1=lazy

Table 3.5 Operationalization of Dependent Variables in 2005-2006 LNS

Dependent Variable	Operationalization
Commonality: How much do Latinos have in common with African Americans regarding job opportunities, educational attainment or income? (economic)	0=nothing at all; 1=little; 2=some; 3=a lot
Commonality: How much do Hispanics have in common with whites regarding job opportunities, educational attainment or income (economic)	0=nothing at all; 1=little; 2=some; 3=a lot
Commonality: How much do Hispanics have in common with African Americans regarding government services, employment, political power and representation? (political)	0=nothing at all; 1=little; 2=some; 3=a lot
Commonality: How much do Hispanics have in common with whites regarding government services, employment, political power and representation? (political)	0=nothing at all; 1=little; 2=some; 3=a lot
Competition: Amount of competition Hispanics have with blacks in getting jobs	0=no competition; 1=weak competition; 2=strong competition
Competition: Amount of competition Latinos have with blacks in education	0=no competition; 1=weak competition; 2=strong competition
Competition: Amount of competition Latinos have with blacks in government	0=no competition; 1=weak competition; 2=strong competition

The three contact variables whose effects I explore in my study of blacks' and whites' racial attitudes are neighborhood ethnic mix (Latino neighbor, black neighbor and white neighbor), workplace ethnic mix (Latino coworker, black coworker, and white coworker), and friend ethnic mix (Latino friend, black friend, white friend).[20] These variables are found in the 2004 NPS. These three variables are included in all commonality, competition and stereotypes models for blacks and whites.

[20] Some may argue that self-selection (such as having the opportunity to choose one's friends or neighbors) creates biased results. However, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted a meta-analysis exploring the effect of contact on prejudice and find that a negative relationship between contact and intergroup prejudice sustains even when taking into consideration participant selection. Nevertheless, I will conduct tests similar to those run by Welch et. al (2001) and Gay (2006) to account for biases created from self-selection in the near future.

Table 3.6 Independent Variables from 2004 National Politics Study (NPS)

Independent Variables	Operationalization
Latino neighbors	0=other/no Latino neighbors; 1=mixed Latino neighbors; 2=mostly Latino neighbors
Black neighbors	0=other/no black neighbors; 1=mixed black neighbors; 2=mostly black neighbors
White neighbors	0=other/no white neighbors; 1=mixed white neighbors; 2=mostly white neighbors
Latino coworkers	0=other/no Latino coworkers; 1=mixed Latino coworkers; 2=mostly Latino coworkers
Black coworkers	0=other/no black coworkers; 1=mixed black coworkers; 2=mostly black coworkers
White coworkers	0=other/no white coworkers; 1=mixed white coworkers; 2=mostly white coworkers
Latino friends	0=other/no Latino friends; 1=mixed Latino friends; 2=mostly Latino friends
Black friends	0=other/no black friends; 1=mixed black friends; 2=mostly black friends
White friends	0=other/no white friends; 1=mixed white friends; 2=mostly white friends
Living in the south	0=not live in the south; 1=live in the south
Age	Range from 17 to 100 years
Gender	0=male; 1=female
Education	0=less than high school degree; 1=high school diploma; 2=some college; 3=college degree; 4=graduate school
Household Income	Log of household income
Closeness with whites	0=not close at all; 1=not too close; 2=fairly close; 3=very close
Closeness with Latinos	0=not close at all; 1=not too close; 2=fairly close; 3=very close
Closeness with blacks	0=not close at all; 1=not too close; 2=fairly close; 3=very close
Linked fate with blacks	0=one's own race does not affect one much; 1=one's race affects one some; 2=one's race affects one a lot
Competition with whites	0=no competition; 1=little competition; 2=some competition; 3=a lot of competition
Competition with blacks	0=no competition; 1=little competition; 2=some competition; 3=a lot of competition
Competition with Latinos	0=no competition; 1=little competition; 2=some competition; 3=a lot of competition

Table 3.7 Independent Variables from 2005-2006 LNS

Independent Variables (LNS)	Operationalization
Black group participation	1=participation in social groups with mostly blacks; 0=other; -1=participation in social groups with mostly Latinos
White group participation	1=participation in social groups with mostly whites; 0=other; -1=participation in social groups with mostly Latinos
Latino group participation	1=participation in social groups with mostly Latinos; 0=other; -1=participation in social groups with mostly Latinos
Black friend	0=no black friends; 1=mixed black friends; 2=mostly black friends
White friend	0=no white friends; 1=mixed white friends; 2=mostly white friends
Latino friend	0=no Latino friends; 1=mixed Latino friends; 2=mostly Latino friends
Black coworker	0=no black coworkers; 1=mixed black coworkers; 3=mostly black coworkers
White coworker	0=no white coworkers; 1=mixed white coworkers; 3=mostly white coworkers
Latino coworker	0=no Latino coworkers; 1=mixed Latino coworkers; 3=mostly Latino coworkers
Commonality with Latinos	Factor analysis of political and economic commonality with other Latinos
Commonality with whites	Factor analysis of political and economic commonality regarding whites
Commonality with blacks	Factor analysis of political and economic commonality regarding blacks
Linked fate with Latinos	How much does your doing well depend on other Latinos doing well? 0=nothing; 1=little; 2=some; 3=a lot
Nativity	1=foreign born; 0=U.S. born
Time in U.S.	Number of years that individuals have been residing in the U.S., ranging from 0.5-91 years
Skin color	Respondents' measure of their own skin color ranging from 0 (very dark) to 4 (very light)
Gender	1=female; 0=male
Age	18-99 years
Education	Individual level of education completed, ranging from 0 (no education at all) to 7 (graduate or professional degree)

Table 3.8 Independent Variables from U.S. Census

Independent Variables (U.S. Census)	Operationalization
Percent black	The black population at the county level in 2006
Percent white	The white population at the county level in 2006
Percent Latino	The Latino population at the county level in 2006
Percent bachelor degree	The percentage of individuals with a college education level or higher at the county level in 2002
Percent unemployment rate	The percentage of individuals who are unemployed at the county level in 2008

In the Latino models, the contact variables include participation in a social or political group (Latino group participation, black group participation, white group participation), friend ethnic mix (Latino friend, black friend and white friend) and coworker ethnic mix (Latino coworker, black coworker, white coworker). These variables are found in the 2005-2006 LNS and are included in all the commonality and competition models for Latinos.

Context

Although very little work has been conducted to explore the effect of context on perceptions of commonality and competition, context has been has been studied extensively in the racial attitudes literature. For instance, in the immigration attitudes literature, context has been found to shape significantly blacks', Latinos' and whites' attitudes toward immigrants and immigration (Hood and Morris, 1997, 1998; Rouse et. al, 2006; Wilkinson and Garand, 2007; Wilkinson, Rouse, Nguyen and Garand, 2007). Furthermore, in the literature exploring stereotypes of blacks, whites and Latinos, economic, social and racial context play central roles in shaping attitudes (Oliver and Wong, 2003; Gay, 2006).

In this study, besides exploring the effect that contact has on perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes, I explore contextual effects. I divide context into two categories: racial context and socioeconomic context.

The racial context variables are percent Latino, percent white and percent black. The socioeconomic context variables include percent bachelor degree and percent unemployment rate. These context variables are studied at the county level. As opposed to state level data, county level data allows me to provide more detailed and specific information about race relations. Furthermore, at a more specific contextual level, "individuals are more likely to be aware of and materially affected by intergroup economic disparities when such disparities are present at the neighborhood level, where they are readily perceived and are manifest in tangible ways" (Gay, 2006: 986). Nonetheless, due to data availability constraints, contextual effects are only examined in models of Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites. Once more data are obtained, I will include these racial and socioeconomic context variables in all of my models.

Lastly, living in the south is a contextual variable that is included in all of my black and white models. The history of slavery, discrimination and overall racial tensions between blacks and whites all make the south a very unique region to study race relations and racial attitudes. Hence, taking into account respondents who live in the south may provide an interesting and important picture to the racial dynamics among whites, blacks and Latinos.

Control Variables

Besides exploring the effect of context and contact on commonality, competition and stereotypes, I include several control variables in the models for blacks, whites, and Latinos. As commonly found in racial attitudes literature, individual demographic attributes play integral roles in shaping attitudes such as stereotypes, perceptions of commonality and competition (Bobo and

Hutchings, 1996; McClain et. al, 2006; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007). Hence, I include age, household income, gender, and education at the individual level in all of my models.

In addition to demographic attributes, commonality with ethnic groups has also been found to shape adoption of stereotypes and commonality amongst blacks, whites and Latinos (Welch et. al, 2001; Kaufmann, 2003; Gay, 2006). Consequently, I include commonality with blacks, commonality with Latinos, and commonality with whites as controls. Moreover, in the stereotype models, I control for competition with blacks, Latinos and whites when appropriate since competition has been found to have a significant effect on adoption of stereotypes (Gay, 2006).

Since linked fate has been to shape Latinos' racial attitudes as per Barreto and Sanchez (2008), linked fate will also be controlled for, but only in the Latino and black models (due to a data constriction). Furthermore, in the Latino models, time spent in the U.S. (McClain et. al, 2006), nativity (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007), and skin color are included as controls.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have provided the main theoretical framework of this dissertation as well as discussed the specific variables that are included in each model. I test contact theory against the racial threat hypothesis to examine which theory best explains perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes among whites, blacks and Latinos. Consequently, the independent variables are categorized into contact variables and contextual variables. Nevertheless, in all of my models, I include control variables (demographic attributes and racial attitudes) that are commonly included in models of racial attitudes.

CHAPTER 4: HOW THE OUTSIDERS VIEW THE INSIDERS: LATINOS' PERCEPTIONS OF COMMONALITY AND COMPETITION WITH WHITES AND BLACKS

The number of Latinos in the U.S. has been growing tremendously, not only recently but also over the last few decades. By building such a notable presence in the U.S., Latinos are changing the U.S. demographically, politically, socially and culturally. As one focus group participant[21] stated, "We are leaving our mark everywhere." Today, a Latina of Puerto Rican descent is a member of the U.S. Supreme Court. President Barack Obama has appointed numerous Latinos as part of his presidential staff. Now more than ever Latinos are entertaining us through television programs, movies and music. Latinos are bringing new ideas, values and customs to the U.S.

However, these contributions may complement or conflict with those of existing residents. Consequently, Latino interactions with blacks and whites have been positive and negative. Many Latinos joined blacks in voting for African American President Barack Obama, but a substantial number of Latinos voted for George W. Bush in 2000, unlike African Americans. In addition, many Latinos support white candidates on legislation regarding restrictions on gay marriage and abortion, but they do not always agree with whites on restricting immigration and increasing border security. The implications of these interactions greatly contribute to the future of race relations among whites, blacks and Latinos in the U.S.

What does the literature on race relations in political science say about what Latinos think about whites and blacks? What do the outsiders think of the insiders? The literature on racial attitudes, specifically immigration public opinion, has focused primarily on how U.S. residents view U.S. immigration policies and immigrants, primarily those emigrating from Latin America (Hood and Morris, 1997, 1998; Rouse, Wilkinson and Garand, 2006; Wilkinson and Garand, 2007). Nevertheless, only in the last few years has research on racial attitudes explored the general attitudes

[21] The results of my Latino focus group study are delineated in the next chapter.

of native-born Latinos and immigrants from Latin America (i.e. McClain, Carter, Soto, Lyle, Grynaviski, Nunnally, Scotto, Kendrick, Lackey and Cotton, 2006; Rouse et. al, 2006; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007).

Moreover, the literature on commonality and competition focuses heavily on relations between Hispanics and blacks and emphasizes the implications for coalition building among Latinos and blacks (Kaufmann, 2003; McClain et. al, 2006; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008). However, some scholars suggest that Latinos' attitudes toward blacks may be influenced by Latinos' views toward whites, as well as their interactions with other Latinos (McClain et. al, 2002; McClain et. al, 2006). Moreover, Latinos may have better relations with whites than with blacks, since Latinos profess to have more in common with whites than with blacks (McClain et. al, 2002). An explanation for this is that immigrants from Latin American may carry from their native countries to the United States negative beliefs and prejudices against dark-skinned individuals (as opposed to lighter-skinned individuals), hence shaping Latinos' opinions of and relations with African Americans (McClain et. al, 2002; McClain et. al, 2006).

In order to understand Latinos' racial attitudes and fill in gaps in the literatures on racial attitudes and interracial coalitions, in this chapter I explore how an outside group such as Latinos perceives insider groups—i.e., whites and blacks—that have an established presence in the United States. Specifically, I focus this chapter on Latinos' perceptions of commonality and competition of blacks and whites.

While examining Latinos' perceptions of commonality and competition with blacks and whites, I focus on two main determinants of these attitudes: contact and context. These factors have been studied extensively in the racial attitudes literature, but they have been seldom explored when it comes to individuals' perceptions of commonality and competition. In addition, in order to address the complexity of Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites I address my research questions with

quantitative (national surveys) data analysis in this chapter and qualitative (focus groups) data analysis in the following chapter.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this section, I provide a brief overview of the literature on the precursors of coalition formation such as perceptions of commonality and competition as they relate to Latinos, the empirical focus of this chapter. I begin by discussing perceptions of commonality and competition among Latinos, blacks and whites and then discuss the literature regarding the effect of contact and context on Latinos' racial attitudes.

Latino Perceptions of Commonality with African Americans

Kaufmann (2003) focuses her research on Latinos' commonality with African Americans. She finds that Latinos perceive as much commonality with blacks as they do with whites. In addition, Kaufman argues that a significant determinant of Latinos' commonality is their affinity with members of their own ethnicity. When it comes to nationality, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans are more likely to perceive commonality with blacks than Mexicans and Salvadorans.

Similar to Kaufmann (2003), McClain et. al (2006) explore Latinos' commonality with African Americans and find that a significant portion of Latinos think that blacks are not hardworking, not easy to get along with, and not trustworthy. Also, Latinos in the regional area explored by MClain et al. feel that they have more in common with whites than with blacks. When it comes to the determinants of perceptions of commonality - education, social contact and being male all have independent negative effects on Latinos' adoption of negative stereotypes of African Americans. Similar to Kaufmann's findings regarding linked fate, McClain et. al argue that the presence of linked fate among Hispanics increases their perceptions of commonality with blacks.

Nteta and Wallsten (2007) explore Latino attitudes toward African Americans specifically focusing on Latinos' commonality with blacks. They find that Latinos' commonality with whites

and other Latinos has a positive effect on their commonality with blacks. Moreover, the more likely that Hispanics experience discrimination, the more likely that they perceive commonality with blacks. The scholars differentiate native-born Latinos from foreign-born Latinos and assert that being native-born has a positive effect on perceiving commonality with blacks.

Latino Perceptions of Commonality with Whites

McClain et. al (2002) explore Latinos' perceptions of commonality with whites in the U.S. and conclude that Latinos and Asians feel closer to whites than blacks. Moreover, the majority of Latino respondents stated that they had more in common with whites than with any other racial group. In a later work, McClain et. al (2006) also find that Latinos feel that they have more in common with whites than with blacks.

Nteta and Wallsten (2007) explore the determinants of Latinos' commonality with whites and make several interesting conclusions. They find that skin color, discrimination and commonality with blacks significantly shape native-born and foreign-born Latinos' attitudes toward whites. Dark-skinned Latinos are less likely to have something in common with whites than lighter-skinned Latinos. Latinos who have experienced discrimination are less likely to perceive commonality with whites than those who have not. Moreover, commonality with blacks has a significantly positive effect on Latinos' perceptions of commonality with whites.

Latino Perceptions of Competition with Blacks

Only until the last couple of years has the literature on Latinos' perception of commonality and competition with blacks truly developed. Furthermore, although the literature on blacks' commonality and competition with Latinos overlaps with Latinos' perceptions of their commonality and competition, it is important to differentiate these two literatures since African Americans and Hispanics can differ in culture, socioeconomic status, political power and desire to form coalitions with each other (McClain et. al, 2002; McClain et. al, 2006).

McClain (1993) explores whether employment competition exists between Latinos and blacks and finds that as the size of the black work force grows, less work is available for Latinos, resulting in labor competition between the two racial groups.

On the other hand, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) argue that Latinos perceive more competition with Asians than with blacks. However, the scholars assert that foreign-born Latinos are more likely to perceive competition with African Americans than native-born Latinos.

In a later work, Barreto and Sanchez (2008) examine Latinos' overall perceptions of competition with African Americans and the role that racial identification plays in shaping perceptions of competition. After providing a base of comparison (i.e., competition with other Latinos) to Latinos' perception of commonality with African Americans, the scholars find that Latinos perceive a higher degree of competition with other Latinos than with African Americans. Moreover, competition with blacks is not due to anti-black sentiment but a result of observations made in their surrounding political and social environments (27). When exploring the determinants of Latinos' competition with blacks, they find that dark skin has a positive effect on Latinos' competition with blacks. Hence, Hispanics with darker skin (and those from countries with a significant portion of individuals with dark skin) are more likely to perceive competition with African Americans than those with lighter skin.

Effect of Contact on Latino Attitudes

Most of the literature exploring Latinos' perceptions of commonality and competition of blacks and whites focuses on the following determinants: linked fate, commonality with other racial groups, length of time Latinos spend in the U.S. and demographic attributes (McClain et. al, 2006; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008). However, contact has been studied extensively in the racial attitudes literature. Contact theory asserts that as contact between an out-group and an in-group increases, the in-group is more likely to adopt positive views of the out-group.

Specifically regarding Latinos' attitudes, McClain et. al (2006) find strong support for contact theory while examining the extent to which Latino immigrants hold negative stereotypes of blacks. They find that Hispanics who have more social contact with African Americans are less predisposed to espouse negative stereotypes of blacks than those who do not have a lot of contact. Similarly, Barreto and Sanchez's (2008) results support contact theory by finding that dark-skinned Latinos' with black friends are less likely to perceive competition than Latinos with no black friends (32). Nteta and Wallsten (2007) also support contact theory by exploring Latinos' commonality with blacks and whites. They conclude that having black friends has a positive effect on native-born Latinos' commonality with blacks (58).

These findings lead to the expectation that perceptions of linked fate, time in the U.S., various demographic attributes, skin tone, and the *nature* of contact with Blacks and Whites should "matter" for Latino attitudes toward Blacks and whites. Specifically with regard to contact, the *amount* of contact and the *nature* of the contact seem to matter as well. Friendship and social contact with Blacks, for example, are shown to influence Latino perceptions of threat and competition. In addition, Latinos with a lot of social contact with African Americans hold fewer negative stereotypes than Latinos with only occasional social contact.

Effect of Context on Attitudes

Context has been studied continuously in the racial attitudes literature. For instance, in the immigration attitudes literature, context has been found to shape significantly blacks', Latinos' and whites' attitudes toward immigrants and immigration (Hood and Morris, 1997, 1998; Rouse et. al, 2006; Wilkinson and Garand, 2007; Wilkinson, Rouse, Nguyen and Garand, 2007). Furthermore, in the literature exploring stereotypes of blacks, whites and Latinos, economic, social and racial context play central roles in shaping racial attitudes (Oliver and Wong, 2003; Gay, 2006).

In this study, I use contextual measures to test the racial threat hypothesis, a popular hypothesis in the racial attitudes literature. This hypothesis argues that as the percentage of an outside group increases, negative attitudes toward the outside group increase (Giles and Evans, 1985; Giles and Evans, 1986; Giles and Buckner, 1993; Glaser, 1994). When applied to perceptions of competition, scholars find that as the size of an out-group increases perceptions of competition between the in-group and out-group also increases (Mollenkopf, 1997; Warren, 1997). Building on this literature, I include similar contextual measures of groups in the models presented throughout the remainder of the chapter.

MODELINGS LATINOS' ATITUDES TOWARD BLACKS AND WHITES

In this section, I lay out the contours of my model of Latinos' attitudes toward whites and blacks by focusing on perceptions of commonality and competition. I focus particularly on the effects of contact (i.e., having black/white friends and coworkers, participating in a social group with mostly blacks/whites) and context (i.e., racial and socioeconomic contexts).

The quantitative data used in this chapter come primarily from the 2005-2006 Latino National Survey (LNS). U.S. Census data estimates for 2006, 2007 and 2008 are merged with the LNS to explore contextual effects.

A summary of the variables used in this chapter is found in Tables 3.6 and 3.7 in Chapter 3. The statistical methods adopted to explore my research questions are ordered logit and OLS (ordered least squares) regression.[22]

Dependent Variables

As mentioned previously, the two main dependent variables in this chapter are perceptions of commonality and competition. These two variables are associated with coalition building among blacks, whites, and Latinos (Kaufmann, 2003; McClain et. al, 2006; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008).

[22] Predicted probabilities for the ordered logit models are available upon request.

Commonality

Individuals' commonality with those of a different race or ethnicity implies that they perceive having certain attributes and/or experiences in common with others (Kaufmann, 2003; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007). Moreover, commonality is a key component in the creation of coalitions since it can be seen as the "glue" that brings individuals together (Kaufman, 2003).

In this study I present four measures of Latino commonality: economic commonality with blacks, political commonality with blacks, economic commonality with whites, and political commonality with whites. The simple frequencies for the commonality measures are presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2. Furthermore, I provide visual displays of the frequencies in Figures 4.1-4.4.

The first dependent variable used to measure commonality is respondents' economic commonality with blacks. This variable is coded on a scale from 0 to 3, where 0 represents that the respondent reports having nothing in common with blacks, and 3 indicates that the respondent reports having a lot in common with blacks regarding job opportunities, educational attainment or income. The second dependent variable is political commonality with blacks. Here, political commonality involves the degree to which individuals perceive that they have government services, employment, political power and representation in common with blacks. Similar to economic commonality with blacks, this variable is coded on a scale from 0 (nothing in common) to 3 (have a lot in common).

The results from Table 4.1 indicate that Latinos perceive economic and political commonality with blacks in similar terms. The majority of Latinos report that some commonality exists regarding job opportunities, educational attainment, or income (35.6%) and government services, employment and political representations (35.7%). A small portion of Latinos think that they have no economic commonality (17.0%) and no political commonality with blacks (15.2%).

The third and fourth dependent variables are economic and political commonality with whites. These variables are coded using the same four-point scale used for the measures of economic and political commonality for blacks, with the exception that they apply to whites and not blacks.

Table 4.1 Summary of Responses to Questions regarding Economic and Political commonality with Blacks

			%	N
Economic Commonality				
0	Nothing		17.0%	1,304
1	Little		24.1%	1,847
2	Some		35.6%	2,728
3	A lot		23.3%	1,781
	Total N	7,660		
	Mean	1.65		
	Standard deviation	1.02		
Political Commonality				
0	Nothing		15.2%	1,155
1	Little		29.0%	2,200
2	Some		35.7%	2,710
3	A lot		20.0%	1,519
	Total N	7,584		
	Mean	1.61		
	Standard deviation	0.97		

Table 4.2 summarizes Latinos' perceptions of economic and political commonality with whites. Here, the results for economic commonality with whites are comparable to those for economic and political commonality with blacks. The majority of Latinos perceive that at least some commonality exists with whites when it comes to job opportunities, educational attainment or income (53.4%). However, Latinos' commonality with whites regarding access to government services, employment, political power and representation is slightly lower than that observed for other items. The majority of Latinos perceive that little or no political commonality exists with whites (50.9%).

Table 4.2 Summary of Responses to Questions regarding Economic and Political Commonality with Whites

			%	N
Economic Commonality				
0	Nothing		17.1%	1,334
1	Little		29.5%	2,304
2	Some		33.7%	2,629
3	A lot		19.7%	1,538
	Total N	7,805		
	Mean	1.56		
	Standard deviation	0.99		
Political Commonality				
0	Nothing		17.6%	1,352
1	Little		33.3%	2,555
2	Some		32.0%	2,456
3	A lot		17.1%	1,310
	Total N	7,673		
	Mean	1.49		
	Standard deviation	0.97		

Based on the results from Tables 4.1 and 4.2, I can argue that the majority of Latinos perceive some economic and political commonality with blacks and some economic commonality with whites. Thus, Latinos perceive a little more political commonality with blacks than with whites.

In Figures 4.1-4.4 I display bar graphs of the distributions of the commonality variables discussed above. However, unlike Tables 4.1 and 4.2, I organize the results by commonality and not by race in order to take note of any overarching differences or similarities between Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites.

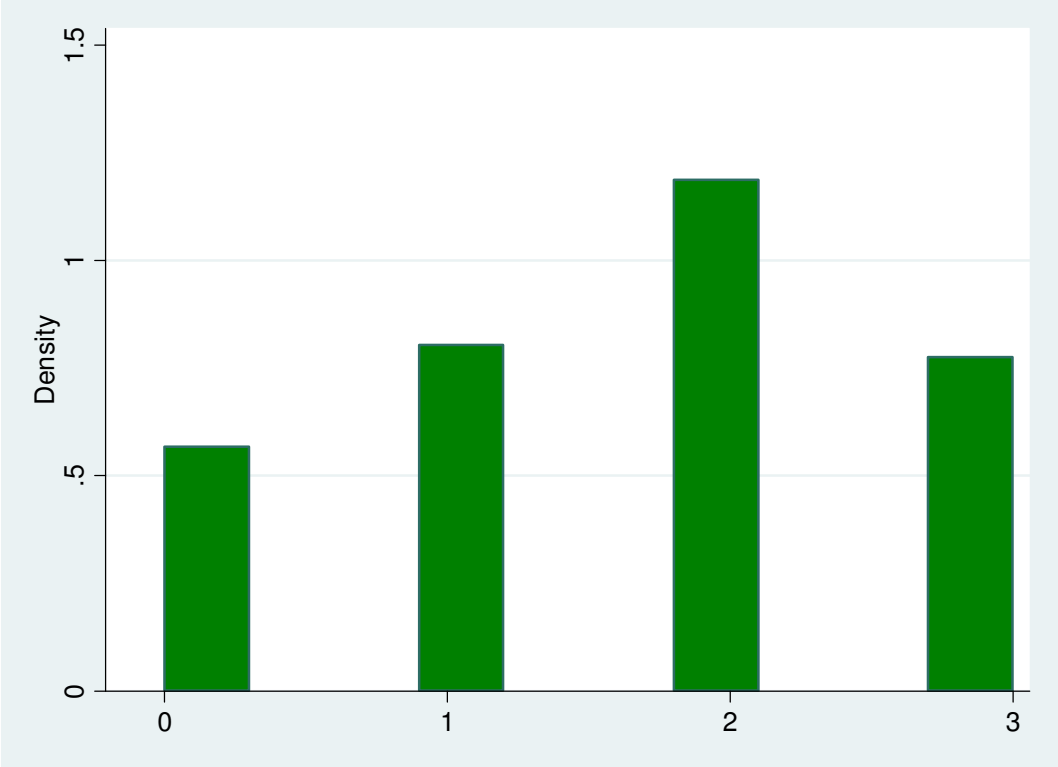

Figure 4.1 Latinos' Economic Commonality with Blacks

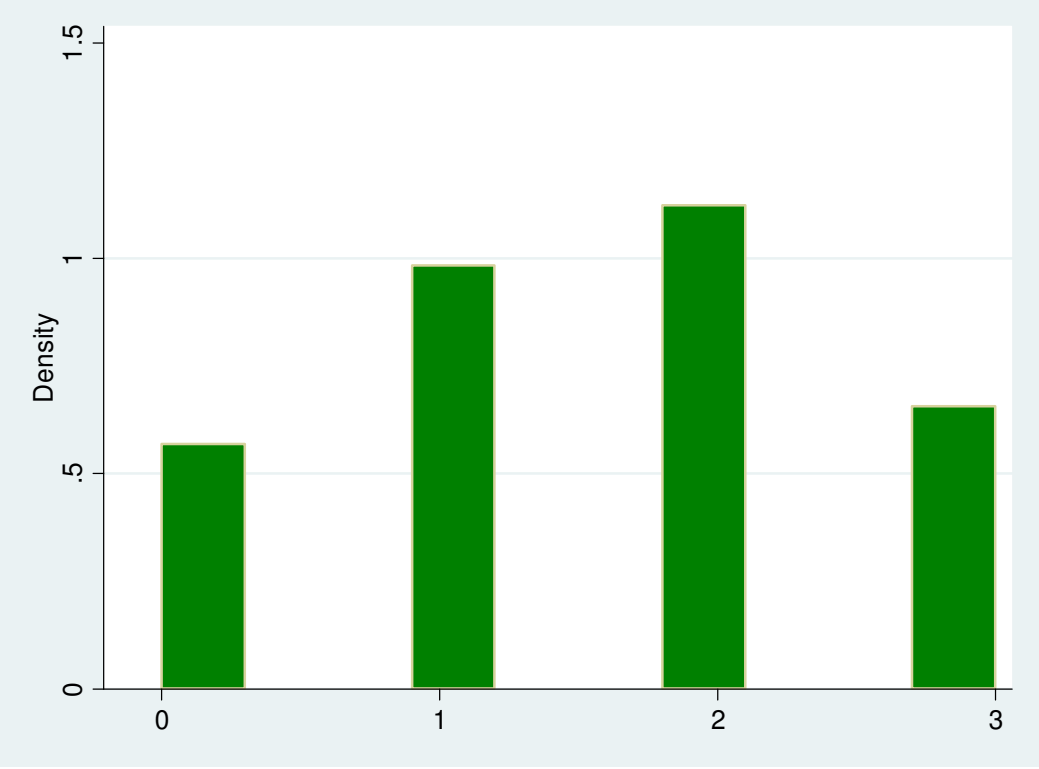

Figure 4.2 Latinos' Economic Commonality with Whites

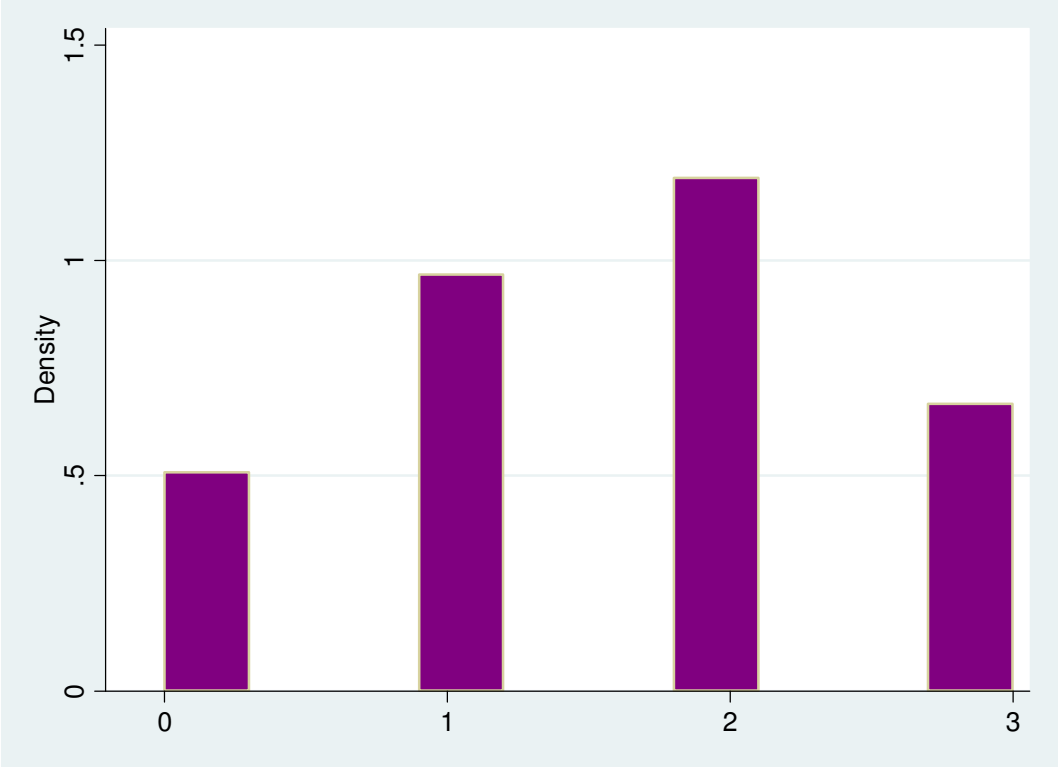

Figure 4.3 Latinos' Political Commonality with Blacks

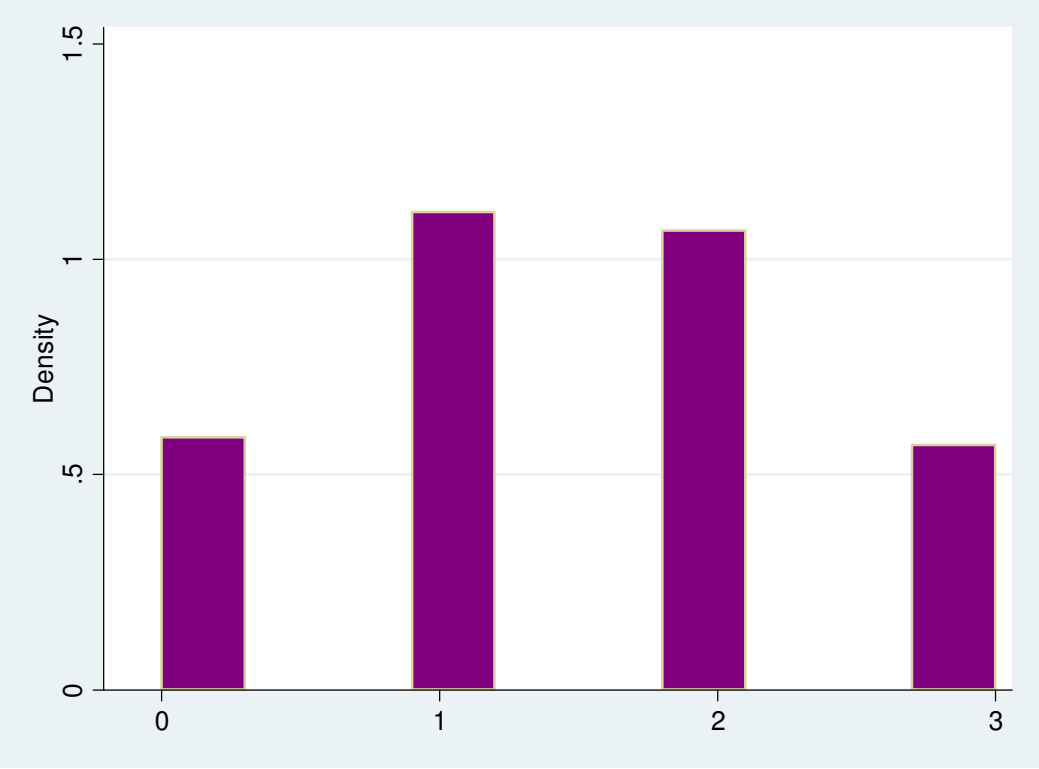

Figure 4.4 Latinos' Political Commonality with Whites

When comparing Latinos' economic commonality with blacks and whites in Figures 4.1 and 4.2, respectively, I find that Latinos are slightly more likely to find economic commonality with blacks than with whites. Figures 4.3 and 4.4 display Latinos' political commonality with blacks and whites and the differences between Latinos' political commonality with whites and blacks are somewhat greater. As mentioned prior, Latinos are a lot more likely to perceive some political commonality with blacks than with whites. Moreover, Latinos are more likely to perceive no political commonality with whites than with blacks.

Competition

The other main dependent variable in this study is competition. Blalock (1967) asserts that competition is the struggle between two groups for scarce resources, in which the success of one group in obtaining such resources adversely effects the prospects of the other group. As is done by other scholars, I adopt Blalock's definition of competition in this study (McClain and Karnig, 1990; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008).

Here, I explore four types of competition that Latinos have with blacks[23]: general employment competition, educational competition, employment competition regarding city or state government jobs and representational competition. The simple frequencies for the competition measures are presented in Table 4.3.

The first measure of competition with blacks is Latinos' general employment competition with blacks. This variable is coded on a scale from 0 to 2, with 0 representing no competition and 2 strong competition with blacks in getting jobs. The second measure of competition is educational competition. Similar to the first measure of competition, the second measure is coded from 0 (no competition) to 2 (strong competition). Educational competition refers to perceptions of competition regarding access to education and quality schools. The third form of competition that I

[23] The LNS only asked questions regarding Latinos' competition with blacks and not with whites. Hence, only Latinos' competition with blacks is explored.

examine is employment competition with blacks in city or state government. This variable also ranges from 0 (no competition) to 2 (strong competition). The fourth and last competition with blacks variable that I explore is representative competition, which refers to Latinos' perceptions of competition with blacks when having representatives in elected office. Like the other competition variables, representative competition is coded from 0 (no competition) to 2 (strong competition).

Table 4.3 Summary of Responses to Questions regarding Competition with Blacks

			%	N
General Employment Competition				
0	No competition at all		52.4%	4,525
1	Weak competition		21.0%	1,815
2	Strong competition		26.6%	2,296
	Total N	8,636		
	Mean	1.74		
	Standard deviation	0.85		
Educational Competition				
0	No competition at all		46.9%	4,048
1	Weak competition		24.3%	2,099
2	Strong competition		28.82%	2,489
	Total N	8,636		
	Mean	1.82		
	Standard deviation	0.85		
Employment Competition with blacks regarding City or State Government Jobs				
0	No competition at all		40.6%	3,507
1	Weak competition		25.8%	2,227
2	Strong competition		33.6%	2,902
	Total N	8,636		
	Mean	1.93		

Table 4.3 Summary of Responses to Questions regarding Competition with Blacks (continued)

	Standard deviation	0.86		
Representative Competition				
0	No competition at all		34.9%	3,014
1	Weak competition		29.5%	2,549
2	Strong competition		35.6%	3,073
	Total N	8,636		
	Mean	2.00		
	Standard deviation	0.84		

In Table 4.3 I summarize Latinos' responses to questions regarding competition with blacks particularly employment, educational, and representative competition. At the outset, I find that a plurality of Latinos strongly perceive no competition with blacks in all types of competition. However, there are differences in the distribution of responses across these competition items. Only when it comes to general employment competition do more than half of the Latino respondents (52.4%) perceive no competition with blacks. With regard to educational competition and employment competition for city or state government, a plurality of Latinos perceive no competition yet a substantial percentage perceives strong educational competition (28.8%) and strong employment competition for city or state government (33.6%) with blacks. However, Latinos' responses regarding representative competition are more evenly divided; about a third of all respondents perceive no, weak and strong competition. Moreover, unlike the responses for the other measures of competition, the percentage of Latinos who perceive strong representative competition (35.6%) is higher than the percentage of those who perceive no representative competition at all (34.9%).

Overall, when examining Latinos' commonality and competition with blacks and whites, I find that Latinos are more likely to perceive economic and political commonality with blacks than with whites and perceive more representation competition with blacks than economic competition.

Independent Variables[24]

In this section, I discuss the independent variables that are used to explore Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites. I focus particularly on the roles that contact and context play in shaping Latinos' attitudes. Tables 4.4 and 4.5 present the directional hypotheses that I attach to all of the independent variables.

Table 4.4 Directional Hypotheses for Commonality Models

	BLACKS	**WHITES**
Latino coworker	-	-
Black coworker	+	-
White coworker	-	+
Latino group participation	-	-
Black group participation	+	-
White group participation	-	+
Latino friend	-	-
Black friend	+	-
White friend	-	+
Percent black	-	+/-
Percent white	+/-	-
Percent Latino	-	-
Percent bachelor degree	+/-	+/-
Percent unemployment rate	-	-

Contact

The three contact variables that I consider in this study are participation in a black/white group, having a black/white friend, and having a black/white coworker. The effects of these three variables will be estimated in the commonality and competition models for Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites.

[24] A summary of the independent variables is found in Table 3.7 of Chapter 3.

Table 4.5 Directional Hypotheses for Competition Models

	BLACKS	LATINOS
Latino coworker	+	-
Black coworker	-	+
White coworker	+	+
Latino group participation	+	-
Black group participation	-	+
White group participation	+	+
Latino friend	+	-
Black friend	-	+
White friend	+	+
Percent black	+	+
Percent white	+/-	+/-
Percent Latino	+	+
Percent bachelor degree	+/-	+/-
Percent unemployment rate	+	+

The first contact variable is participation in a majority black social, cultural, civic, or political group. When Latinos participate in a social, cultural, civic or political group with a large number (or even a majority) of black members, they have personal contact with blacks. Sitting in a room with blacks, contacting blacks through email, and participating in a community service project all require direct interaction with blacks. Hence, participation in a group with mostly blacks provides what is perhaps the best opportunity to test contact theory. Based on contact theory, I hypothesize that Latinos who participate in groups that consist of majority black members are more likely to perceive commonality and be less likely to perceive competition with blacks than Latinos who are not members of groups with a majority black membership. Besides being in the models of commonality and competition with blacks, I also include this variable in my models of Latinos' attitudes toward whites.

The results of my examination of the dependent variables listed earlier convey that Latinos may not view blacks and whites in the same way since Latinos' perceptions of commonality of blacks and whites are not congruent. McClain et. al (2002) provide some support for this statement as well. In addition, Latinos' contact with one particular racial group may have the opposite effect on their

attitudes toward other groups. Hence, I suspect that this contact variable has the opposite effect on Latinos' attitudes toward whites than it does on the black models. This variable is coded on a scale from 0 to 2, where 0 represents other and participation in group with no blacks, 1 represents participation in mixed black group and 2 represents participation in group with mostly blacks.

The second contact variable is participation in a majority white social, cultural, civic, or political group. This variable is coded in the same way as the variable for participation in majority black groups: 0 (other, participation in groups with no whites) to 2 (participation in groups with mostly whites). This variable also tests contact theory and is used in the commonality and competition models for Latinos' attitudes toward whites. It is also included in the black models. Based on the same reasoning mentioned previously, I hypothesize that participation in a white group has the opposite effect on Latinos' attitudes toward blacks than it does in the white models.

In order to obtain a better understanding of the effect of Latino contact with whites and blacks on Latinos' attitudes toward these two groups, I also include a third contact variable depicting participation in a majority Latino social, cultural, civic, or political group. This variable is also measured on a scale from 0 (other, participation in groups with no Latinos) to 2 (participation in groups with mostly Latino). I suspect that being part of a social group with mostly Latinos reinforces Latinos' identity with Latinos and has a divisive effect. Hence, I hypothesize that this variable has a negative effect on Latinos' commonality with blacks and whites and a positive effect on competition with blacks.

The fourth measure of contact that I employ is having black friends. Friendship implies contact.[25] I speculate that Latinos who have mostly black friends have a greater predisposition to

[25] One important statement that must be made is that even though friendship is related to contact, friendship is more than just having contact with someone. Individuals choose their friends, but do not necessarily choose their coworkers or neighbors. Hence, self-selection can influence and bias my results in one way or another (Sigelman and Welch, 1993). Nevertheless, Welch et. al (2001) frequently use friendship as a form of contact to test contact theory. Moreover,

perceive commonality and not perceive competition with blacks than those who have mostly Latino friends. Similar to the group participation variables, this variable is coded on a scale from 0 to 2, where 0 represents other and no black friends, 1 represents mixed black friends, and 2 represents mostly black friends. This variable is included on the commonality and competition models for Latinos' attitudes toward blacks as well as in the white models. Based on the fact that Latinos do not view blacks and whites in the same way as found somewhat in Figures 4.1-4.4 and argued by McClain et. al (2002), I hypothesize that having black friends has the opposite effect on Latinos' attitudes toward whites as it does on Latinos' views toward blacks.

The fifth measure of contact is having white friends. This variable is comparable to the black friend variable and permits one to explore the effect of having mostly white friends on Latinos' perceptions of commonality and competition toward whites. This variable is coded the same way as the black friends variable, but it applies to whites. I hypothesize that Latinos who have mostly white friends are more likely to perceive commonality and no competition with whites than Latinos who do not have white friends. This variable is also included in black models. Since I suspect that Latinos do not view blacks and whites in the same way and contact can have divisive effect, I hypothesize that this variable for opposing effects in the black and white models.

Another type of friendship and sixth measure of contact that I include in my competition and commonality models is having Latino friends. Similar to the Latino group participation variable, I include Latino friends in my models in order to better gauge the effect of contact on Latinos' attitudes toward whites and blacks. This variable is coded from 0 (other/no Latino friends) to 2 (mostly Latino friends). Latinos who have mostly Latino friends more than likely reinforces Latinos' ethnic identity influencing them to view blacks and whites different from them and even negatively.

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after conducting a meta-analysis, Pettigrew et. al (2006) argue that contact, regardless of self-selection, in and of itself shapes attitudes.

Thus, I hypothesize that this variable has a negative effect on Latinos' commonality with blacks and whites and a positive effect on Hispanics' competition with blacks.

My seventh contact variable is having black coworkers. Working with someone implies contact. Building on the theory stating that contact has a positive effect on favorable racial attitudes, I suspect that the Latinos who have mostly black coworkers are more predisposed to perceiving strong commonality and little competition with blacks than Latinos who work do not work with blacks. This variable is coded from 0 (other/no black coworkers) to 1 (mixed black coworkers) to 2 (mostly black coworkers). I include this variable in models of Latinos' commonality and competition with blacks as well as white models. I suspect that working with blacks has a negative effect on how Latinos view whites. Consequently, I hypothesize that working with blacks has a negative effect on Latinos' commonality with whites and a positive effect on Latinos' competition with whites.

The eighth measure of contact in this study is having white coworkers. As is the case with the black coworkers variable, I use this variable to test the contact theory and pose the same directional hypothesis but apply it to Latinos having majority white coworkers. This variable is also coded from 0 (other/having no white coworkers) to 1 (mixed white coworkers) to 2 (mostly white coworkers). Having white coworkers is tested in the white commonality and white competition models. Furthermore, this variable is tested in the black models. I expect that this variable has the opposite effect on Latinos' views toward blacks as it does on their views of whites.

Finally, having Latino coworkers is included in my competition and commonality models. This variable is coded in the same way as the other coworker variables, though in this case it applies to Latinos. Again, I suspect that contact with other Latinos has divisive effects and influences Latinos to view blacks and whites negatively. Hence, I hypothesize that having Latino coworkers negatively

affects commonality with blacks and whites and positively affects Hispanics' perceptions of competition with blacks.

Context[26]

Context has been studied continuously in the racial attitudes literature (Hood and Morris, 1997, 1998; Oliver and Wong, 2003; Rouse et. al, 2006; Wilkinson and Garand, 2007; Gay, 2006). In this study, I use contextual measures to test the racial threat hypothesis, a popular hypothesis in the racial attitudes literature. This hypothesis argues that as the percentage of an outside group increases, negative attitudes toward the outside group increase (Giles and Evans, 1985; Giles and Evans, 1986; Giles and Buckner, 1993; Glaser, 1994).

The contextual measures that I use in this study are divided into two categories: racial context and socioeconomic context. Specifically, racial context variables test the racial threat hypothesis. Measures of racial context include the percentage of blacks, whites, and Latinos in respondents' counties. The socioeconomic contextual variables include county level education and unemployment rate.

My first measure of racial context is percent black in each respondent's home county. Based on the racial threat hypothesis, I suspect that the percentage of blacks in a county has a negative effect on Latinos' perceptions of commonality toward blacks, yet a positive effect on Latinos' perception of competition with blacks, similar to the findings of Mollenkopf (1997) and Warren (1997). This variable is included in the commonality and competition models of Latinos' attitudes toward blacks as well as in the models for Latinos' attitudes toward whites. I do not pose a directional hypothesis for this variable's effect on Latinos' attitudes toward whites.

The second racial context variable that I include in my models is percent white. Unlike the directional hypotheses that I pose for percent black, I hypothesize that percent white in a county

[26] Problems associated with self-selection (such as having the opportunity to choose one's residence influencing the observed relationships) will be addressed in the near future.

positively affects Latinos' commonality with whites and negatively affects their competition with whites. I suspect that living near a large number of whites influences Latinos to want to be like them and feel close to them based on the argument that immigrants from Latin America carry with them to the U.S. the idea that being white is desirable (McClain et. al, 2002; McClain et. al, 2006). I include this variable in the white models as well as in the black models. I do not pose a directional hypothesis for this variable's effect on Latinos' attitudes toward blacks.

The third measure of racial context is percent Latino. Using the same reasoning of the Latino contact variables mentioned previously, I suspect that Latinos who are near other Latinos reinforces their identity and influences Latinos to view whites and blacks negatively. Hence, I hypothesize that percent Latino has a negative effect on Latinos' commonality with blacks and whites and a positive effect on their perceptions of competition with blacks and whites.[27]

It is important to mention that the relationships between the minority population and perception of threat may be nonlinear. At low levels of minority population, members of the majority may not perceive a threat, since the minority population is unlikely to be able to affect election outcomes and policy decisions. Moreover, once the minority population increases past 50%, the previous minority achieves a high level of political influence, so the level of threat perceived by the previous majority declines. Hence, when the minority population is substantively small or large, I suspect that percent Latino has a negative effect on competition and stereotypes and a positive effect on commonality. On the other hand, as the minority population increases and begins to approach 50% of the population, the majority will begin to perceive a high level of political threat from that minority. Hence the racial threat hypothesis implies a nonlinear relationship between minority population and perceptions of threat. In order to explore these nonlinear effects, I estimate

[27] I recognize that including these three racial context variables may result in collinearity problems. Thus, I run models with and without these racial context variables to see if the results are the same.

alternative versions of my models with a squared version of the minority population variables in each of the black and white commonality and competition models.

Besides racial context, socioeconomic context has also been said to influence racial attitudes (Oliver and Wong, 2003; Gay, 2004; Gay, 2006; Wilkinson, Rouse, Nguyen, and Garand, 2006). I measure socioeconomic context in two ways: county education level and unemployment rate. Instead of testing the racial threat hypothesis, these variables help me explore the effect that Latinos' economic self-interest has on their racial attitudes.

The first socioeconomic context variable is the percentage of individuals' bachelor degrees or higher. This variable is measured at the county level and reflects the percentage of individuals who have obtained a bachelor degree or higher by county. A significant portion of the racial attitudes literature has not come to a clear consensus on whether education has a liberalizing effect or not. For instance, it has been found to have a liberalizing effect for whites but not one for blacks when it comes to immigration attitudes. Hence, I do not present a directional hypothesis for this socioeconomic context variable. Nevertheless, I estimate the effects of percent bachelor degree in all commonality and competition models.

The second socioeconomic context variable is the county unemployment rate. Since a high unemployment rate in an individual's county can spur his or her sense of economic self-interest, I speculate that unemployment rate has a negative effect on Latinos' commonality with blacks and whites and a positive effect on Latinos' competition with these two groups.

Control Variables[28]

Besides exploring the roles that contact and context play in shaping Latinos' perceptions of commonality and competition. I also include several control variables that have been found to have critical effects on perceptions of commonality and competition between blacks and Latinos. These

[28] The control variables are operationalized in Tables3.7 in Chapter 3, the theoretical chapter.

variables include linked fate with Latinos, commonality with blacks, commonality with whites, commonality with Latinos, nativity, time in U.S., skin color, age, gender, individual education level, individual household income and competition with blacks.

As commonly found in racial attitudes literature, individual demographic attributes play integral roles in shaping attitudes stereotypes, perceptions of commonality and competition (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; McClain et. al, 2006; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007). Hence, I include age, income, gender, and education variables measured at the individual level in all of my models. Linked fate has also been found to play an integral role in racial attitudes. Specifically, linked fate with other Latinos significantly shapes Latinos' attitudes toward blacks (McClain et. al, 2006; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008).

Besides demographic attributes and linked fate, commonality with ethnic groups has also been found to shape adoption of stereotypes and commonality among blacks, whites and Latinos (Welch et. al, 2001; Kaufmann, 2003). As a result, in all of the commonality and competition models, I include commonality with blacks and commonality with whites as controls when applicable.[29]

EMPIRICAL RESULTS

In order to test my hypotheses relating to the determinants of Latinos' perceptions of commonality with whites and blacks and competition with blacks, I estimate a series of models with each of the economic and political commonality and competition measures as dependent variables. Moreover, I estimate separate models for whites and blacks and for emerging Latino versus traditional Latino states. The coefficients for these models are divided into three broad categories of independent variables: (1) contact; (2) context; and (3) control variables. All of the models described

[29] Of course I do not include a variable as a control if it is the dependent variable in the model.

below were weighted by state, and the standard errors are corrected for clustering at the county level.[30]

Economic and Political Commonality

In Table 4.6, I estimate two ordered logit models for Latinos' economic and political commonality with blacks. Overall, the models do a fair job in explaining Latinos' commonality with blacks. The pseudo R^2 for the economic model is 0.063, and the pseudo R^2 for the political model is 0.076.

Table 4.6 Ordered Logit Estimates for Model of Latinos' Economic and Political Commonality with Blacks

	Economic Commonality		Political Commonality	
	b	z	b	z
Contact				
Latino group participation [-]	-0.052	-0.77	-0.046	-0.88
Black group participation [+]	0.207	1.91**	0.267	2.20**
White group participation [-]	0.051	0.79	-0.003	-0.04
Latino friend [-]	0.054	0.67	-0.059	-0.66
Black friend[+]	0.504	7.66***	0.458	5.72***
White friend [-]	-0.125	-1.58*	-0.176	-2.14**
Latino coworker [-]	-0.090	-2.00**	-0.055	-0.87
Black coworker [+]	0.017	0.23	-0.101	-1.07
White coworker [-]	0.011	0.19	-0.014	-0.28
Context (county)				
Percent black [-]	0.0000003	1.89*	0.0000004	3.10***
Percent white [+/-]	-0.00000007	-0.92	-0.00000008	-1.28
Percent Latino [-]	0.00000006	0.61	0.0000001	1.31
Percent bachelor degree [+/-]	0.002	0.57	0.006	2.06**
Unemployment rate [-]	-0.016	-0.77	-0.002	-0.13
Control Variables				
Commonality with whites [+/-]	0.661	17.25***	0.746	15.57***

[30] It is also important for me to note that collinearity issues exist with percent white and percent Hispanic at the county level. The VIF score for these variables in each model was higher than 10. However, the results for each model listed below compares greatly to models run without these contextual variables. Hence, collinearity regarding these variables does not become too much of a problem.

Table 4.6 (continued)

Control Variables (continued)				
Commonality with Latinos [+/-]	0.142	3.49***	0.201	4.15***
Linked fate with Latinos [+/-]	0.036	1.42	0.092	2.47**
Time in U.S. [+/-]	0.001	0.22	0.005	1.36
Nativity [+/-]	-0.432	-3.45***	-0.341	-3.38***
Skin color [+/-]	-0.071	-2.40***	-0.059	-1.80*
Age [+/-]	-0.006	-1.07	-0.002	-0.56
Gender [+/-]	-0.050	-0.88	-0.049	-0.67
Education [+/-]	0.017	1.00	0.057	2.18**
Household income [+/-]	0.064	3.61***	0.029	1.33
N	5225		5254	
Pseduo R^2	0.063		0.076	
Log pseudolikelihood	-117699.38		-116026.11	

Source: 2005-2006 Latino National Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less
***Note: Symbols in brackets represent the expected direction of the coefficient

When looking at the contact variables, I find some support for the contact theory. Participating in a majority black group and having black friends increases the likelihood that Latinos perceive commonality with blacks and, hence, view blacks favorably. Contrary to expectations, coworkers do not shape Latinos' attitudes toward whites and blacks with the exception of having a Latino coworker. Having a Latino coworker decreases Latinos' commonality with blacks. What does this mean? The relationships that Latinos establish with friends and in social groups are different than those at the workplace. The workplace may not be a place where Latinos feel that they can come together with blacks and whites and find something in common, yet the workplace can be a place where Latinos reinforce their Latino identity. However, this is a mere speculation. Exploring the effect of coworker variables on Latinos' perception of competition may shed light on this statement.

Regarding contextual variables, I do not find support for the racial threat hypothesis but I find some support for the contact theory. The more blacks surround Latinos, the greater Latinos are predisposed to perceive that they have something in common with blacks.

With regards to the effects of the control variables in my models, I find that commonality with whites and Latinos, nativity, skin color, and household income have significant effects.

Commonality with whites has extraordinary positive effects on Latinos' commonality with blacks. The effect of commonality with Latinos is significant and positive but not as strong as commonality with whites. It is interesting to find that Latinos' perception of competition with blacks shapes Latinos' commonality with this group. A more in-depth discussion of this relationship will be discussed later in this chapter. Thus, based on these results, one can say that there is fairly strong support for contact theory.

In Table 4.7, I present similar models as those in Table 4.6 but I apply them to Latinos' economic and political commonality with whites. At the outset, I note that these models do a fair job in explaining commonality with whites; the R^2 for the economic model is 0.065, while the R^2 for the political model is 0.070. Looking at the contact variables, I also find some support for contact theory. Latinos who have white friends and who participate in majority white groups are very likely to perceive commonality with whites. Interestingly, having a black friend has a negative effect on perceptions of commonality with whites. This finding sheds light on the fact that Latinos view blacks and whites differently and that divisions exist along race and ethnicity lines. If a Latino has a black friend, he/she is less likely to perceive commonality with whites. Latinos may view relations with whites and blacks as a "you're either with us or against us" dynamic. This finding is not surprising since the skin color literature in the field of psychology indicates that whites (individuals with light complexions) and blacks (individuals with a darker complexion) are not perceived in the same way by society since individuals with light complexions are perceived more positively than those with darker complexions (Breland, 1998; Hunter, 2002; Levin and Banaji, 2006). In addition, I find in this model that contact with coworkers does not shape Latinos' attitudes toward whites.

With regards to the contextual variables, I find a little support for contact theory but none for the racial threat hypothesis. Simply, the more that whites are part of Latinos' context, the more likely that Latinos perceive political commonality with whites.

Table 4.7 Ordered Logit Results for Model of Latinos' Economic and Political Commonality with Whites

	Economic Commonality		Political Commonality	
	b	z	b	z
Contact				
Latino group participation [-]	0.138	3.20***	0.0001	0.00
Black group participation [-]	-0.153	-1.22	-0.159	-1.43
White group participation [+]	0.239	3.01***	0.164	2.36***
Latino friend [-]	0.137	1.31	-0.146	-1.31
Black friend[-]	-0.201	-2.32***	-0.207	-2.57***
White friend [+]	0.457	4.61***	0.145	1.51
Latino coworker [-]	-0.049	-0.96	0.072	1.23
Black coworker [-]	0.018	0.22	-0.010	-0.16
White coworker [+]	-0.042	-0.93	0.028	0.63
Context (county)				
Percent black [+/-]	-0.0000003	-2.74***	-0.0000002	-2.46**
Percent white [-]	0.00000008	1.03	0.00000009	1.87*
Percent Latino [-]	-0.0000001	-1.13	-0.0000001	-1.61*
Percent bachelor degree [+/-]	-0.005	-1.30	-0.007	-2.07**
Unemployment rate [-]	0.007	0.51	-0.003	-0.20
Control Variables				
Commonality with blacks [+/-]	0.722	19.24***	0.775	14.92***
Commonality with Latinos [+/-]	0.099	2.81***	0.159	2.63***
Linked fate with Latinos [+/-]	-0.008	-0.18	0.005	0.18
Time in U.S. [+/-]	0.002	0.52	0.006	1.35
Nativity [+/-]	0.132	1.40	0.245	2.60***
Skin color [+/-]	0.144	4.27***	0.083	2.85***
Age [+/-]	0.009	2.37**	0.013	3.29***
Gender [+/-]	-0.066	-1.03	-0.075	-1.10
Education [+/-]	-0.067	-2.48**	-0.077	-4.47***
Household income [+/-]	-0.005	-0.32	-0.041	-2.62***
N	5191		5204	
Pseudo R^2	0.065		0.070	
Log pseudolikelihood	-116009.69		-115239.75	

Source: 2005-2006 Latino National Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less
***Note: Symbols in brackets represent the expected direction of the coefficient

However, when it comes to the percent black and percent Latino variables, I find the opposite results. The more blacks and Latinos surround Hispanics, the less likely that Hispanics perceive that they have something in common with whites. Hence, again I find support for divisions along racial lines. If Latinos are surrounded by blacks and/or Latinos, then they do not have commonality with whites; yet if Hispanics are surrounded by whites, then they are likely to have a lot of commonality with whites. Nevertheless, percent black has a much larger effect on Latinos' views toward whites than percent Latino and percent white. These findings are supported to a certain extent by Harvey et. al (2005) who argue that racial context shapes the importance placed on skin tone. A possible application of this conclusion to my finding is that when Latinos are surrounded by blacks/whites then they may place more importance on having a light/dark complexion (respectively) than vice versa.

The effects of the control variables on Latinos' commonality with whites compare greatly to the results for Latinos' commonality with blacks.

In Table 4.8, I present the results from models regarding Latinos' commonality with blacks and whites. Since the results of the economic and political commonality models for blacks and for whites were so similar, I conduct separate principal component factor analyses of economic and political commonality for blacks and then for whites. The result is a factor score representing Latinos' commonality with blacks (Eigenvalue = 1.44, proportion explained = 0.73), and another factor score representing Latinos' commonality with whites (Eigenvalue = 1.52, proportion explained = 0.76). Table 4.8 presents the results of these two models. The model presented below is the primary model of interest for Latinos' perceptions of commonality with blacks and whites.

Latinos' Commonality with Blacks

At the outset, the model exploring Latinos' commonality with blacks seems to do a good job in describing Latinos' commonality with whites ($R^2 = 0.227$).

Table 4.8 OLS Regression Estimates for Model of Latinos' Commonality with Blacks and Whites

	Blacks		Whites	
	b	t	b	t
Constant	0.021	0.14	-0.319	-2.46**
Contact				
Latino group participation	-0.029	-1.14	0.047	1.86*
Black group participation	0.168	3.19***	-0.093	-1.71*
White group participation	0.019	0.71	0.127	3.40***
Latino friend	0.009	0.22	-0.018	-0.34
Black friend	0.275	7.87***	-0.121	-2.87***
White friend	-0.075	-1.91**	0.156	3.31***
Latino coworker	-0.027	-0.95	0.005	0.18
Black coworker	-0.016	-0.43	-0.002	-0.07
White coworker	0.012	0.46	-0.007	-0.34
Context (county)				
Percent black	0.0000002	2.71***	-0.0000001	-3.32***
Percent white	-0.00000005	-1.11	0.00000005	1.81*
Percent Latino	0.00000005	0.95	-0.00000008	-1.68*
Percent bachelor degree	0.002	1.49	-0.003	-1.46
Unemployment rate	-0.006	-0.64	0.002	0.27
Control Variables				
Commonality with blacks	----	----	0.391	17.32***
Commonality with whites	0.384	21.94***	----	----
Commonality with Latinos	0.094	3.89***	0.066	2.96***
Linked fate with Latinos	0.035	2.25**	0.002	0.13
Time in U.S.	0.002	0.82	0.002	1.41
Nativity	-0.231	-4.60***	0.098	2.29**
Skin color	-0.041	-2.81*	0.062	3.96***
Age	-0.003	-0.93	0.006	4.12***
Gender	-0.022	-0.62	-0.034	-0.89
Education	0.019	2.34**	-0.039	-3.98***
Household income	0.029	3.01***	-0.012	-1.34
N	5139		5139	
R^2	0.227		0.204	
Mean VIF	2.71 (highest: 12.99)		2.74 (highest: 13.34)	

Source: 2005-2006 Latino National Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less
***Directional hypotheses are not portrayed in this table since hypotheses differ between blacks and whites

However, it is important for me to recognize that collinearity issues exist with regards to some variables as indicated by the mean VIF score and the highest VIF score at the bottom of this table. Nevertheless, collinearity should not be too much of an issue in this model since I ran the original model without the variables that convey collinearity (percent white and percent Hispanic) and these results are very similar to those in the original model.

Turning to the effects of specific independent variables, I find that contact and contextual variables have some effect on Latinos' commonality with blacks. Latinos who participate in mostly black groups (b = 0.167, t = 3.19) and have black friends (b = 0.275, t = 7.87) are very likely to perceive commonality with blacks, hence, greatly supporting the contact theory. On the other hand, Latinos who have a large percentage of blacks in their county demonstrate a greater propensity to think that they have something in common with blacks. This finding does not support the racial threat hypothesis, but it does lend support for contact theory. Interestingly, contact with other-race coworkers and being surrounded by Latinos and whites in one's home county do not influence Latinos' perceptions of commonality with blacks.

Here, it is important to note that contextual effects can be influenced in part by self-selection. For instance, certain Latinos may choose to live near blacks or whites than others; hence shaping the results of my models. I will test for endogeneity issues in the near future.

I find strong effects of variables regarding Latinos' feelings of commonality with whites and Latinos' commonality with other Latinos as predictors of Latinos' commonality with blacks. Commonality with whites (b = 0.384, t = 21.94) and Latinos (b = 0.094, t = 3.89) have significant positive effects on commonality with blacks. Hence, the more commonality Latinos perceive with whites and with other Latinos, the more likely that they are to think that they have a lot in common with blacks. This finding is strongly supported by Nteta and Wallsten (2007).

This finding raises questions regarding the degree to which Latinos view themselves as minorities. Since having a lot in common with fellow Latinos causes Latinos to feel that they have a lot in common with blacks, do Latinos view themselves like blacks in the sense that they are both minorities? What is it about having something in common with Latinos and being Latino that influences Latinos to feel that they share something with blacks? However, commonality with whites significantly shapes Latinos' commonality with blacks. If Latinos' commonality with whites greatly increases their commonality with blacks, then Latinos may view blacks and whites in the same way such as the "Americans." Another possible explanation for this finding is that there is a general commonality that extends to all kinds of people. Perhaps some Latinos perceive commonality with whites, blacks, and fellow Latinos all at the same time, while other Latinos perceive no commonality with whites, blacks, and fellow Latinos. Nteta and Wallsten (2007) stress that this is a possibility.

Regarding demographic attributes, I find that nativity, skin color, education, and income significantly shape Latinos' commonality with blacks. Overall, these results provide a good bit of support for the contact theory. The more contact Latinos have with blacks (as friends, in groups and just being close to them in general), the more likely that they perceive that they have a lot in common with them.

Latinos' Commonality with Whites

As mentioned previously, I create a factor score of Latinos' economic and political commonality with whites and explore the effects of contact and context on this commonality with whites factor score. Overall, my model—the results of which are reported in the second column of Table 4.8—does a fairly good job in explaining Latinos' commonality with whites ($R^2 = 0.204$).

As is the case for the commonality model with blacks, contact and context have some effects on Latinos' commonality with whites. Latinos who participate in groups with mostly Latinos and

mostly whites (b = 0.127, t = 3.40) are very likely to have a lot in common with whites. This raises an interesting point. Is the type of person who joins Latino groups more likely to have something in common with whites? Does participating in a majority Latino group reinforce Latinos' identification as white, and does this hence shape one's attitudes toward whites? Do Latinos who participate in these groups have a lighter complexion than those who do not? Future research will include running interactions between skin color and contact variables to further explore this finding. Moreover, it is important to highlight that Latinos' participation in majority black groups decreases their commonality with whites. This finding is supported to a certain extent by the idea that whites and blacks are not perceived in the same way by society (Breland, 1998; Hunter, 2002; Levin and Banaji, 2006).

When it comes to the effects of friends of different racial and ethnic groups, having a black friend significantly decreases the likelihood that Latinos perceive that they have something in common with whites (b= -0.121, t = -2.87). On the other hand, as predicted, having white friends has a significantly positive effect on Latinos' commonality with whites (b = 0.156, t = 3.31). Here, we are able to find ample support for contact theory. The more contact Latinos have with whites (in groups and as friends), the more likely that they perceive that they have something in common with whites and the more than likely the more positive Latinos' views toward whites. Surprisingly, none of the coworker variables play critical roles in shaping Latinos' attitudes toward whites.

When it comes to context, I do not find support for the racial threat hypothesis, but the evidence is more consistent with contact theory. The more that Latinos have whites in their local context, the more that they perceive that they have something in common with whites (b = 0.00000005, t = 1.81). Interestingly, percent black has a significantly negative effect on Latinos' commonality with whites (b = -0.0000001, t = -3.32); thus, the more blacks surround Latinos, the less predisposed that Latinos are to perceive that they have something in common with whites. This

finding is explained by the fact that racial context significantly shapes importance placed on skin tone (Harvey et. al, 2005).

However, it is important to note that contextual effects can be influenced in part by self-selection. I will conduct tests to uncover endogeneity issues in the near future.[31]

Regarding the control variables, I find that commonality with blacks (b = 0.391, t = 17.32) and Latinos (b = 0.066, t = 2.96) are strong predictors of Latinos' attitudes toward whites. These results are very similar as to those found by Nteta and Wallsten (2007). These results are perplexing. The contact variables seem to indicate that Latinos do not view blacks and whites in the same way; yet if they don't, then why does commonality with blacks greatly increase the likelihood that Latinos have something in common with whites? If Latinos are comfortable with themselves as a group then they are comfortable being close to other racial groups? One possibility is that Latinos have or do not have commonality with people in general, regardless of race or ethnicity. If this is the explanation, it may be that Latinos who feel commonality with all other people—fellow Latinos and blacks—also feel commonality with whites. If this is the case, we would expect to see this in other models as well.

When it comes to demographic attributes, several attributes shape Latinos' commonality with whites. Unlike in the black model, nativity (being foreign born) has a significantly positive effect on Latinos' attitudes toward whites (b = 0.098, t = 2.29). Thus, foreign born Latinos are more likely to perceive commonality with whites and less likely perceive commonality with blacks. This finding runs counter to Branton's (2007) finding that the more acculturated Latinos become, the more likely that they think like those who are native born and whites. This is interesting. Do immigrants from

[31] However, one thing that I did take into account in the white and black attitudes models is the nonlinear effects that racial context variables can have on racial attitudes as discussed in the racial threat hypothesis. I estimate alternative versions of my models with a squared version of each racial context variable yet obtain very similar results as in the original models.

Latin America then carry certain preconceived notions about blacks and whites from their native countries that influence them to respond differently to blacks and whites? This is possible. Apparently, time in the U.S. does not shape Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites so exposure to blacks and whites and American society may not affect Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites.

Skin color significantly shapes Latinos' perceptions of commonality with whites. Light-skinned Latinos are more likely to perceive commonality with whites than dark-skinned Latinos ($b = 0.062$, $t = 3.96$). This finding provides more support for the idea that different skin tones elicit distinct reactions (Ronquillo et. al, 2007).

Regarding education, I find that more educated Latinos have a weaker predisposition to perceive commonality with whites than lesser educated Latinos. This finding is particularly interesting given that the opposite result was found in the black model. I am left with several questions. Where did respondents receive their education—was it in the United States or in respondents' native countries? If Latinos are receiving their education in the U.S., then is what they are being taught influencing their relations with other racial groups? Or is it that Latinos who are trying to climb the socioeconomic status ladder perceive that they are victims of discrimination and injustice, hence causing them to identify more as a minority and with blacks?

Overall, when comparing the results of the black and white commonality models, I make several interesting conclusions. Contact theory is able to explain Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites especially through friendships and group participation. Contact in the workplace does not shape Latinos' attitudes toward blacks or their attitudes toward whites. However, I can state comfortably that Latinos differentiate blacks from whites except when it comes to the effect of commonality with blacks/whites for the white/black models, respectively. Latinos do not view having black and white friends as the same thing. Moreover, being surrounded by blacks, whites, and Latinos affects

Hispanics differently. Another variable that distinguishes Latinos' perceptions of commonality with blacks from those toward whites is linked fate with Latinos. Latinos who have a strong linked fate with other Latinos are more likely to perceive commonality with blacks than those with no linked fate.

Latinos Perceptions of Competition with Blacks

Besides perceptions of commonality with blacks and whites, I also explore Latinos' perceptions of competition with insiders, particularly their perceptions of competition with blacks. Unfortunately, data on Latinos' perceptions of competition with whites are not available. In Table 4.9, I present the coefficients for several models of various Latino/black competition variables, including general access to jobs, access to education and quality schools, access to jobs in city/state government, and representation in elected office.

At the outset, I find that the models do not do a very good job in explaining Latinos' competition with blacks. The R^2 values for all of the competition models are less than 0.02. Nevertheless, there are significant coefficients associated with all of the categories of independent variables.

With regards to the effect of contact on competition with blacks, I find some support for contact theory. Having a black friend decreases the likelihood that Latinos perceive competition with blacks regarding access to jobs and education. Interestingly, having a white friend also has a significantly negative effect on Latinos' competition with blacks. Simply, Latinos who have white friends are less likely to perceive competition with blacks. Is this finding due to the fact that Latinos view blacks and whites similarly? Clearly, this is an issue that warrants further analysis.

When it comes to contextual effects, I find strong support for the racial threat hypothesis. The more blacks there are in Latinos' near environment, the more likely that Latinos perceive competition regarding access to jobs and education and representation in elected office. Unlike

many of the models discussed earlier, the two socioeconomic context variables (percent bachelor degree and percent unemployment rate) play critical roles in shaping Latinos' competition with blacks. I find that Latinos who live in a county with a high education level are more likely to perceive competition with blacks than those who live in a county with a lower education level. In addition, my results indicate that Latinos who live in a county with a high unemployment rate are highly predisposed to perceiving competition with blacks. As predicted, Latinos who are surrounded by a difficult economic environment are more likely to perceive blacks as economic and political competition than Latinos who live in a county with a low unemployment rate.

A few control variables shape Latinos' competition with blacks, but the most notable one is linked fate with Latinos. For every model in this table, I find that linked fate with Latinos has a significantly positive effect on Latinos' perceptions of economic, educational and political competition with blacks. Thus, the more Latinos perceive that what happens to other Latinos influences them, the more likely that they are to perceive competition with blacks. This finding indicates that Latinos who have a strong sense of connection to other Latinos are likely to perceive blacks as different than them and as competitors. In general, I can state that the racial threat hypothesis is strongly supported and that contact theory is somewhat supported in Latinos' competition with black models.

Table 4.10 presents the results for a model of Latinos' competition with blacks using a global scale based on the items that were dependent variables in Table 4.9. Since the results of models for economic, educational and political competition with black models are comparable, and since the competition variables are correlated, I conduct a principal component factor analysis of these types of competition for blacks. I find that a single factor emerges for Latinos' perceptions of competition with blacks (Eigenvalue = 2.47, proportion explained = 0.62).

Table 4.9 Ordered Logit Results for Models of Latinos' Competition with Blacks

	General job access		Education and school access		Job access in city/state government		Representatives in elected office	
	b	z	b	z	b	z	b	z
Contact								
Latino group participation [+]	0.075	1.47	0.022	0.37	0.033	0.62	-0.069	-1.30
Black group participation [-]	-0.140	-0.85	-0.075	-0.42	0.048	0.30	0.069	0.39
White group participation [+]	0.087	1.41	0.091	1.43	0.076	1.25	-0.045	-0.72
Latino friend [+]	-0.121	-1.06	0.073	0.66	-0.065	-0.64	-0.094	-0.88
Black friend[-]	-0.147	-1.83**	-0.114	-1.82**	-0.049	-0.53	0.002	0.03
White friend [+]	-0.193	-1.82*	0.035	0.33	-0.203	-1.91*	-0.131	-1.30
Latino coworker [+]	0.035	0.39	0.055	0.68	0.038	0.48	-0.051	-0.94
Black coworker [-]	0.123	1.56	-0.031	-0.45	0.032	0.57	0.003	0.06
White coworker [+]	0.051	0.68	0.007	0.10	0.091	0.96	-0.039	-0.70
Context (county)								
Percent black [+]	0.0000004	3.75***	0.0000003	3.27***	0.0000006	7.46***	0.0000005	5.84***
Percent white [+/-]	-0.0000002	-2.21**	-0.00000004	-0.58	-0.0000002	-4.51***	-0.00000009	-1.47
Percent Latino [+]	0.0000001	1.49*	-0.00000003	-0.24	0.0000002	3.56***	0.00000009	1.10
Percent bachelor degree [+/-]	0.009	2.44**	0.010	3.19***	0.009	3.34***	0.008	2.98***
Percent unemployment rate[+]	0.033	1.98**	0.045	2.73***	0.045	2.90***	0.052	3.15***
Control Variables								
Commonality with blacks [+/-]	0.201	4.65***	0.059	1.78*	0.098	2.79***	0.121	3.12***
Commonality with whites [+/-]	-0.006	-0.15	0.077	2.01**	0.067	1.94**	0.061	1.97**
Commonality with Latinos [+/-]	-0.037	-1.18	-0.043	-1.20	-0.039	-1.23	0.028	0.56
Linked fate with Latinos[+/-]	0.075	2.10**	0.133	4.36***	0.137	3.48***	0.135	5.44***
Time in U.S. (years) [+/-]	0.003	0.58	0.005	1.01	0.004	0.79	0.0009	0.24
Nativity [+/-]	-0.268	-2.93***	-0.215	-1.89*	0.036	0.39	0.060	0.68

Table 4.9 (continued)

Control Variables (continued)								
Skin color [+/-]	-0.016	-0.49	-0.019	-0.47	0.009	0.30	0.027	1.02
Age [+/-]	0.004	0.98	0.001	0.40	0.002	0.50	0.003	0.89
Gender [+/-]	0.039	0.74	-0.061	-0.90	-0.052	-0.86	-0.011	-0.18
Education [+/-]	-0.051	-1.91*	-0.056	-2.21**	-0.005	-0.22	-0.00009	-0.00
Household income [+/-]	0.019	1.17	0.003	0.18	0.016	0.91	0.004	0.26
N	5,139		5,139		5,139		5,139	
Pseudo R^2	0.014		0.011		0.013		0.013	
Log pseudolikelihood	-96433.75		-99094.13		-99821.45		-100049.7	

Source: 2005-2006 Latino National Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less Symbols in brackets represent the expected direction of the coefficient

Clearly, Latinos' perceptions of different kinds of competition with blacks represent a single underlying dimension. Table 4.10 is the primary model of Latinos' competition with blacks.

At the outset, I find that this model does not do a very good job in explaining Latinos' competition with blacks, R^2 =0.034. Nevertheless, the sample size is quite large (N=5139) and all of the contextual variable significantly shape Latinos' competition with blacks. When running this model, I also take into account collinearity issues that may arise among variables. I find that percent white and percent Hispanic are highly related (both VIF scores are higher than 10). Hence, when I take these two variables out of the models, the results compare greatly to those of the original model.[32]

Table 4.10 OLS Regression Estimates for Model of Latinos' Competition with Blacks

	Blacks	
	b	t
Constant	-0.339	-2.23**
Contact		
Latino group participation [+]	0.010	0.33
Black group participation [-]	-0.022	-0.22
White group participation[+/-]	0.037	1.33
Latino friend [+]	-0.035	-0.60
Black friend[-]	-0.052	-1.31
White friend [+]	-0.086	-1.53
Latino coworker [+]	0.012	0.28
Black coworker [-]	0.019	0.63
White coworker [+]	0.018	0.41
Context (county)		
Percent black [+]	0.0000003	7.36***
Percent white [+/-]	-0.00000008	-3.22***
Percent Latino [+]	0.00000008	2.03**
Percent bachelor degree [+/-]	0.006	3.82***
Unemployment rate [+]	0.029	3.49***

[32] As mentioned previously, exploring the effect of racial context on racial attitudes can have non-linear effects (as indicated by the racial threat hypothesis). I take this into account by running this same model and squaring the racial context variables (percent black, percent white and percent Latino). I find that the results of this model with squared variables are very similar to the original black competition model.

Table 4.10 (continued)

Control Variables		
Commonality with blacks [+/-]	0.076	5.06***
Commonality with whites [+/-]	0.027	1.59
Commonality with Latinos [+/-]	-0.016	-0.92
Linked fate with Latinos [+/-]	0.083	5.00***
Time in U.S. [+/-]	0.002	0.83
Nativity [+/-]	-0.066	-1.38
Skin color [+/-]	0.00006	0.00
Age [+/-]	0.002	0.99
Gender [+/-]	-0.015	-0.49
Education [+/-]	-0.019	-1.43
Household income [+/-]	0.008	0.93
N	5139	
R^2	0.034	
Mean VIF	2.70 (highest 13.38)	

Source: 2005-2006 Latino National Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less
***Note: Symbols in brackets represent the expected direction of the coefficient

Contrary to expectations, none of the contact variables have significant effects on Latinos' attitudes, although the variables black group participation and black friend are in the hypothesized direction. Contact appears to be unrelated to whether Latinos perceive competition between blacks and Latinos. On the other hand, context plays a critical role in shaping Latinos' perceptions of competition with blacks. I find that the larger the black population in Latinos' county, the more likely that Latinos perceive competition with blacks (b = 0.0000003, t = 7.36). This provides strong support for the racial threat hypothesis and stands in some contrast to the finding of the relationship between living near blacks and perceiving great commonality with blacks. Does living near blacks cause Latinos to perceive that they have something in common with blacks because they are getting to know them, and then does the realization that Latinos have something in common with blacks lead them to perceive greater competition with them? Hence, does percent black indirectly affect Latinos' perception of their competition with blacks?

Percent black-----> Commonality with blacks------> Competition with blacks???

When it comes to the effect of the percentage of whites surrounding Latinos, I find the opposite relationship. Percent white negatively affects Hispanics' perceptions of competition with blacks (b = -0.00000008, t = -3.22). For Latinos living in counties with large white populations, their perceptions of competition with blacks are softened. This finding presents several questions. Does living close to whites (and in some parts living in poor or affluent areas) influence Latinos to perceive that they do not have to worry about competing with blacks? Is there a certain type of Latino that chooses to live near whites, and does this influence their perception of blacks? What effect does selection of residence have in all of this? I will test this in the near future.

Regarding percent Latino, I find that the larger the Latino population in Hispanics' county, the more likely that Latinos perceive competition with blacks (b = -0.00000008, t = -2.03). Why is this so? Does living close to Latinos (and in some parts living in poor or affluent areas) influence Latinos to perceive that they should worry about competing with blacks? Does living close to other Latinos accentuate Latinos' own Latino identity, which in turn creates stronger perceptions of competition with blacks? Moreover, based on the divisive effects that racial context can have on attitudes as touched upon by Harvey et. al (2005), are Latinos with light complexions more likely to perceive competition with blacks than Latinos with darker complexions? I will test for this with the creation of interaction variables in the near future.

With regards to the effects of my control variables, I find that commonality with blacks and linked fate with Latinos have significant effects on perceptions of competition with blacks. Similar to Barreto and Sanchez's (2008) findings, Latinos who perceive that they have a lot in common with blacks are very likely to perceive competition with blacks. In addition, I find that Latinos with a strong linked fate with other Latinos have a great

predisposition to perceive competition with African Americans. This conclusion is also supported by Barreto and Sanchez (2008).

Overall, when it comes to Latinos' perceptions of competition with blacks, contact does not seem to shape Latinos' attitudes. On the other hand, context does. I find strong support for the racial threat hypothesis specifically regarding the significantly positive effect that percent black has on Latinos' competition with blacks. However, the percent white and percent Latino variables present several issues that may be related to individual self-selection, which will be addressed in later work. Lastly, the results of the socioeconomic context variables indicate that socioeconomic self-interest may play a key role in shaping Hispanics' perceptions of competition with blacks.

Comparing Emerging vs. Traditional Latino States

As noted, the number of Latinos in the U.S. has grown tremendously in the last couple of decades. However, Latinos have not concentrated in the same areas of the U.S. States like California, Texas, Florida, and New York have a long history of Latinos presence, yet other states sampled in the Latino National Survey do not have a long history of Latinos. Hence, I suggest that there are two types of states sampled in this survey: emerging Latino and traditional Latino states. As indicated by the Latino National Survey, emerging Latino states include Georgia, Iowa, North Carolina, Arkansas Nevada, Washington and the District of Columbia. Since the LNS sampled states with significant portions of Latino residents, I characterize the other states sampled in the survey as traditional Latino states.

Table 4.11 presents estimates for models of Latinos' commonality with blacks by emerging Latino states and by traditional Latino states. At the outset, I find that both emerging and traditional models do a good job in explaining Latinos' attitudes toward blacks

($R^2 = 0.2294$, $R^2 = 0.239$, respectively). The models do not differ vastly from each other, yet there are some differences that are worth pointing out.

Having a Latino friend has a positive (significant) effect in the emerging model but a negative (non-significant) effect in the traditional model. Furthermore, having a white friend has a null effect among respondents from emerging states but a negative effect among those from traditional states. I suspect that these differences exist due to the presence of firmly established racial lines drawn in traditional states. The culture of states that have a long history of Latino presence may influence state residents to draw more distinctions among Latinos, blacks and whites due to the long history of these groups in the state. However, emerging states do not have a long history of Latino presence so there may be weaker distinctions drawn between racial and ethnic groups. Consequently, Latinos in emerging states may not perceive many differences between blacks and whites, but rather may see them as simply "Americans."

Table 4.11 OLS Regression Estimates for Model of Latinos' Commonality with Blacks (Emerging versus Traditional states)

	Emerging States		Traditional States	
	b	t	b	t
Constant	-0.012	-0.04	0.311	2.10**
Contact				
Latino group participation [-]	0.012	0.25	-0.052	-1.67**
Black group participation [+]	0.149	1.49	0.145	2.49***
White group participation [-]	-0.024	-0.60	0.061	1.55
Latino friend [-]	0.123	1.82*	-0.069	-1.33
Black friend [+]	0.257	4.29***	0.279	6.45***
White friend [-]	0.049	0.71	-0.146	-3.28***
Latino coworker [-]	-0.051	-0.85	-0.012	-0.47
Black coworker [+]	0.008	0.10	-0.024	-0.65
White coworker [-]	0.067	1.90*	-0.019	-0.60

Table 4.11 (continued)

Context (county)				
Percent black [-]	0.000001	2.33**	-0.0000001	2.01**
Percent white [+/-]	-0.0000001	-0.78	-0.00000001	-0.34
Percent Latino [-]	0.00000003	-0.02	0.000000007	0.14
Percent bachelor degree [+/-]	-0.005	-0.87	0.002	0.86
Unemployment rate [-]	-0.046	-1.87**	-0.009	-1.32
Control Variables				
Commonality with whites [+/-]	0.405	12.98***	0.367	7.85***
Commonality with Latinos [+/-]	0.045	1.09	0.126	5.22***
Linked fate with Latinos [+/-]	0.045	1.29	0.030	1.94**
Time in U.S. [+/-]	-0.004	0.99	0.006	2.79***
Nativity [+/-]	-0.243	3.00***	-0.193	-3.40***
Skin color [+/-]	-0.039	-1.32	-0.046	-2.83***
Age [+/-]	0.002	0.56	-0.006	-2.96***
Gender [+/-]	-0.071	-1.36	0.007	0.16
Education [+/-]	0.026	1.94***	0.009	1.02
Household income [+/-]	0.052	3.12***	0.019	1.67*
N	1442		3697	
R^2	0.229		0.239	

Source: 2005-2006 Latino National Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less
***Note: Symbols in brackets represent the expected direction of the coefficient

Table 4.12 presents models of Latinos' commonality with whites, estimated separately for respondents from emerging Latino states and from traditional Latino states. At the outset, I find that both emerging and traditional models do a good job in explaining Latinos' attitudes toward whites ($R^2 = 0.209$, $R^2 = 0.206$, respectively). The emerging and traditional models compare greatly for the most part except with regards to the effect of percent black on Latinos' commonality with whites.

In the emerging model, percent black has a positive (though non-significant) effect on Latino attitudes, but the effect is significantly negative in the traditional model. As mentioned prior, I suspect that the reasoning for this difference is the presence of racial divisions that are created in traditional states.

Table 4.12 OLS Regression Estimates for Model of Latinos' Commonality with Whites (Emerging versus Traditional states)

	Emerging States		Traditional States	
	b	t	b	t
Constant	-0.239	-1.10	-0.287	-1.64*
Contact				
Latino group participation [-]	0.042	0.80	0.047	1.70*
Black group participation [-]	-0.036	-0.41	-0.126	-1.85*
White group participation [+]	0.106	1.77**	0.146	3.79***
Latino friend [-]	-0.001	-0.01	-0.026	-0.38
Black friend[-]	-0.137	-1.90*	-0.114	-2.29**
White friend [+]	0.154	2.21**	0.162	2.64***
Latino coworker [-]	0.036	0.53	-0.013	-0.51
Black coworker [-]	-0.022	-0.35	0.006	0.17
White coworker [-]	-0.015	-0.38	0.001	0.05
Context (county)				
Percent black [+/-]	0.0000002	0.46	-0.0000002	-3.47***
Percent white [-]	0.00000008	0.96	0.00000005	1.48
Percent Latino [-]	0.000000009	0.25	-0.00000008	-1.53
Percent bachelor degree [+]	-0.005	-1.29	-0.004	-1.38
Unemployment rate [-]	0.003	0.13	-0.011	-0.13
Control Variables				
Commonality with blacks [+/-]	0.387	9.20***	0.397	0.42***
Commonality with Latinos [+/-]	0.073	1.73	0.059	3.31***
Linked fate with Latinos [+/-]	-0.014	-0.37	0.012	0.81
Time in U.S. [+/-]	0.005	1.74**	0.007	0.44
Nativity [+/-]	0.047	0.60	0.120	2.38**
Skin color [+/-]	0.074	3.63***	0.055	2.53**
Age [+/-]	0.004	1.51	0.008	4.08***
Gender [+/-]	0.007	0.09	-0.060	-1.64*
Education [+/-]	-0.049	-2.94***	-0.034	-3.23***
Household income [+/-]	-0.016	-1.16	-0.011	-1.00
N	1442		3697	
R^2	0.209		0.206	

Source: 2005-2006 Latino National Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less
***Note: Symbols in brackets represent the expected direction of the coefficient

Once Latinos establish a strong presence in a state, they begin to know and learn more about whites and blacks and begin to perceive them in different ways. On the other hand, Latinos in emerging states may just group all individuals who are non-Latino into one category.

In Table 4.13, I display the results for emerging Latino state and traditional Latino state models of Latinos' competition with blacks. I find that both emerging and traditional models do not do a good job in explaining Latinos' attitudes toward blacks ($R^2 = 0.046$, $R^2 = 0.039$, respectively). However, several coefficients in these two models achieve conventional levels of statistical significance.

In general, the results for the two models are highly comparable, yet some stark distinctions exist regarding the contextual variables. In traditional states, I find that the more Latinos are surrounded by blacks in their county, the more likely that they perceive competition with blacks. The coefficient for the percent black variable is not significant at all in the emerging states model. One possibility for this finding is that blacks and Latinos in emerging states have not had much contact and relations between the two groups have not solidified as much as in traditional states.

Moreover, percent white has a significantly negative effect on Latinos' competition with blacks in traditional states, but it has no effect in emerging states. Similarly, Latinos who live in a county with a high education level are more likely to perceive competition with blacks than those who do not live in a well-educated county. The results for percent bachelor degree are not significant in the emerging model. With regards to the unemployment rate variables, I find that unemployment rate has a significantly positive effect on Latinos' competition with blacks in traditional and emerging states. However, the coefficient for the emerging states model is about twice the magnitude as that for the traditional states model.

Table 4.13 OLS Regression Estimates for Model of Latinos' Competition with Blacks (Emerging versus Traditional States)

	Emerging States		Traditional States	
	b	t	b	t
Constant	-0.170	-0.54	-0.484	-2.38**
Contact				
Latino group participation [+]	-0.003	-0.07	0.016	0.43
Black group participation [-]	-0.197	-0.99	0.056	0.57
White group participation [+]	0.072	1.63*	0.017	0.47
Latino friend [+]	-0.160	-1.66*	0.033	0.46
Black friend[-]	-0.121	-1.58*	-0.009	-0.24
White friend [+]	-0.189	-1.82*	-0.033	-0.53
Latino coworker [+]	0.105	1.09	-0.040	-1.56
Black coworker [-]	0.057	0.96	-0.010	-0.28
White coworker [+]	0.074	0.72	-0.004	-0.15
Context (county)				
Percent black [+]	0.0000002	0.54	0.0000003	7.68***
Percent white [+/-]	-0.00000002	0.14	-0.00000007	-2.74***
Percent Latino [+]	-0.0000004	-0.81	0.00000005	1.29
Percent bachelor degree [+/-]	0.006	1.04	0.006	3.07***
Unemployment rate [+]	0.058	2.21**	0.028	3.15***
Control Variables				
Commonality with blacks [+/-]	0.081	3.62***	0.079	4.00***
Commonality with whites [+/-]	0.037	1.28	0.027	1.25
Commonality with Latinos [+/-]	-0.025	-0.69	-0.021	-0.89
Linked fate with Latinos [+/-]	0.058	2.07**	0.097	5.16***
Time in U.S. [+/-]	0.004	0.86	0.0002	0.08
Nativity [+/-]	-0.065	-0.59	-0.071	-1.28
Skin color [+/-]	0.036	1.29	-0.026	-1.36
Age [+/-]	-0.003	-0.98	0.005	1.95**
Gender [+/-]	-0.051	-0.86	0.006	0.15
Education [+/-]	-0.048	-1.89*	-0.001	-0.11
Household income [+/-]	0.009	0.56	0.006	0.72
N	1442		3697	
R^2	0.046		0.039	

Source: 2005-2006 Latino National Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less
***Note: Symbols in brackets represent the expected direction of the coefficient

This suggests that Latinos consider themselves to have greater competition with blacks in states where Latinos are the new kids on the block.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I explore Latinos' perceptions of commonality and competition toward blacks and whites, particularly focusing on the role that contact and context play in shaping Latinos' attitudes. I test contact theory and the racial threat hypothesis. I estimate models for whites and blacks separately and for emerging Latino states and for traditional Latino states.

In the commonality models, contact theory is an important theory in explaining Latinos' commonality with blacks and whites. Friendship often significantly influences Latinos' attitudes. Latinos with black friends/white friends have a great predisposition to perceive commonality with blacks/whites, respectively. Interestingly, I find that Latinos with black friends are less likely to perceive commonality with whites and Latinos with whites friends are less likely to perceive commonality with blacks. Apparently, friendship has divisive effects. This finding is supported to a certain extent by literature regarding skin color and race relations. On the other hand, I find that working with someone/contact in the workplace does not significantly shape Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites.

Nevertheless, among the control variables, I consistently find that commonality with blacks has a significantly positive effect on Latinos attitudes toward whites and vice versa. Why is this so? One possible explanation, which is supported by Nteta and Wallsten (2007), is that some Latinos perceive blacks, whites and other Latinos in the same way. Hence, when they think of commonality, some Latinos think of having something in common with someone regardless of their race or ethnicity. Nonetheless, more research needs to be conducted to determine this. Another control variable that provides interesting results is

nativity. I find that foreign born Latinos are more likely to perceive commonality with whites and less likely perceive commonality with blacks. This finding runs counter to Branton's (2007) finding that the more acculturated Latinos become, the more likely that they think like those who are native born and whites.

With regards to my model on Latinos' competition with blacks, I conclude that context drives Latinos' attitudes. As predicted, I find strong empirical support for the racial threat hypothesis and my hypothesis regarding the effects of the unemployment rate in Latinos' home counties. However, none of the contact variables have significant effects on Latinos' competition with blacks. In future research, I plan on conducting a variety of interactions among skin color, contact and contextual variables to obtain a better understanding of the effects of these three variables on racial attitudes.

Lastly, I estimate separate models for emerging Latino and traditional Latino states, and these results provide some insight into Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites. The recurring finding is that the results that differ from one model to the next are due to the distinct race relations and divisions and perspectives that whites, Latinos and blacks have of each other. Due to having established a strong presence in a state, Latinos in traditional Latino states have the opportunity through historical experience to learn more about whites and blacks and begin to perceive them in different ways. On the other hand, Latinos in emerging states may not have the historical experience to differentiate blacks and whites very well, and this may result in a strong predisposition to perceive all individuals who are non-Latino as making up one category.

So what do my results mean for the creation of future political coalitions among Latinos, blacks and whites? First, due to the strong support for contact theory, I suspect that contact may lead to coalition formation among Latinos, blacks and whites. Having black/white

friends and joining black/white groups may increase the likelihood that they form coalitions with blacks and whites. I recognize that self-selection may bias this project and I will take this into account in future work.

Second, since I find that Latinos do not view blacks and whites in the same way, I suspect that if Latinos were to form coalitions with whites than they would not form coalitions with blacks and vice versa. On the other hand, my findings suggest that there are some Latinos who do not distinguish between blacks and whites so these individuals may form coalitions with others regardless of race.

Third, support for the racial threat hypothesis through the black racial context variable suggests that Latinos may not form coalitions with blacks who surround them. Fourth, skin color may shape coalition formation. Since I find that skin color significantly shapes Latinos' perceptions of commonality with blacks and whites, I suspect that Latinos with darker skin are more likely to form coalitions with blacks than those who perceive that they have a lighter skin. Moreover, I suspect that Latinos with light-colored skin are more likely to form a coalition with whites than those with darker skin. Lastly, when it comes to coalition formation in emerging versus traditional Latino states, my findings lead me to consider the fact that coalitions among Latinos, blacks and whites may be more likely to form in emerging states more than traditional states.

CHAPTER 5: LATINOS' ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS AND WHITES IN THE GREATER NEW ORLEANS AREA- A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

In this chapter, I pose many of the same research questions as the chapter on Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites. However, here I use a qualitative approach to answer my research questions and to obtain a better understanding of Latinos' racial attitudes. The analyses and results in this chapter are simply meant to supplement the results in the quantitative chapter on Latino attitudes; any independent conclusions from these analyses should be tentative. The findings here are only presented to reinforce earlier findings. As mentioned previously, the literature on the precursors of coalition formation among various racial groups has rarely concentrated on Latinos' perceptions of commonality and competition regarding blacks as well as whites. Based on arguments by McClain and Stewart (2002) and McClain et. al (2006) and the results found in the previous chapter, Latinos may not view blacks and whites in the same way. Moreover, foreign-born Latinos may carry preconceived notions of skin color to the U.S., and this may influence their views toward blacks and whites in the U.S.

Similar to the previous quantitative study, I explore Latinos' perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes toward blacks and whites. However, instead of focusing specifically on the effects of contact and racial and socioeconomic context, I examine whether contact has a positive or negative effect on Latinos' attitudes. The research method that I adopt to answer these research topics are focus groups in the city of New Orleans conducted from September to November 2009.

WHY NEW ORLEANS?

I conduct my focus groups in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana. What makes this city stand out from the rest? Unlike traditional Latino cities like Miami, New York and Los Angeles, this city is unique in that it has seen a very quick increase in Latinos in a few years

after Hurricane Katrina struck the Gulf coast in August 2005. A *Times Picayune* (the local newspaper in the Greater New Orleans area) article reports that the U.S. Census Bureau survey estimates that approximately 100,000 Hispanics have arrived to hurricane-affected communities during the four months after the hurricane struck the Gulf Coast (Waller 2006). Moreover, a more recent report with data compiled by the Greater New Orleans Community Data Center indicates that as of 2008, Hispanics make up 9.4 percent of the population in Jefferson Parish[33] (compared to 7.1% in 2000) and 6.3 percent of the New Orleans metro area[34] (compared to 4.4% in 2000) (Plyer and Ortiz 2009).

Before Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans was not known as a Latino immigrant city. Nonetheless, Latinos have made a presence in the city and its surrounding areas by providing inexpensive labor, setting up many taco stands, playing music from their native countries in their cars and stores, standing in front of hardware stores waiting for work opportunities, speaking Spanish in malls, hardware stores and snowball stands, and giving birth in New Orleans hospitals (Eaton 2005; Waller 2007; Donley 2007; Porter 2006).

Many would then say that only recently has New Orleans been exposed to the Spanish language and heritage. However, the city has a lengthy history of Spanish/Latin American influence. From 1763 to 1803, the Spanish took control over New Orleans after the French (Hanger, 1989: 63). During this period, the Spanish influenced New Orleans in numerous ways including in law, custom, language, and architecture (Holmes 1973). Besides Spaniards, New Orleans also has a history of Honduran immigrants. In the early 20th century, Hondurans established a large presence in New Orleans with the immigration of

[33] In Louisiana, a parish is the equivalent of a county in other states. Jefferson Parish includes the following cities: Avondale, Bridge City, Grand Isle, Gretna, Harahan, Harvey, Jefferson, Kenner, Lafitte, Marrero, Metairie, River Ridge, Terrytown, Timberlane, Wagamann, and Westwego.
[34] The New Orleans metro area includes the following seven parishes: Jefferson, Orleans, Plaquemines, St. Bernard, St. Tammany, St. Charles, St. John the Baptist and Washington.

banana growers from Honduras to the city (Gruesz, 2006; Fussell, 2009). Cubans and Nicaraguans arrived to the city throughout the middle of the 20th century as well (Fussell, 2007: 851). Moreover, the city of Veracruz in Mexico was associated with and compared to New Orleans in several ways during the 19th century. Both cities traded frequently throughout the 1800s. Also, carnival was celebrated in New Orleans and Veracruz. In addition, both cities were associated as being "rough around the edges." It is interesting to note that even Louisiana politicians became interested in taking control over Veracruz and the Yucatan peninsula during the 19th century (Gruesz, 2006: 12-20). As a result, even though New Orleans has only recently seen a rapid and large influx of Latinos in the area, the city is not foreign to Spanish and Latin American influence.

THEORETICAL APPROACH: CONTACT THEORY

In this study of Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites, I explore the role that contact plays in shaping Latinos' perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes of blacks and whites in New Orleans. Specifically, I test contact theory, which has been studied and tested extensively in the racial attitudes literature. This theory asserts that as contact between an out-group and an in-group increases, the in-group is more likely to adopt positive views of the out-group.

A couple of works specifically test the contact theory in examining Latinos' racial attitudes of blacks and/or whites. For instance, McClain et. al (2006) greatly support contact theory while examining the extent to which Latino immigrants hold negative stereotypes of blacks. They find that Hispanics who have more social contact with African Americans are less predisposed to espouse negative stereotypes of blacks than those who do not have a lot of contact. Furthermore, in my quantitative study of Latinos' perceptions of commonality,

competition and stereotypes of whites and blacks, I find that contact (particularly friendship) has a positive effect on Latinos' perceptions of commonality with blacks and whites.

As mentioned previously, Latinos have a long and short history in New Orleans. Thus, they have and are continuing to establish relationships with blacks and whites in the city. In order to examine the effect of contact on Latinos' attitudes, I ask Latinos in the focus groups whether they have been in contact with whites and blacks such as having friends, neighbors or coworkers.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The data for this paper come from a project directed by the author of this paper. In the fall of 2009, I launched an in-depth qualitative study of Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites in New Orleans.

Focus groups have not been commonly used in social science research. This qualitative method has undergone numerous praises and critiques. For instance, Polsby (1993) has strongly criticized focus group research by asserting that it is unlikely that focus groups are able to accurately present the truth, since a researcher can use a focus group to say practically anything he/she wants the focus group's participants to say. On the other hand, Briand (1993: 542) responds to Polsby's critiques by stating that focus groups "get at the concerns, needs, and feelings that underlie people's opinions and preferences." Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (1995) add that unlike survey research, focus group research does not inhibit the number of topics that can be discussed, the background information that researchers can provide and the intensity and depth of participants' responses. Moreover, analyzing focus group data can greatly improve survey questions by decreasing vagueness and targeting the particular themes that arise when individuals are not constrained to respond in a specific way.

For as intense a topic as Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites in New Orleans, focus group research is critical since it is able to track respondents' thought patterns as well as the intensity of their responses. Moreover, it is important to mention that at the beginning of my research I did not pose clear directional hypotheses and specific ideas of what I wanted the participants to say. I knew I wanted the participants to discuss their attitudes toward blacks and whites, so I led the discussion with a focus on perceptions of commonality and competition and asked questions regarding the effect of contact on these perceptions. However, I did not know that individuals were going to convey such strong negative stereotypes of blacks, admiration of whites, and great contact with whites. In line with the minimalist strategy adopted by Hibbing and Theiss-Morse (1995), I guided the discussion by presenting general questions allowing the respondents' answers to branch off into other topics as long as the topics remained in the realm of the questions' topics.

The focus group questions are found in the Appendix.

Participant Characteristics

This qualitative data collection focuses on seven focus groups with a total of 33 Latinos from the city of New Orleans and its surrounding areas. Four of the focus groups were conducted in a home and the rest were conducted in the building of a non-profit organization whose mission is to assist the Latino population in the Greater New Orleans area.[35]

[35] Participants were identified and recruited in various ways. For the first four focus groups, I contacted some of my personal contacts from New Orleans and one of the contacts recruited her friends to participate in the study. The focus groups were held in the kitchen of one of the contacts. For the last three focus groups, I contacted a non-profit organization that provides services to Latinos including immigration, employment, filling out taxes, English and citizenship classes. I was able to place flyers to recruit participants randomly at the entrance of the non-profit and recruited focus group participants in this way for two sets of interviews. The last focus group included the participation of the employees of the non-profit organization. When recruiting, I communicated to each interested individual that they would be compensated $20 for their time.

The demographic characteristics of the focus group participants provide an interesting glimpse of the Latino population in New Orleans. The percentage of women who were interviewed was 72% percent. Also, the average reported age of the participants was 48 years. More than half of the respondents (70 percent) reported being employed and more than half (approximately 64 percent) of the respondents reported having an annual income of $25,000 or less. Furthermore, regarding education, about 64 percent of the respondents reported having less than a college diploma. When it comes to nativity, the respondents identified as Argentine (12), Honduran (10), Cuban (3), El Salvadoran (2), Colombian (2), Brazilian (1), Belizean (1), Uruguayan (1), and Nicaraguan (1). Moreover, 85 percent of the respondents are foreign born. I recognize that my sample of Latino respondents may not completely represent the Latino population in the Greater New Orleans area. However, the results of these focus groups are not meant to supplement the findings in the Latino quantitative chapter since they are meant to serve as reinforcements (if applicable) to certain findings in the quantitative chapter. Moreover, this focus group study is an ongoing study and more Latinos will be included in my sample size in the future. In addition, almost a third of my sample is made up of Hondurans who make up a significantly large percentage of the Latino population in New Orleans (Vargas, 2009). Also, the low socioeconomic status of the participants compares to that of survey respondents in studies of Brazilians, Mexican Americans and Nicaraguans in the Greater New Orleans area in 2007 (Fussell, N.D.a, b, c).

Data Analysis

The participants' responses were recorded with a tape recorder using a Microsoft Word program on a laptop. Then, the data were collected in a data display format.[36] This format is commonly used to display large quantities of data in a reduced format allowing the researcher to easily identify the appropriate variables. In order to ensure accurate findings, I transcribed all the focus groups, while another experienced researcher verified all of the transcriptions. Moreover, each researcher examined each transcribed focus group and extracted the themes individually. The commonality in the themes between the two researchers was 90 percent. This means that the two researchers found the same themes while reading each transcribed focus group with the exception of two or three themes.

RESULTS OF LATINO FOCUS GROUPS IN NEW ORLEANS

In this section, I present Latinos' perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes toward whites and blacks in New Orleans. Moreover, I discuss the effect that contact has on their attitudes. This section is divided into several subsections: contact, perceptions of commonality, competition, effect of contact on attitudes and stereotypes and future race relations among Hispanics, blacks and whites. I begin by briefly discussing how much contact Latinos have with blacks and whites. The commonality and competition sections describe Latinos' reported commonality and competition with blacks. The section that follows discusses the effect of contact on Latinos' attitudes towards both racial groups. Following these sections, I discuss the explicit and implicit stereotypes that were expressed

[36] When using a data display format, a researcher usually prints out each transcribed focus group in different colored paper. Then, each set of questions and answers of each focus group are cut up individually and placed in piles. The researcher places the same questions and answers of each focus group in one pile. By doing this, the researcher is able to look at each focus group's response to each question and is able to explore the themes (shared by all the focus groups) found in the answers to each question. For more information regarding this format, please contact the authors.

throughout the focus groups.[37] Lastly, I describe how Latinos envision future race relations with blacks and whites.

Contact

One of the first questions asked in each focus group was how much contact Latinos have with blacks and whites. When it comes to contact with blacks, the majority of participants stated that they have some contact with blacks and most of it is in the workplace. Rosa said, "No, I don't have any black friends. I have coworkers." When asked if he has had any contact such as friends, neighbors or coworkers, one participant stated, "I have worked for blacks, but never any of those combinations."

On the other hand, Latinos in New Orleans seem to have a lot more contact with whites than with blacks. Contact includes friends, neighbors as well as coworkers. Almost all of the participants seemed even more enthusiastic to talk about their contact with whites than contact with blacks. For instance, some stated:

> Lucy: I have contact with them [whites] regularly. Friends, neighbors, coworkers…
>
> Marco: Yes, yes. I work with them, I live among them. They care for me like family. I've had more relationships with whites than with blacks…

Hence, based on these statements, it appears that Latinos in New Orleans may be more likely to have contact with whites than with blacks and possibly view whites in a more positive light than blacks. Further, the contact that Latinos have with blacks may be more likely to be in the workplace, while Latinos may be more likely to have more informal contact with whites as friends and neighbors.

[37] In the beginning of each discussion, I gave the participants the opportunity to answer the questions in English or Spanish and they chose Spanish. All of the focus groups were conducted in Spanish. Hence, I have done my best to translate the discussions directly and have changed a couple of words around in order not to lose the meaning behind the statements.

Commonality

In this section, I discuss the perceptions of commonality that Latinos expressed with blacks as well as with whites. I discuss Latinos' attitudes toward each racial group separately. First, I describe the answers that focus group participants gave in a questionnaire regarding how much they perceive commonality with blacks and whites and then present the statements that they made throughout the focus groups.

Figure 5.1 presents the distribution of responses relating to perceptions of commonality that the focus group participants have with blacks. Before the focus group began, the participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire where this topic was addressed.[38] The participants were asked to portray how much in common they have with blacks on a scale from 0 (nothing) to 10 (a lot in common). The figure illustrates that the majority of Latinos perceive that they have little to some commonality with blacks.

Commonality with Blacks

When discussing perceptions of commonality with blacks, three main themes emerged: (1) blacks are minorities like us; (2) blacks have family values like us; and (3) cultural level, not race or skin color, affect commonality. First, a resonant response to whether they perceive commonality with blacks is that Latinos think that they are like blacks in that they are a minority. For instance:

[38] Besides asking demographic questions, I included two questions in the questionnaire that assessed Latinos' perceptions of commonality with blacks and whites. I did this in order to obtain a better understanding of Latinos' attitudes since I may not be able to capture all of the participants' attitudes in an hour-long focus group. Another reason for doing this is to examine whether the actual focus group process influenced individuals' attitudes or the portrayal of their views. I can state that Latinos' attitudes expressed in the questionnaire did not differ very much from what they expressed throughout the focus groups, yet I noticed that a couple participants were cautious in the way that they talked about African Americans, particularly regarding how much they have in common with them. In two focus groups, there were some heated exchanges regarding blacks. Individuals who expressed a negative stereotype of blacks were corrected to a certain extent by one or two other participants who stated something like, "not all are like that" and "there are some blacks who are bad and some that are good." After that, the responses of those who expressed the negative views became more neutral.

> Marisa: But these people are a minority, like we are. This is what we have in common. Bringing in…we are a minority. Blacks and Latinos are the same thing.

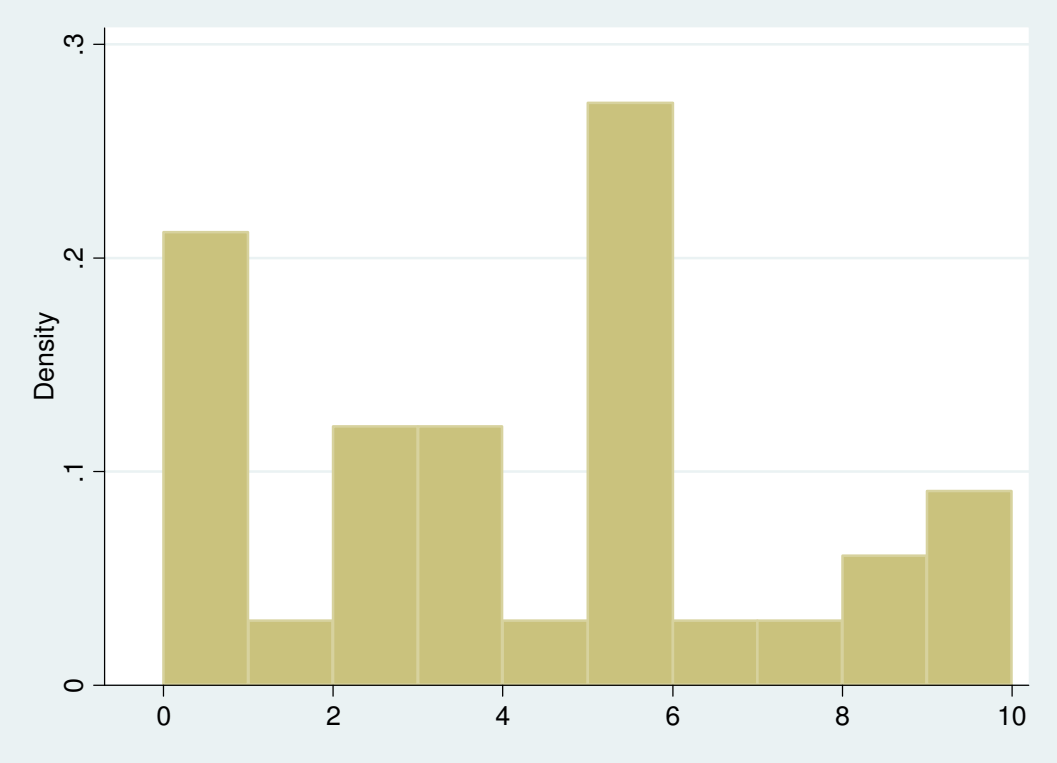

Figure 5.1 Latinos' Perceptions of Commonality with Blacks

Besides clearly stating that Latinos like blacks are a minority, some Latinos state that they are victims of discrimination, like blacks.[39]

> Maria: I think that we have something in common. When it comes to being discriminated against.

A second major theme that arose in participants' answers was the fact that blacks, like Latinos, have family values.

> Lisa: I think that when it comes to emotional aspects, when it comes to identifying with a group that honors family, the responsibility that parents, grandparents and children have to each other, that is how I identify our Latino culture comparing with the Black culture.

[39] Even though being a minority does not directly imply being a victim of discrimination, some scholars would argue that it does.

> Alicia: We have, with the type of people that I know is the type of family, people who have a strong sense of family similar to ours, disciplining our children and family.

On the other hand, several participants stated that race or skin color do not affect whether one has something in common with one group or another, but cultural level[40] shapes commonality.

> Pablo: There are things in common with a certain sector of the community where there is no distinction whether they are black or white and there is another sector of the population that I have nothing in common.

When I asked Pablo what he would have in common with a certain sector of the population, he answered:

> Pablo: With one sector of the African American population, family, the desire to progress, the desire to work. And then there's another group where I don't share anything. But it doesn't matter whether they are African American or white.

Commonality with Whites

In Figure 5.2, I present perceptions of commonality with whites. On the questionnaire, focus group participants were also asked about how much in common they have with whites. They were asked to measure their perceptions of commonality on a scale from 0 (nothing) to 10 (a lot in common).

Figure 5.2 conveys that the majority of Latinos have some or a lot of commonality with whites. Latinos seem to perceive that they have more in common with whites than with blacks. The same was expressed throughout the focus groups. Latinos expressed that they had a lot in common with whites in comparison to blacks. Moreover, two main themes emerged throughout the focus groups: (1) Hispanics' and whites' similar values; and (2) goals and commonality does not involve race.

[40] After asking what participants meant by "cultural level," many said that it was adopting family values, having a drive to succeed and a desire to work hard, and having a high education level.

When it comes to values, the values and goals that they seem to share are the desire to work, to educate themselves, and to be polite to strangers:

> Linda: I think that we have a lot of things in common with workers and the ambition to work, to educate ourselves. They are friendly, respectful…
>
> Claudio: I have a lot of things in common with whites…Well, let me tell you like this. When you see a white American, you say hello to him and they acknowledge you and when you see a black person, they don't acknowledge you. For me, respect, values.

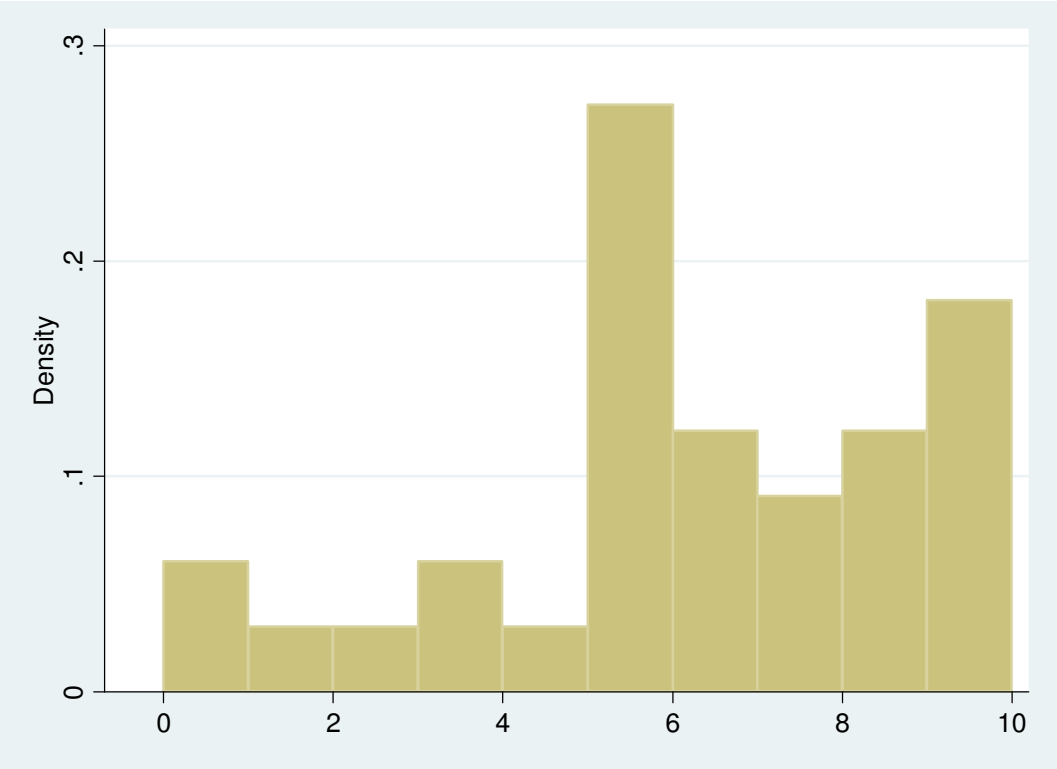

Figure 5.2 Latinos' Perceptions of Commonality with Whites

Similar to responses regarding commonality with blacks, many Latinos asserted that commonality does not involve race or skin color but certain values and goals.[41]

> Maria: I may have more in common with Blacks than with Whites. It's about how they act/their behavior...Someone who is open-minded, who has principles/values regarding family, job and wants to move forward.

[41] Often referred to as "cultural level" in the focus groups.

Overall, I can assert that Latinos convey that they may have more in common with whites than with Latinos, but a significant portion of Latinos think that cultural level and not race shapes perceptions of commonality.

Competition

Besides commonality, I explore Latinos' perception of competition with blacks and whites in New Orleans. I discuss Latinos' attitudes of each racial group separately. First, I describe Latinos' competition based on results from questionnaire questions and then discuss the major themes that emerged in Latinos' answers throughout the focus groups.

Competition with Blacks

Figure 5.3 presents the perceptions of competition that the focus group participants have with blacks based on their questionnaire answers. The participants were asked to indicate how much competition they perceive with blacks on a scale from 0 (none) to 10 (a lot of competition). The figure illustrates that the majority of Latinos perceive that they have no or little competition with blacks and a few individuals perceive a lot of competition. In the focus groups, some Latinos stated that they did not perceive competition with blacks, but the theme that emerged continuously in Latinos' responses was that a good bit of competition exists in the workplace among Latino blue-collar workers and in blue collar jobs such as construction.[42] Moreover, perceptions of competition were associated with discrimination between blacks and Latinos in the workplace.

Some stated that the discrimination was brought upon by blacks toward Latinos.

> Marisa: I worked with them at Kmart and I noticed some racism toward Latinos a good bit. They try to help each other and sometimes when one tries to do the best job that he/she can do and it's like they don't like it when one does it. They were frustrated…I noticed that they didn't like it because one is reliable,

[42] Many Latinos with a high socioeconomic status did not perceive competition. Latinos with a low socioeconomic status were more likely to perceive competition and discrimination than those with a high socioeconomic status.

on time. When I was doing my job, they wanted me to do their job too. They are very opportunistic.

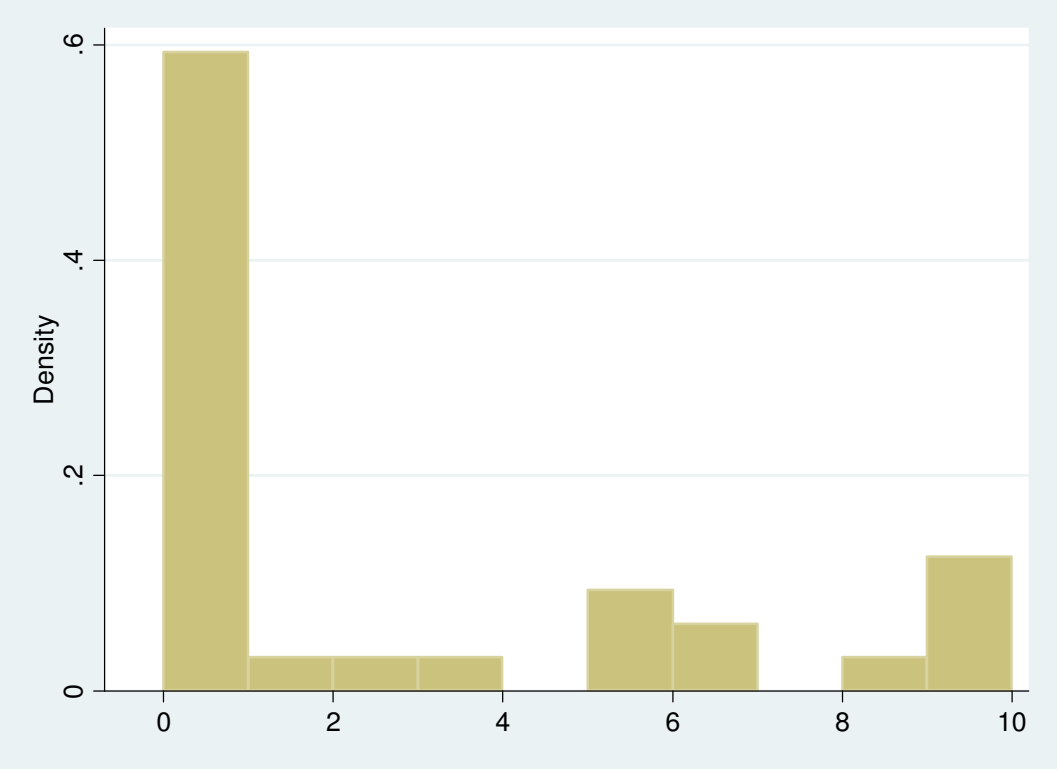

Figure 5.3. Latinos' Perceptions of Competition with Blacks

However, others recognized that Latinos discriminate against blacks also.

> Lisa: I have observed that among the lower classes and among poor laborers, I noticed a lot of competition between them [Latinos and blacks] and to a certain extent, I noticed some discrimination of one against the other and mostly Latinos against blacks in order to prove that they are at a higher level than blacks are and that they are not at the bottom, at the lowest level of the social ladder.

Moreover, it is important to mention that some Latinos throughout the focus groups addressed the idea, which circulated greatly throughout New Orleans months after hurricane Katrina, that Latinos are taking jobs away from African Americans. They stated with confidence that Latinos are hard workers, doing work that is not highly sought after and are better workers than blacks.

> Monica: We came here to work and they [Latino laborers] were doing the work that no one else here wanted to do.
>
> Marisa: They [blacks] tell us, 'you came here to take our jobs. You come from the outside. We are here.' [But] so why don't you do the job since you live here? If you would do the jobs with the capacity of people who are reasonable would do it, we wouldn't be here occupying space that you would be able to occupy.

Competition with Whites

Figure 5.4 presents Latinos' questionnaire responses regarding perceptions of competition with whites. Similar to statements made about blacks in the questionnaire, the majority of Latinos' responses note that Latinos perceive little or no competition with whites. However, several Latino focus group participants noted that they perceive some competition with whites. Hence, Latinos may not perceive much of a difference between blacks and whites when it comes to competition.

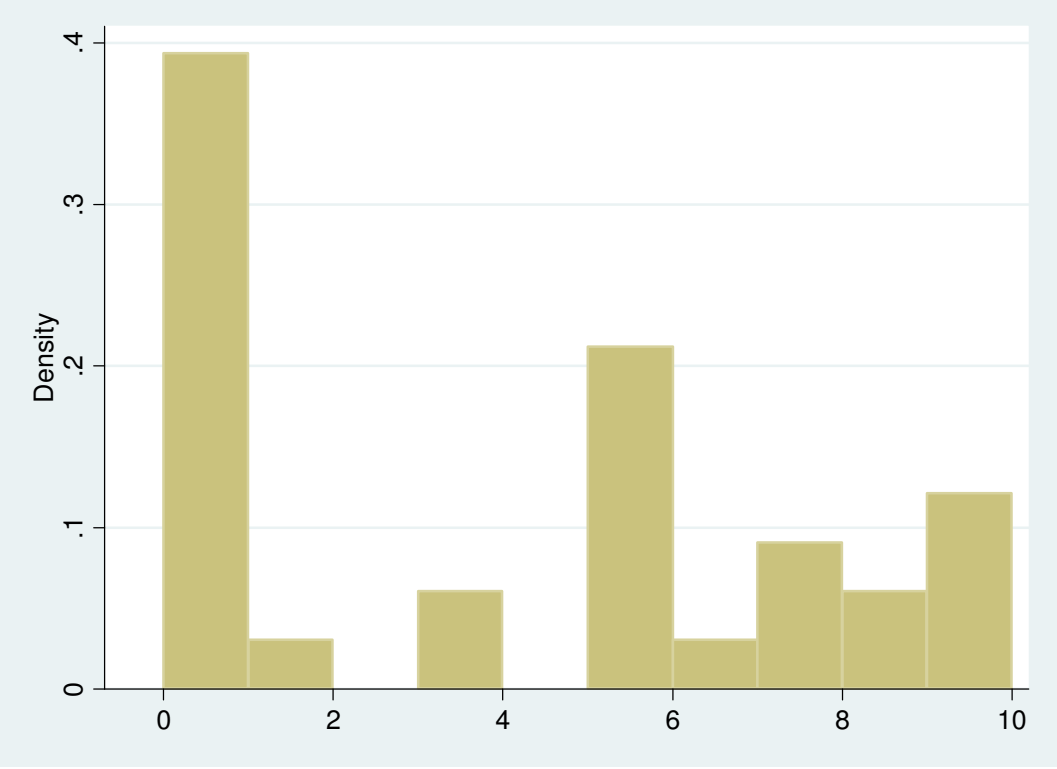

Figure 5.4 Latinos' Perceptions of Competition with Whites

In the focus groups, three major themes emerged. First, several stated that there is little or no competition with whites. For instance, Mario said, "No, I don't think competition exists at all." Second, similar to responses regarding competition with blacks, numerous Latinos took into account socioeconomic status when talking about their competition with whites. Several said that Latinos have a lot of competition with whites who have a high socioeconomic status. On the other hand, a few participants said that Latinos compete with whites who have a low socioeconomic status. It is important to mention that the socioeconomic status of those participants who perceived competition matches the socioeconomic status of whites whom they feel that they compete with.

> Monica: It also depends on the type of job and the level that you are in.
>
> Linda: I also don't think that there is competition especially with educated Americans, so there is no competition. One offers everything he/she has so maybe a little competition, but this is with people who have no skills or don't want to work or something.
>
> Maria: Yes, not necessarily having to do with race but of level of education of the people or in some cases like friends at work.

Third, and similar to perceptions of competition with blacks, some Latinos linked competition with discrimination.

> Isabel: I feel that there is a good bit of competition with us. And we try to, well, in my opinion, we try to be equal to them in education, schools, where we live, work. But them toward us, they judge us based on the color of our skin or by our hair, physical things.
>
> Marisa: It seems like we are bothering them. I notice it. I personally notice it. I live in an area that is majority white. I am the only Latino there...They reject you.

In general, there are several similarities in the way that Latinos perceive competition with blacks and whites. First, Latinos do not perceive a great deal of competition with whites and blacks overall. Second, for Latinos who do perceive competition with whites and blacks, socioeconomic status shapes perceptions. Third, Latinos who perceive competition link that

competition (with blacks and whites) with discrimination. However, there are a few differences in the way that Latinos perceive competition with blacks and whites. Unlike discussions about competition between blacks and Latinos, the discussions about competition between whites and Latinos did not include anything about Latinos discriminating against whites. Furthermore, the idea that Latinos were taking jobs away from whites in a post-Katrina world was never raised either. These differences may or may not be applicable only to the relationships between Latinos and blacks and Latinos and whites in New Orleans.

Effect of Contact on Attitudes

Besides asking questions regarding perceptions of commonality and competition, I guided the discussion towards an examination of the effect of contact on racial attitudes, specifically perceptions of commonality and competition toward whites and blacks. This question was not addressed in the questionnaire but it was addressed in the focus groups.

Effect of Contact on Attitudes toward Blacks

Latinos' responses to the effect of contact on their attitudes toward blacks consisted in general of two answers: contact has a positive effect on attitudes toward blacks and contact does not shape attitudes, but cultural level does.

Many focus group participants state that contact has positive effect on their views toward blacks.

> Alicia: Oh yes, contact affects, of course. For me in a positive manner of course.
>
> Monica: When you start talking to them, you start realizing that…they have the same type of lifestyle that we have. They think the same regarding political views and so I think that it's for the best to have contact. Not for the worst.

On the other hand, some stated that contact does not shape their views toward blacks. Furthermore, many who said that contact does not affect their views stated that blacks' cultural level[43] does.

> Rosa: It depends on the cultural level…of the person. That has a big influence …It depends definitely on the cultural level…But if it's a regular person that doesn't have probably, just elementary school degree, it's one thing.
>
> Marco: It depends on the level that one is what and it is not always positive, in my case, I don't know.

Effect of Contact on Attitudes toward Whites

The participants were also asked if contact affected their attitudes toward whites. A few said that contact had a positive effect and many said that contact did not affect their views toward whites.

> Victoria: Being close to them [whites] has made me recognize the values that they have and of course the values that we have and it has been positive.
>
> Bill: Positive, because if not I would have left.

Among those who stated that contact has no effect on attitudes, some stated that cultural level drives racial attitudes and not contact.

> Pablo: No, it has no effect-contact.
>
> Tony: No, contact does not affect at all…No, just because I know many whites doesn't mean that I can talk about how it affects my views of whites.
>
> Rosa: According to the cultural level, the competition will be different but it exists. And the contact is the same because I can talk with certain people whoever they are: white or whoever, African American and it depends on the level because probably I can have many things in common with certain people but with others say hello, bye.

[43] As mentioned previously, when asked what individuals refer to by "cultural level," they stated that cultural level has to do with one's education level, desire to work and succeed, and family values.

Thus, when comparing the effect of contact on Latinos' attitudes toward whites and blacks, I find many similarities. For some Latinos, contact has a positive effect on their views toward blacks as well as whites. However, for others, contact does not shape their racial attitudes. Moreover, many Latinos who think that contact does not shape their attitudes argue that individuals' (blacks' and whites') cultural level plays a key role in shaping Latinos' racial attitudes.

Stereotypes

Although I did not specifically ask focus group participants of the stereotypes that they held of blacks and whites, several implicit and explicit stereotypes were expressed throughout the focus groups. I think that it is important for me to convey these positive and negative stereotypes in order to paint a better picture of Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites.

Overall, Latinos adopted more negative stereotypes of blacks than whites. Many of the negative black stereotypes convey that many Latinos think that blacks tend to be lazy, uneducated and opportunistic.

> Tony: I learned in time that if the Black population prepares itself like every other human being and doesn't receive as much as it does today…It prepares itself, studies and works, it will be as competitive as any other race.
>
> Elena: They [blacks] don't try to progress.
>
> Marco: The educational preparation of the White race is superior to that of the Black race.
>
> Gertrudis: These people [blacks] have to be controlled by the church because they can't be controlled by ideals nor anything else.

However, I want to assert that not all individuals expressed negative stereotypes of blacks. Several participants stated that not all blacks are the same.

> Flor: I notice that in my race [among Cubans] there are things in common [with blacks]. We have the same human feelings. Like I was saying earlier, there are good people and bad people. There are good and bad-that's the difference that I notice.

Stereotypes toward whites tended to be a lot more positive. Several Latinos spoke of whites' punctuality and strong sense of responsibility. Moreover, a few individuals expressed admiration for whites.

> Victoria: They are always on time, it is something really impressive about these people.

> Ana: We [Latinos] will never get to them/their [whites] level. We can always try but we will never…There are all types of Americans[44] [whites] though too. There are some Americans who aren't, but the majority of Americans do…They care about being punctual.

> Miguel: They [whites] have responsibility because they are responsible people. If you tell them to be somewhere at a certain time, there are there at that certain time. But Latinos, when you tell them to come at seven you know that they will show up a half an hour later.

Thus, Latinos view whites in a more positive light than blacks. Nevertheless, Latinos recognize that not all individuals are the same and there can be good and bad characteristics in everyone.

Future Race Relations

Towards the end of each focus group, I asked individuals about future race relations among Latinos, blacks and whites. I asked this question in order to obtain a better understanding of how they perceive blacks and whites and how they perceive that Latinos as a minority group compares and relates to other racial groups.

In general, many Latinos perceive that race relations between whites and Latinos will remain the same and be positive.

[44] It is interesting that many Latinos in the focus groups referred to whites as "Americans" and blacks as blacks.

> Diego: I think that it will be the same, cooperative and peaceful. It's going to be pretty much the same because it doesn't seem…things will start to even out and will be all balanced and people will start to realize that we are all people.
>
> Marco: I think that time will decide everything and this will lead to a better relation of love between both groups [Hispanics and whites] not at the US level but at the global level. Time will cure things from the past that every country has had and in this case but everything will get resolved.

On the other hand, Latinos perceive that future race relations between blacks and Latinos in general will worsen. As the Latino population in the U.S. increases, tensions will rise.

> Linda: With African Americans, I don't think that things will improve and it will be bad…they will see the large quantity of Hispanics that exist.
>
> Maria: They [blacks] could form some sort of alliance to be able to stand up against the oppression that they experience by the Hispanic community because we are here. They are worried about that so I think that they will act in a way that is more discriminatory because they feel more limited.

Nevertheless, some participants attributed competition levels to cultural level.

> Bill: Competition will be at the cultural level of the worker who is not qualified, does not have a degree…But the rest who have a certain cultural level and education level there is not that much competition…The problem is when it comes to ugly competition it will be like in any other society, in the more inferior strata.

I would also like to add that a few participants in one focus group asserted that they envision that blacks and whites will come together and team up against Hispanics. Although this is not a major theme, this idea is not commonly found throughout the racial attitudes literature.

> Maria: Blacks and whites against Hispanics. That is how it will be.

Consequently, Latinos perceive that race relations between whites and Latinos and blacks and Hispanics will differ. Moreover, cultural level will play a role in shaping future race relations among the three groups.

Additional Observations

In addition to the stereotypes that were expressed throughout the focus groups, several topics were introduced in the discussions. First, O.J. Simpson was brought up several times in discussions of African Americans. A few individuals brought up O.J. Simpson in order to explain that not all blacks are the same and that some blacks like Mr. Simpson have money, power and are competition for Latinos.

> Pablo: Like O.J. Simpson, they let him go because he had money that's it…I wouldn't have been able to compete at the same level as O.J. Simpson if I would have been black at that moment.
>
> Marisa: Only for the fact that he was black, they didn't want him to get him [O.J. Simpson]. If you do something wrong, regardless of whether you are black or gringo[45] or whatever, you have to take responsibility for yourself and what you are doing.

Another important point that needs to be made regarding Latinos' racial attitudes is that a few Latinos in the focus groups questioned their race. For instance, after asking how much contact the participants have with whites, one participant stated:

> Maria: But whites are not Hispanics, right?

I reassured the participants that for the purposes of this study, I would not associate whites with Hispanics and treat these two groups as separate. Moreover, in the beginning of one focus group, I introduced the topic of our discussion (Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites) and was told by one participant that she was not Hispanic and was white. Since she was born in a Latin American country, I told her that for the purposes of the focus group, she could be identified as Latino and not white because I would be referring to another group. She agreed with me.

[45] Focus group participants used the term "gringo" interchangeably with whites at times.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, I explore Latinos' attitudes toward blacks and whites using focus group data from New Orleans. The analyses and conclusions in this chapter are simply meant to supplement the results in the quantitative chapter on Latino attitudes; any independent conclusions from these analyses should be tentative. Specifically, I examine Latinos' perceptions of commonality and competition toward blacks and whites and examine the effect that contact has on these racial attitudes.

I make several noteworthy conclusions. First, Latinos may have more contact with whites than with blacks. Second, when it comes to commonality, Latinos may perceive more commonality with whites than blacks. Nevertheless, several Latinos think that cultural level, not race, drives perceptions of commonality with whites. This finding is supported to a certain extent by my quantitative results presented in the previous chapter. In Chapter 4 I argue that some Latinos may not think in terms of race when it comes to perceptions of commonality.

Third, regarding competition, Latinos may not perceive a great deal of competition with blacks and whites. However, socioeconomic status greatly shapes Latinos perceptions of competition with blacks and whites. This finding is also supported by my quantitative results. Discrimination experiences were often discussed when talking of competition with blacks and whites. Fourth, regarding the effect of contact on racial attitudes, I find some support for contact theory. The more contact that Latinos have with blacks and whites, the more positive they perceive them. Again, this conclusion is supported by the quantitative results in the previous chapter. On the other hand, contact is not always expressed as a determinant of Latino racial attitudes. Several participants asserted that their attitudes

toward whites and blacks were strongly influenced by their cultural level and the cultural level of the person whom they contact.

Why are these results important? First, this study is very unique. This is the first study that examines Latinos' racial attitudes toward blacks and whites in New Orleans. Moreover, no other study takes a qualitative approach to exploring Latinos' perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes of blacks and whites. Second, I find that socioeconomic status and what many call "cultural level" shapes Latinos' racial attitudes. Socioeconomic status has been found to shape racial attitudes, but this study portrays how prevalent it is in Latinos' minds when thinking about whites and blacks. Third and lastly, the results of this study are critical because they provide insight into how differently Latinos perceive whites and blacks. The implicit and explicit negative stereotypes about blacks expressed throughout the focus groups shed light on the idea that many Latinos carry preconceived notions of race and superiority with them to the U.S.

So, what do these results mean in terms of coalition formation among Latinos, blacks and whites? Overall, based on these results, Latinos are more likely to form political coalitions with whites than African Americans. Moreover, the strong implicit and explicit stereotypes convey that Latinos view whites much more favorably than blacks. On the other hand, support for contact theory overall sheds light on the fact that Latinos' contact with blacks may result in future coalition building between the two groups. Nevertheless, it is important for me to recognize that some Latinos may form coalitions with others if they share a certain "cultural level." Some Latinos may form coalitions with others who have the same values, education level and desire to work hard.

CHAPTER 6: BLACKS AND BROWNS TOGETHER FOREVER? BLACKS' PERCEPTIONS OF COMMONALITY, COMPETITION AND STEREOTYPES OF LATINOS

During the 1960s, race (particularly centered around whites and blacks) was fervently discussed in classrooms, churches, the media, town hall meetings, protests and dinner tables. Even though many efforts have been made to reduce the racial divide and racial injustices in the U.S., race continues to be discussed and debated today. Latinos, the largest minority group in the United States, are very much prevalent in these discussions. Hence, whites, blacks *and* Latinos are prevalent in race and ethnicity discussions regarding events such as the gang turf wars in the city of Los Angeles, the rebuilding New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, the election of President Barack Obama and the nomination of Supreme Court Justice Sotomayor.

Recent literature on racial attitudes has centered on blacks and Hispanics (Gay, 2004; Gay, 2006; McClain, Carter, DeSoto, Lyle, Grynaviski, Nunnally, Scotto, Kendrick, Lackey, and Cotto, 2006; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007). Some argue that due to their similar socioeconomic backgrounds and experiences of discrimination, Latinos and blacks have a great deal in common and should form political and policy coalitions. On the other hand, several scholars have argued that race relations between Latinos and African Americans is not that simple and that stereotypes and political and economic competition impede these groups from coexisting together happily ever after.

The literature on perceptions of commonality and competition among racial groups focuses heavily on relations between Hispanics and African Americans emphasizing the implications for coalition building between the two groups (Kaufmann, 2003; McClain et.. al, 2006; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008). This literature has focused greatly on the determinants of the precursors of coalition formation such as linked fate and

demographic attributes, but very few scholars have focused on the effect that contact has on perceptions of commonality and competition. Another major gap in the racial attitudes literature is that blacks' attitudes toward Latinos have not been explored in comparison to their views toward whites. Moreover, few scholars have adopted qualitative methods such as focus groups to explore blacks' views of Latinos.

Using the 2004 National Politics Survey (NPS) data, U.S. Census data, as well as focus group data collected in the city of New Orleans, I attempt to reduce the gaps in the racial attitudes and coalition formation literatures and obtain a better understanding of what blacks think of Latinos by developing models that explore contact as a determinant of blacks' commonality, competition and stereotypes of Latinos. In these models I test specifically the contact theory and the racial threat hypothesis. Some questions that I consider in this chapter include: How much do blacks think that they have in common with Latinos in comparison to whites? How likely are blacks to adopt positive and negative stereotypes of Latinos? Do blacks perceive Latinos and whites in the same way? How much political and economic competition do blacks perceive that they have with Latinos and whites? Does contact theory or the racial threat hypothesis do a better job in explaining blacks' attitudes? In considering these questions, I also explore racial and socioeconomic demographic characteristics that may shape black attitudes.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this section, I provide a brief overview of the literature on the precursors of coalition formation such as perceptions of commonality and competition of blacks toward Latinos and whites. First, I provide a review of the literature on perceptions of commonality and competition as it relates to African Americans. Then, I discuss the literature regarding the effect of contact and context on racial attitudes.

Precursors of Coalition Formation: Commonality

The literature on the determinants of coalition building centers on perceptions of commonality. McClain and Stewart (2002: 156) assert that the formation of political coalitions require that groups "have similar goals, desire similar outcomes, and be willing to pursue their objectives in a collaborative and cooperative fashion."

Black/Latino Commonality

Several studies have explored black perceptions of commonality with Latinos. Furthermore, numerous works on black/Latino commonality and competition directly address implications for coalition building between these two groups.

When discussing the prospects for coalition-building between blacks and Latinos, McClain (1996) argues that both groups have similar concerns regarding poverty and discrimination, creating a situation that is conductive to the formation of coalitions between the two groups. Moreover, McClain states that some of the factors that influence the formation of coalitions include perception of prejudice of the other group, group size, other group size, socioeconomic status, and political rewards.

In a more recent study of black/brown relations using national survey data, McClain and Stewart (2002) examine blacks' perceptions of commonality with Latinos and find that blacks feel closer to Latinos (45%) than whites (34%) and Asians (7%) (182). This study is part of a larger project to explore the social and political dilemmas that minorities experience in the U.S., general race relations in the U.S. and the political behavior of minority groups.

Mindiola, Niemann and Rodriguez (2002) examine black/Latino relations and find that blacks and Latinos have similar attitudes in when it comes to topics such as gay rights, prayer in public schools, maintaining ethnic culture, and government support for the needy. Moreover, they contend that a possible area of coalition building is in electoral politics.

Since both groups tend to align themselves with the Democratic Party and have similar issue stances, they have the potential to shape the results of a citywide election (Mindiola et. al, 2002, 109). Mindiola et. al also distinguish native-born Latinos from foreign-born Latinos and suggest that commonality between native Latinos and blacks can be strong since they both share experiences with racism and are more knowledgeable about American culture than Latinos who were not born in the United States (110).

In a study involving focus groups and surveys of African Americans and Latinos residing in New Orleans before and after Hurricane Katrina, Silas Lee and Associates (2008) examine commonalities between blacks and Latinos and their views toward future coalition building. They find that when it comes to views toward affordable housing, health care and criminal justice, both groups strongly view these issues as integral to their survival and well-being. Both Latinos and African-Americans mentioned that their experiences with discrimination were problematic and asserted that discrimination was a significant hindrance to their success in society. Furthermore, the study finds that more than four in five blacks interviewed think that alliances with Latinos in New Orleans are very important (60%) or somewhat important (23%).

Precursors of Coalition Formation: Competition

Competition has been associated with the literature on coalition formation since it can be seen as bringing about the downfall of coalitions or in preventing them from forming in the first place (Barreto and Sanchez, 2008: 3).

Black/Latino Competition

Mladenka (1989) examines the degree to which racial minorities, particularly blacks and Latinos, are close to obtaining equal shares of public resources and finds that Latino and black representation in a city council creates a favorable environment for both blacks and

Latinos (185). Hence, he implies that city council representation can assist both Latino and black communities while decreasing the competition level between the two.

In a later work, McClain and Karnig (1990) explore the presence of socioeconomic and political competition between Latinos and blacks. Their research unveils mixed evidence of direct competition between blacks and Latinos. They find that little socioeconomic competition exists between the two groups, but that political competition among blacks and Latinos may be present under certain conditions (e.g. as blacks and Hispanics succeed politically, political competition between the two groups occurs particularly when the presence of whites in minority-majority cities is small).

It is important to mention that although the works by Mladenka (1989) and McClain et. al (1990) do not directly address individuals' perceptions of competition, they are included in this review of the literature since they address various types of competition that provide insight into attitudes that can develop because of the variety of these competitions.

On the other hand, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) explore the extent that whites, blacks, browns and Asians perceive that they are in competition with each other. They find great support for the racial alienation hypothesis—i.e., when members of a particular race feel alienated from society, they are more likely to respond by perceiving other group members as social and political threats (951). They assert that blacks perceive much smaller levels of competition with Latinos than whites with Latinos. In addition, contact and income negatively shape blacks' perception of competition with Latinos.

Particularly regarding labor competition, Mindiola et. al (2002) find that competition exists between blacks and Latinos. Blacks feel a sense of entitlement to some institutions because of the struggles that they experienced in the past and throughout the civil rights movement influencing many blacks to believe that Latinos are taking advantage of their

achievements, negatively affecting the relationship between these two groups. Furthermore, the scholars argue that blacks' competition and resentment toward Latinos are affected by Mexican immigrants entering formerly black residential and business areas and Hispanics taking jobs formerly held by blacks.

Effect of Contact on Racial Attitudes

A key theory in the racial attitudes literature is contact theory, when individuals have close and supportive contact with other groups, their hostility toward these groups is likely to decrease as each group gets to know the other better (Fetzer, 2000).

Bobo and Hutchings (1996) provide some support for contact theory using data from the 1992 Los Angeles County Social Survey. They explore the effect of social alienation on perceptions of competition and find that the more Latinos and Asians are socially isolated from blacks, the more likely that they perceive them as competitors. Regarding African Americans' and Asians' social alienation from Latinos, contact negatively affects viewing Latinos as competitors.

Unlike Bobo and Hutchings (1996), McClain et. al (2006) focus their study on the city of Durham, North Carolina. The scholars examines the extent to which Latino immigrants hold negative stereotypes toward blacks and find strong support for contact theory. They find that Hispanics who have more social contact with African Americans are less predisposed to espouse negative stereotypes of blacks than those who do not have a lot of contact.

Contact theory is also tested in the literature on blacks' immigration attitudes. Morris (2000) examines the effect that contact has on blacks' support for Proposition 187 and finds mixed results. He finds that, as the number of Asian Americans living in close proximity to blacks increases, black support for Proposition 187 decreases. On the other hand, as the

number of Latinos living in close proximity to blacks increases, black support for the proposition is augmented.

Effect of Context on Racial Attitudes

A key theory in the contextual effects literature is the racial threat hypothesis (also called threat theory/power theory), suggesting that racial attitudes change as members of the majority perceive a threat by members of the minority. As the size of the minority population increases, the perception of threat also increases, and this results in increased negative perceptions of the minority population.

In the racial attitudes literature regarding perceptions of commonality and competition, support for the racial threat hypothesis is mixed. Mollenkopf (1997) examines the determinants of the formation biracial coalitions in the city of New York and asserts that population size of Latinos and blacks results in great tensions between the two groups. Moreover, the growing Dominican population in New York has resulted in competition and severe tensions between Puerto Ricans and Dominicans and African Americans and Dominicans. These tensions have even caused some Puerto Ricans and blacks to support banning Dominicans from voting in New York City elections.

In a study using survey data from the Detroit area, Welch, Sigelman, Bledsoe and Combs (2001) compare 1968 data with 1992 data to explore the role that neighborhood racial context influences whites' and blacks' racial attitudes. The authors find that black and white residents who live in mixed neighborhoods were more likely to acknowledge anti-black discrimination than those who live in a homogenous neighborhood.

Similar to Welch et. al (2001), Gay (2004) asserts that context matters, but unlike Welch et. al, Gay concentrates her study on the contextual determinants of blacks' racial attitudes. She measures socioeconomic environment in terms of residents' education level

and neighborhood quality (e.g. presence of safe, clean streets and high home values). The scholar finds that neighborhood quality has a negative effect on linked fate and perceived discrimination. In addition, blacks who live in proximity to other blacks are more likely to possess linked fate and state that they have experienced discrimination.

In a later study, Gay (2006) explores the effect of context on blacks' attitudes toward Latinos. She finds that "where Latinos enjoy an economic advantage relative to blacks, African Americans are more likely to express racial prejudice toward the group and to engage in defensive political behavior" (2006: 995). Gay also finds that the economic resources that blacks demand influence their attitudes toward Latinos; hence, when Latinos have an economic advantage over blacks, African Americans are likely to express racial prejudice toward Latinos and act defensively (995).

Overall, in these last couple of paragraphs, I have outlined the major theories in the coalition formation literature and provided an overview of the research regarding blacks' perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes. Some works indicate that Latinos and blacks perceive to have a lot in common with each other. Others assert that blacks perceive to have more in common with Latinos than Latinos have with them. When it comes to competition, some scholars argue that little Latino/black political competition exists, others argue the opposite or that white presence is a mitigating factor to competition. Moreover, several scholars argue in favor of the contact theory regarding black racial attitudes and others do not. Hence, the literature on black racial attitudes is not very unified. This study attempts to increase further our understanding of blacks' racial attitudes.

MODELING BLACKS' RACIAL ATTITUDES

In this section, I outline my models of African Americans' attitudes toward Latinos focusing on perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes. I focus particularly on the effects of contact (racial makeup of neighbors, coworkers and friends) and context.

Most of the data used in this study comes from the 2004 National Politics Survey. Unlike numerous national surveys, this survey has large representative samples of blacks (N=756) as well as Latinos (N=757). In addition, this survey includes key racial attitudes topics that are seldom included in other national surveys such as perceptions of closeness, competition as well as stereotypes of racial groups.

The statistical method adopted to answer the research questions in this chapter is ordered logit.[46] A summary of the variables used in this study can be found in Tables 3.6 and 3.7 in Chapter 3.

Since survey data can only do so much in capturing the depth and intensity of black attitudes toward Latinos and whites, I rely on some qualitative data, particularly from focus groups, to explore further the determinants of black racial attitudes. The focus group results are meant to reinforce and not supplement the quantitative findings. Focus groups "get at the concerns, needs, and feelings that underlie people's opinions and preferences" (Briand, 1993: 542). Furthermore, focus group research does not inhibit the number of topics that can be discussed, the background information that researchers can provide and the intensity and depth of participants' responses (Hibbing and Theiss-Morse, 1995).

Using data obtained from focus groups conducted of African Americans in the city of New Orleans, I include quotes of black attitudes toward Latinos and whites throughout

[46] Predicted probabilities for the ordered logit models are available upon request.

the results section of this chapter.[47] [48] I chose to incorporate focus group results from New Orleans for several reasons. First, New Orleans can be seen as an emerging Latino city as opposed to a traditional Latino city such as Miami, Houston, New York and Los Angeles. The city has seen a rapid increase in Latinos in a few years after Hurricane Katrina struck the gulf coast in August 2005. Moreover, a more recent report with data compiled by the Greater New Orleans Community Data Center indicates that as of 2008, Hispanics make up 9.4 percent of the population in Jefferson Parish[49] (7.1% in 2000) and 6.3 percent of the New Orleans metro area[50] (4.4% in 2000) (Plyer and Ortiz 2009). The themes that arise from focus groups in New Orleans may not tell the exact same story that emerges from other emerging cities, yet the racial dynamics that occur as a large out-group enters and remains in a city may be very similar to those of other emerging Latino cities.

Besides the fact that New Orleans is an emerging Latino city, New Orleans, like many cities in the southern region of the United States, has a long history of discrimination and oppression of blacks and racial tensions between African Americans and whites. Hence, the way that blacks respond to the influx of an out-group such as Latinos in New Orleans may not be very different from the way that blacks in other southern cities respond to Latinos.

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[47] The main focus of these focus groups were to explore black attitudes toward Latino immigration in the Greater New Orleans area, specifically examining the role that economic self-interest plays in shaping attitudes. Nevertheless, because Latinos in New Orleans was the predominant topic throughout the focus groups, respondents often discussed indirectly and directly their positive and negative stereotypes of Latinos and how much closeness and competition they perceive to have with them.

[48] The focus groups consisted of 32 African Americans with an average age of 46. The majority of the participants went to college but did not graduate and make less than $10,000 a year.

[49] In Louisiana, a parish is the equivalent of a county in other states. Jefferson Parish includes the following cities: Avondale, Bridge City, Grand Isle, Gretna, Harahan, Harvey, Jefferson, Kenner, Lafitte, Marrero, Metairie, River Ridge, Terrytown, Timberlane, Wagamann, and Westwego.

[50] The New Orleans metro area includes the following seven parishes: Jefferson, Orleans, Plaquemines, St. Bernard, St. Tammany, St. Charles, St. John the Baptist and Washington.

Dependent Variables

My study explores blacks' racial attitudes toward Latinos based on three major categories: perceptions of commonality, competition, and stereotypes. These are seen as common precursors of coalition formation.

What distinguishes this study from many others on black racial attitudes is that I explore blacks' attitudes toward Latinos relative to their views of whites. No other known study on black perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes has examined racial attitudes in this way. However, in the Latino racial attitudes literature, a few scholars have examined Latinos' attitudes toward blacks in comparison to their views of whites. For instance, Barreto and Sanchez (2008) examine Latino perceptions of competition with blacks while accounting for perceptions of overall competition, including competition with whites, blacks and other Latinos. Furthermore, Nteta and Wallsten (2007) explore Latinos' commonality and competition with blacks in comparison to their views of whites.

In order to get a good grasp on blacks' attitudes toward Latinos, it is not enough just to explore their views toward Latinos. Providing a comparison group like whites increases our understanding of what they think of Latinos and whether blacks view Latinos and whites in the same way. Whites have been identified as the majority racial group in the United States for decades. Due to the discrimination that blacks and Latinos have experienced in this country, do blacks perceive that Latinos are more like them as opposed to whites? Or do blacks perceive that they are more like whites since Latinos are the out-group, the immigrants who have come over to this country and who are their economic and political competitors?

Commonality

Individuals' commonality with those of a different race or ethnicity implies having certain factors in common with others (Kaufmann, 2003; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007). Moreover, commonality regarding goals and desires is crucial for the formation of political coalitions (McClain and Stewart, 2002: 156). When it comes to commonality measures in the 2004 NPS, I adopt measures of closeness. Although closeness to a particular individual is not exactly the same as examining how much commonality one has with another, commonality was not directly measured in the dataset. Nevertheless, being close to someone is strongly associated with having something in common with them. Also, closeness with a particular racial group can serve as the symbolic "glue"[51] that brings groups together and leads them to form coalitions. In addition, although my study focuses on blacks' closeness with Latinos, I explore blacks' closeness with whites in order to gauge a comparative understanding of African Americans' attitudes. The 2004 NPS variables that I use to measure commonality include closeness to Latinos and closeness to whites. Both of these variables are measured on a scale from 0 to 3 where 0 represents not close at all and 3 represents very close.

Competition

Competition can be seen as a detriment to political coalition formation (Barreto and Sanchez, 2008). The 2004 NPS competition measures that I employ in this study involve political and employment competition with Latinos and whites. They include: more jobs for Latinos, less jobs for people like me; more jobs for whites, less jobs for people like me; more influential Latinos in politics, less influential people like me and more influential whites in

[51] Term coined by Kaufmann, 2003 (200)

politics, less influential people like me. All of the competition variables range from 0 (strongly disagree) to 3 (strongly agree).

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are associated with negative generalizations made about a particular group—for instance, the adoption of jaundiced views of a racial group as lazy or violent (Peffley and Hurwitz, 1998). Some research conducted on stereotypes associates its findings with coalition building among Latinos, blacks and whites (Oliver and Wong, 2003; Gay, 2006; McClain et. al, 2006). Moreover, it makes sense to associate stereotypes with coalition building since individuals who adopt negative stereotypes of a particular group may be very unlikely to form mass coalitions with that group in comparison to individuals who adopt positive or no stereotypes of the group.

In this study, I adopt one measure of stereotypes that which is commonly used in the literature: hardworking/lazy scale of Latinos and hardworking/lazy scale of whites (McClain et. al 2006). The hardworking/lazy scale of Latinos is measured on a scale from -3 (Latinos are hardworking) to 0 (neither end) to 3 (Latinos are lazy). The hardworking/lazy scale for whites is measured in the same way.

Independent Variables

Contact

The effects of contact on attitudes have resounded in the racial attitudes literature for numerous decades. Moreover, contact theory (contact has a positive effect on racial attitudes) has been studied extensively. However, the theory has not been directly tested in the literature on the precursors of coalition formation, particularly regarding perceptions of commonality and competition between blacks and Latinos. Hence, in order to explore the effect of contact on black racial attitudes, I incorporate three categories of independent

variables in my study: neighborhood ethnic mix, workplace ethnic mix, and friend ethnic mix.

The first contact variable explored is neighborhood ethnic mix. The makeup of individuals' neighborhood has been found to influence adoption of stereotypes and racial attitudes overall (Sigelman and Welch, 1993; Welch et. al, 2001). Consequently, I suspect that neighborhood ethnic mix influences blacks' stereotypes of Latinos and whites as well as other attitudes such as perceptions of commonality and competition. The neighborhood mix category includes having mostly Latino neighbors, having mostly black neighbors and having mostly white neighbors. These three neighborhood contact variables are included in all of the commonality, competition and stereotype models.

The first neighborhood contact variable is having mostly Latino neighbors. Based on contact theory, I suspect that having mostly Latino neighbors influence blacks to perceive commonality/closeness with Latinos but not be very likely to perceive competition and adopt stereotypes of Latinos. For the models regarding closeness with whites, I suspect that this variable has a negative effect since blacks do not view whites and Latinos in the same way.[52] For the competition and stereotype of whites models, I expect that the coefficient of having mostly Latino neighbors is positive. This variable is coded on a scale from 0 to 2 where 0 represents other and no Latino neighbors; 1 represents mixed Latino neighbors; and 2 represents mostly Latino neighbors.

The second neighborhood contact variable is having mostly white neighbors. As indicated prior, in order to get a good grasp on blacks' attitudes toward Latinos, it is important to explore their attitudes toward other racial groups such as whites. Moreover,

[52] Support for this statement comes from the descriptive results of the dependent variables which are described in the beginning of the results section. Moreover, Latinos and whites do not view blacks in the same way (Wilkinson, 2009; Wilkinson, 2010).

exploring the effect of having a white neighbor on blacks' attitudes toward Latinos/whites helps us obtain a better understanding of how blacks view Latinos and whites overall.[53] Similar to the Latino neighbor variable, this variable is measured on a scale from 0 (other, or no black neighbors) to 2 (mostly black neighbors). I suspect that blacks' contact with whites influences them to perceive whites positively and perceive Latinos as the outsiders and in a negative way. Hence, I hypothesize that this variable has a negative effect in the Latino closeness model and a positive effect in the Latino competition and stereotype models. Moreover, in line with contact theory, I suspect that having mostly white neighbors has a positive effect in the white closeness model and a negative effect in the white competition and stereotype models.

The third neighborhood contact variable is having mostly black neighbors. Similar to the white neighbor contact variable, including the effect of having mostly black neighbors helps us obtain a better grasp on blacks' views toward other minority groups and themselves. Are blacks with black neighbors more likely to perceive commonality with Latinos than those without black neighbors? Does having black neighbors affect African Americans' views toward other racial groups at all? Including this variable in all of my commonality, competition and stereotype models will assist in answering these questions. This variable is measured in the same way as the Latino and white neighbor variables: 0 (other, no black neighbors) to 2 (mostly black neighbors). Living close to other blacks shapes African Americans' views. For instance, Gay (2004) finds that blacks who live in proximity to other blacks are more likely to possess linked fate and state that they have experienced discrimination than those who do not have black neighbors. Moreover, I hypothesize that

[53] This argument is supported by findings in my chapter on Latinos' perceptions of commonality and competition with whites and blacks. I found that Latinos who have black friends are not very likely to perceive that they have something in common with whites and visa versa.

blacks do not view other African Americans, whites and Latinos in the same way. Hence, I suspect that this variable has a negative effect in the closeness models for whites and Latinos and a positive effect in the competition and stereotype models for whites and Latinos.

Although the effect of workplace ethnic mix on racial attitudes of Latinos, blacks and whites is not commonly explored, one's workplace is conducive to creating an environment where race relations can greatly be influenced. Furthermore, the proximity between individuals at the neighborhood level can compare to that proximity at the workplace and individuals' contact with others can actually be greater at the workplace than in neighborhoods. Hence, including workplace as a contact variable offers me a great opportunity to test the contact theory and explore another aspect of contact on blacks' racial attitudes. The workplace contact variables that I include are mostly Latino coworkers, mostly black coworkers and mostly white coworkers. These variables are included in all of the closeness, competition and stereotypes models.

The first workplace contact variable is mostly Latino coworkers. In line with contact theory, I hypothesize that a Latino workplace ethnic mix (having Latinos as the majority) has a positive effect on blacks' perceptions of closeness with Latinos and a negative effect on their perceptions of competition with and stereotypes of Latinos. I hypothesize that this variable negatively effects blacks' closeness with whites and positively effects blacks' competition and stereotypes of whites. This variable ranges from 0 to 2 where 0 represents other/no Latino coworkers; 1 represents mixed Latino coworkers; and 2 represents mostly Latino coworkers.

In order to obtain a better understanding of the effect of contact on blacks' attitudes toward Latinos and whites, I also include a second contact variable, mostly white coworkers. This variable is also measured on a scale from 0 (other, no white coworkers) to 2 (mostly

white coworkers). Since I suspect that blacks' contact with whites has a divisive effect influencing blacks to view Latinos negatively, I hypothesize that this variable has the opposite effect of having mostly Latino coworkers in the Latino models. Thus, this variable should have a negative effect in the Latino closeness model and a positive effect in the Latino competition and stereotype models. Moreover, in line with contact theory, I suspect that having mostly white coworkers has a positive effect in the white closeness model and a negative effect in the white competition and stereotype models.

The third workplace contact variable in my models is mostly black coworkers. This variable is comparable to the white coworker variable, since it tests contact theory, yet it explores the effect of having mostly black coworkers on blacks' perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes. It is coded in the same way as having mostly black coworkers. Based on Gay's (2004) finding that having black neighbors has a positive effect on African Americans' possessing linked fate with other blacks and asserting discrimination experiences, I suspect that this variable has a negative effect in the closeness models for whites and Latinos and a positive effect in the competition and stereotype models for whites and Latinos.

Similar to workplace ethnic mix, the effects of friend ethnic mix on blacks' attitudes toward Latinos has not been explored, yet including this variable in my models is essential since it portrays a relationship among individuals that truly embodies close contact. Moreover, friendship mix has been found to have a significant effect on blacks' perceptions of racial hostility when testing contact theory (Sigelman and Welch, 1993, 793).[54] In

[54] It is important to note that Sigelman and Welch (1993) recognize that friendship mix can influence racial attitudes and racial attitudes can influence friendship mix. Since individuals can choose their friends, a certain type of person may be more predisposed to having an interracial friendship mix than others. After obtaining more racial and demographic contextual data, I will address this issue. Nevertheless, Pettigrew et. al (2006) argue that contact, regardless of self-selection, in and of itself shapes attitudes.

accordance with contact theory, I suspect that friend ethnic mix positively influences blacks' perceptions of commonality with Latinos and negatively shapes their competition and stereotypes of Latinos. The three friend contact variables include mostly Latino friends, mostly black friends and mostly white friends. These variables are included in all of my models.

The first friend contact variable is having mostly Latino friends. Based on contact theory, I hypothesize that a Latino friendship (having mostly Latino friends) has a positive effect on blacks' perceptions of closeness with Latinos and a negative effect on their perceptions of competition with and stereotypes of Latinos. This variable is coded on a scale from 0 to 2 where 0 represents other/no Latino friends; 1 represents mixed Latino friends; and 2 represents mostly Latino friends.

Understanding blacks' attitudes toward Latinos can include examining their relationship and contact with whites; hence, I include a white friendship variable, having mostly white friends. This variable is measured on a scale from 0 (other/no white friends) to 2 (mostly white friends). Similar to the reasoning presented earlier, I suspect that having mostly white friends has a divisive effect on how blacks view Latinos causing them to view Latinos negatively. Consequently, I hypothesize that this variable has a negative effect in the Latino closeness model and a positive effect in the Latino competition and stereotype models. Moreover, in line with the contact theory, I suspect that having mostly white friends has a positive effect in the white closeness model and a negative effect in the white competition and stereotype models.

The third and final friend contact variable is mostly black friends. This variable explores the effect of having mostly black friends on blacks' racial attitudes. This variable is measured in the same way as the white friendship variable, but for blacks. Here, again, I use

Gay's (2004) finding (black neighbors increases blacks' linked fate with other blacks and assertions of discrimination experiences) to influence my hypothesis. I suspect that Having black friends creates a disruptive result for how blacks view Latinos and whites decreasing the likelihood that African Americans perceive closeness with whites and Latinos and increasing the likelihood that blacks adopt stereotypes and perceive them as competition.

Context

In this paper, I also explore the effect of context on black racial attitudes.[55] One contextual variable that I include in my models is living in the south. The southern part of the U.S. has a long history of discrimination, racism and overall racial tensions between blacks and whites. V.O. Key (1949) has even asserted that race is such an integral part of the south that race makes up a significant part of the social and political makeup of the southern part of the U.S.

Besides blacks and whites, Latinos are slowly entering in the social and political arenas in the south. As the number of Latinos in the south is increasing, racial tensions are also brewing. For instance, in the city of New Orleans, African Americans have not all responded positively to the large influx of Latinos after hurricane Katrina struck the Gulf Coast in 2005. Several have criticized and protested the entrance of Latinos into the city's blue collar workforce, and many perceive the entrance of Latinos as an economic and cultural threat (Eaton, 2005). Moreover, the city's mayor has even publicly suggested that there is a possibility that the city will be swamped by Mexican workers (Eaton, 2006).

[55] I was originally going to include racial context and socioeconomic context variables in the models. However, since I have not yet received the necessary information to include this contextual data, I hope to include it in future models.

In the racial attitudes literature, McClain et. al (2006) explore black/brown relations in the south. The scholars find that Latinos hold negative stereotypical views of blacks, yet Latinos' sense of linked fate with other Latinos strongly influences their attitudes toward blacks.

Consequently, living in the south presents an interesting and important context to explore racial attitudes. I suspect that living in the south significantly shapes blacks' racial attitudes toward Latinos. Due to the history of racial tensions between blacks and whites and brewing tensions between blacks and Latinos, I hypothesize that blacks who live in the south are less likely to feel close to Latinos and whites and more likely to perceive competition with them and adopt negative stereotypes than blacks who do not live in the south. This variable is coded as a dichotomy, where 0 represents not living in the south and 1 represents living in the south.[56]

Table 6.1 and 6.2 summarize the directional hypotheses presented above.

Table 6.1 Directional Hypotheses for Closeness Models

	LATINOS	**WHITES**
Latino coworker	+	-
Black coworker	-	-
White coworker	-	+
Latino neighbor	+	-
Black neighbor	-	-
White neighbor	-	+
Latino friend	+	-
Black friend	-	-
White friend	-	+
Living in the south	-	-

[56] The region identified as the south by the 2004 NPS is the one identified by the U.S. Census as the south. This region includes the following states: Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

Table 6.2 Directional Hypotheses for Competition and Stereotype Models

	BLACKS	WHITES
Latino coworker	-	+
Black coworker	+	+
White coworker	+	-
Latino neighbor	-	+
Black neighbor	+	+
White neighbor	+	-
Latino friend	-	+
Black friend	+	+
White friend	+	-
Living in the south	+	+

Control Variables[57]

Besides exploring the effect of context and contact on commonality, competition and stereotypes, I include several control variables in the models for Latinos and whites. As commonly found in racial attitudes literature, individual demographic attributes play integral roles in shaping attitudes stereotypes, perceptions of commonality and competition (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; McClain et. al, 2006; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007). Hence, I include age, income, gender, and education variables measured at the individual level in all of my models. Linked fate has also been found to play an integral role in racial attitudes. Specifically, linked fate with other Latinos significantly shapes Latinos' attitudes toward blacks (McClain et. al, 2006; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008). I include linked fate with blacks in order to obtain a better understanding of blacks' attitudes toward Latinos.

Besides demographic attributes and linked fate, commonality with ethnic groups has also been found to shape adoption of stereotypes and commonality among blacks, whites and Latinos (Welch et. al, 2001; Kaufmann, 2003). As a result, in all of the blacks' attitudes toward Latino models, I include closeness with blacks and closeness with whites as controls. I include closeness with blacks and closeness with Latinos in the white models.

[57] The operationalization of the control variables can be found in Tables 3.7 in Chapter 3.

EMPIRICAL RESULTS

I begin by providing some descriptive results relating to blacks' perceptions of closeness, competition and stereotypes of Latinos and whites. I estimate separate models for blacks' perceptions of Latinos and whites. The models focus on the role that contact and context play in shaping blacks' racial attitudes, and I also include other control variables in all of my models.[58]

In addition to presenting quantitative results, in this section I provide quotes from focus groups data collected from a sample of African Americans in the Greater New Orleans area and exploring their attitudes toward Latinos and immigration. These quotes illustrate the themes that emerged from the focus groups regarding blacks' general attitudes toward Latinos as well as perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes.

Blacks' Closeness with Latinos and Whites

Table 6.3 provides a description of blacks' closeness to Latinos, whites and other blacks. Overall, I find that the majority of blacks think that they are very or fairly close to Hispanics (68.8%) and whites (61.3%). These results suggest that blacks feel closer to Latinos than whites. Furthermore, when it comes to blacks' closeness to other blacks, the vast majority of respondents feel very close to blacks (90.6%). As a whole, blacks feel closer to other blacks than to whites and Latinos.

Throughout the focus groups, several African Americans expressed general positive views toward Latinos.

> Priscilla: I don't mind them, we're going to learn from them.
>
> Mike: I love Hispanics and have nothing against Hispanic people.

[58] In all of the models described in this chapter I checked for collinearity and did not find any evidence that collinearity is a problem. The mean VIF scores for all of the models are well below 10, as were the VIF scores for the individual variables in all of the models.

Table 6.3 Blacks' Closeness to Hispanics, Whites and Blacks

	%	N	%	N	%	N
How close do you feel to each of the following groups of people in your ideas, interests and feelings about things? Very close, fairly close, not too close, or not close at all?						
	Hispanics		Whites		Blacks	
Not close at all	11.2%	82	15.1%	111	2.7%	20
Not too close	20.0%	146	23.6%	174	6.7%	50
Fairly close	52.1%	380	49.1%	361	38.7%	287
Very close	16.7%	122	12.2%	90	51.9%	385
Mean	1.74		1.58		2.40	
Standard deviation	0.87		0.89		0.73	
N	730		736		742	

Some focus group participants compared Latinos to blacks and portrayed positive views toward Latinos and negative views toward other blacks.

> Lulu: We don't stick together. They stick together. We don't.
>
> Ashley: The blacks don't patronize. They don't.

Specifically, when it comes to blacks' perceptions of commonality with Latinos, several stated:

> Eloise: I don't know too much about them, we don't see them. They seem to be family-orientated, that's all I can say about them. Real family-orientated. That's in common with them, that's the only thing I say about them. Compared with my life, family orientated.
>
> Ginger: They like to eat. New Orleans people like to eat, Hispanics like to eat. They work hard, I like to work hard too. They're conscientious, I'm conscientious. Ah, well ah, I don't really know what else in common. You find something in common with every nationality.[59]

[59] I find it very interesting that someone pointed out that one can have something in common with everyone. In the models presented later in this chapter, I find that blacks' closeness with whites and other blacks has a positive effect on their closeness with Latinos. Moreover, I find in my Latino models that Latinos'

Many blacks also said that Latinos were minorities just like them.

> Lili: They are a minority. They're trying to help themselves.
>
> Priscilla: There is no conflict. We're all minorities.
>
> Louis: There's no history of conflict between us. We never fought each other, there's nothing against each other. There's no history of conflict between us. Conflict…when someone's preaching at you. Between blacks and whites.

These statements provide strong support for the rainbow coalition theory, blacks and Latinos will come together and form coalitions because they have less power than whites. Moreover, these statements convey that blacks do not view Latinos and whites in the same way and that they view Latinos more like them than whites.

In addition, some blacks recognized that Latinos were victims of discrimination.

> Louis: A lot of these people here are working underpaid but something need to be done because some of them are not getting paid at all…last week where they had to pay a big fine…I know that there's a lot of crime committed against them…I notice that now more than before.
>
> Teresa: Yeah, they pull up and just rob them.

Along the lines of racial conflict between blacks and whites, several blacks asserted that racism (white on black) has not disappeared in a post-hurricane Katrina world. Sometimes this racism is perpetuated by the news media and the city government.

> Lulu: Racism never really went away. They [whites] don't want to bothered with us… They treat us like second-class citizens…You know, they look at you with an attitude like "Why are you here?" or "What do you want?" You know, "can you afford to be here?" or "why you didn't you get in this line and not that line?"

---

commonality with whites/blacks has a positive effect on their perceptions of commonality with blacks/whites, respectively. This quote provides more support for the idea that some individuals may be likely to have (or try to find) something in common with everyone and not always think in terms of commonality with a particular race as a divisive factor for perceiving something in common.

> Kim: But it's like certain jobs we are limited to…So it's just like we only are kind of to a certain extent limited to fast food and retail instead of things like receptionist, law firm, assistant, and things of that sort. We don't even, we can't even tap into that market
>
> Lindsey: Like we're animals. Like they really depicted us as animals. Just herd everybody in, throw them back in this trailer park. They'll be ok. You know. Oh, yeah. Throw them in Baker. What?? You know these people have never been outside of, they have never left New Orleans. How do you just pick somebody up and throw them in a corner of somebody else's city. And, literally, in the corner. They're just herding people around.
>
> Kim: I know some people don't wanna move forward, but then the people that do try there's things pulling them away. You know, it's like you can't. New Orleans, the way things are set up, it's like you cannot succeed. And after Katrina, after them showing people how quote unquote ignorant we are and how below everyone's status we are. I know that doesn't sound right, but hey. Um, that just make, you know it just limits us even more.

Consequently, when it comes to blacks' views and perceptions of commonality with Latinos and their awareness of racism, blacks in New Orleans seem to feel closer to Latinos than whites. Some of the things that they report sharing with Latinos include minority status, being family-oriented, and liking to eat. Although focus group participants were not asked how much they perceive to have in common with whites, blacks' awareness of discrimination by whites was a popular theme throughout many discussions.

What are the determinants of blacks' perceptions of closeness with Latinos and whites? Table 6.4 presents ordered logit results for models of African Americans' perceptions of closeness with Latinos and whites using data from the 2004 NPS. One model depicts blacks' attitudes toward Latinos and the other presents attitudes toward whites.

Blacks' Closeness with Latinos

The model for blacks' closeness to Latinos does a fair job in explaining variation in the dependent variable (adjusted R^2: 0.132). Variables in almost all of the contact and context categories significantly shape black attitudes.

I find some support for contact theory. Blacks who have a Latino coworker (b = 0.415, t = 2.18) and a Latino friend (b = 0.509, t = 2.03) have significantly more favorable views toward Latinos. On the other hand, having a Latino neighbor and contact with blacks and whites overall do not have considerable effects on black attitudes.[60]

Table 6.4 Ordered Logit Results for Model of Blacks' Closeness with Latinos and Whites

	Latinos		Whites	
	b	z	b	z
Contact				
Latino coworker	0.415	2.18**	-0.055	-0.31
Black coworker	0.241	1.27	-0.018	-0.10
White coworker	0.365	1.90*	-0.164	-0.88
Latino neighbor	-0.162	-0.63	-0.172	-0.70
Black neighbor	-0.111	-0.42	-0.141	-0.56
White neighbor	-0.139	-0.54	0.155	0.63
Latino friend	0.509	2.03**	-0.301	-1.24
Black friend	-0.430	-1.53*	-0.115	-0.43
White friend	-0.443	-1.53*	0.557	2.02**
Context				
Living in south	-0.691	-3.66***	0.476	2.61***
Control Variables				
Age	-0.026	-4.23***	0.027	4.59***
Gender	-0.018	-0.09	-0.447	-2.43***
Education	0.221	2.61***	-0.041	-0.50
Household income	-0.248	-2.36**	0.093	0.91
Closeness with blacks	1.102	7.63***	-0.184	-1.31
Closeness with whites	0.641	5.58***	----	----
Closeness with Latinos	----	----	0.712	5.63***
Linked fate (blacks)	0.239	1.69*	-0.211	-1.58
N	488		488	
Pseudo R^2	0.132		0.065	
Log likelihood	-496.131		-558.036	
Mean VIF	1.78 (highest: 3.25)		1.81(highest: 3.24)	

Source: 2004 National Politics Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less

[60] I estimate an additional model in which I create an additive scale for the contact variables. These models do not perform as well as the model results reported here.

Regarding context and in line with what I hypothesized, blacks who live in the south are significantly less likely to perceive Latinos as close (b = -0.690, t = -3.60). More than likely, this is due to the fact that racial tensions in the south as a whole are greater than in areas outside of the south. However, this effect can also be attributed to the fact that blacks have fairly recently (with the exception of Texas and Florida possibly) been exposed to Latinos and thus may not feel like they know Hispanics well enough to be able to say that they are close to them.

Among the control variable results, it is noteworthy that education and household income have opposing effects on blacks' attitudes toward Latinos. In line with numerous works that explore the effect of education on racial attitudes, it is not surprising to find that education has a liberalizing effect. On the other hand, household income negatively shapes blacks' perceptions of closeness with Latinos. Low-income blacks feel closer to Latinos than higher-income blacks.

When it comes to examining the effect of closeness with blacks and whites on perceptions of closeness with Latinos, I find that both closeness with blacks and closeness with whites have significantly positive effects on black attitudes. This suggests that blacks may not view blacks, Latinos and whites in different ways. Furthermore, this finding may imply that blacks think that race/ethnicity is irrelevant when it comes to perceptions of closeness. Furthermore, this finding is supported by the statement made by a focus group participant stating that one can find something in common with everyone. On the other hand, I find that only contact with Latinos significantly shapes blacks' perceptions of closeness with them. Moreover, Table 6.3 illustrates that blacks do not perceive the same amount of closeness with Latinos as they do with whites. Hence, more research must be conducted to determine if some blacks have (or try to find) a little bit in common with

everyone or if blacks take race/ethnicity into consideration when examining if they are close to a particular person.

Blacks' Closeness with Whites

When examining the results for the model of blacks' perceptions of closeness with whites, I find that the model does a poor job in explaining black attitudes (adjusted R^2: 0.065). Moreover, it is important to note that very few contact and contextual variables shape blacks' views toward whites.

Contact in the workplace and contact in the neighborhood do not shape blacks' perceptions of closeness with whites. However, contact with whites through friendship has a significantly positive effect on blacks' perceptions of closeness with whites ($b = 0.557$; $t = 2.02$); hence, blacks who have white friends are more likely to perceive that they are close to whites than blacks without white friends. This finding strongly supports contact theory.

When it comes to the effect of living in the south on black attitudes, I find the opposite effect as in the Latino closeness model. Blacks who live in the south are more likely to perceive that they are close to whites than blacks who live outside the south ($b = 0.476$, $t = 2.61$). This is not what I hypothesized. Why is this so? Blacks in the south may have a longer history of contact with whites than blacks who do not live in the south, but the dynamics of these relationships may not always result in positive views. Due to the history of discrimination and racism of whites toward blacks in the south, it is surprising that blacks in the south are more likely to perceive closeness with whites than blacks outside of the south. More research needs to be conducted to determine why this is so.

With regards to the effects of the control variables on black attitudes toward whites, I find some interesting results. First, age has the opposite effect on black views toward

whites than views toward Latinos. Older blacks are more likely to perceive that they are closer to whites than younger blacks. Second, gender has a negative effect on black attitudes, indicating that black women are less likely to feel close to whites than black men. Third, I find that closeness with blacks does not have a considerable impact on black attitudes, yet closeness with Latinos does. The closer blacks feel to Latinos, the more likely that they feel close to whites. Again, this provides support for the idea that some blacks may think that they have something in common with everyone regardless of race or ethnicity. Unlike the results in the Latino model, I find that linked fate with blacks significantly shapes their views toward whites. Blacks with a strong sense of linked fate with other blacks are less likely to feel close to whites than blacks without a sturdy sense of linked fate.

Blacks' Job Competition with Latinos and Whites

Thus far I have considered the determinants of blacks' feelings of closeness to Latinos and whites. The flip side of the coin is how competitive blacks feel toward Latinos and whites. How competitive do blacks feel toward these two groups? Table 6.5 provides a description of blacks' job competition with Latinos and whites.

Overall, I find that blacks perceive more job competition with whites than with Latinos. Only a bit more than one-third of black respondents (34.9%) somewhat or strongly agree that more jobs for Latinos results in fewer jobs for blacks, while almost one-half (48.3%) of blacks feel that way about whites. In this national sample it appears that blacks perceive that whites are their toughest competitors for jobs, though there is some perceived competition with Latinos.

Table 6.5 Blacks' Job Competition with Hispanics and Whites

	%	N	%	N
Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements. More jobs for _____, less jobs for people like me.				
	Hispanics		Whites	
Strongly disagree	36.0%	261	23.1%	170
Somewhat Disagree	29.1%	211	28.6%	210
Somewhat agree	17.2%	125	19.6%	144
Strongly agree	17.7%	128	28.7%	211
Mean	1.17		1.54	
Standard deviation	1.10		1.13	
N	725		735	

Nevertheless, throughout the focus groups in New Orleans, I find that some African Americans perceive a substantial amount of job competition with Latinos.[61]

> Priscilla: Well, in my field, as a nanny, I've seen a drop in the rate of what we used to ask for money. Um, there's a decrease in salaries because there are so many of them that not only will work for less but they will work for anything….They're undercutting us toward the pay because they don't have to pay taxes.
>
> Louis: I'm not a roofer, but all the roofing work, they're taking all the roofing work.
>
> Ginger: More people coming makes it more competitive…You know a contractor where you might had six good contractors that you know of, I'm talking about minority contractors that you know over. It makes it more competitive because they're going to put a bid in too so they might have an impact on the contract because they gotta compete against more people.

When discussing the presence of competition, several expressed a strong sense of injustice.

> Mark: They [the city] already knew what the requirements were going to be to get those jobs so they brought in the illegal immigrants to do the work because first of all, they knew that there was nobody here to employ to do it and they knew that these people would. They knew that the Hispanic people

[61] It is important for me to mention that individuals who perceived great job competition with Latinos tended to have a low socioeconomic status.

would do it because they eventually do anything. I'm, I'm not mad at that part of it because I'm all about somebody working for you know their wage, but, but I get po'ed when the way the way they go about doing it bringing them…I think that's unfair.

Bill: You're upset with the system because it's working for them and it's not working for you...And you're from here…It doesn't upset me that they're trying to make a living. It upsets me that they are allowed to do all this and they're illegal immigrants.

Louis: We can't keep up this debt of people…laborers coming in. The government's not doing anything about all the care. A lot of the care is given to the immigrants…That is stuff I can see that would be a problem.

In addition, the issue that Latinos are not paying taxes arose several times.

Priscilla: They got everything given to them and I heard that it's for five years, five years or ten years they don't have to pay the taxes. Well, they just sell it to their brother or them. They still never pay the taxes.

Cindy: And then the thing about it is, we're getting all the taxes and they're coming here and not paying taxes. No taxes whatsoever.

Another group of blacks state that there is no competition between blacks and Latinos.

Jean: I don't see any competition.

Fred: No, they're working, trying to make a living. They're not trying to hurt nobody like I said.

Kevin: No competition, they work I work.

Some black participants even stated that Latinos are not taking jobs.

Mark: They do what we don't want to do.

Kodak: I don't think it's so much that there are low-paying jobs that they are taking, I think it's that they are so much more willing to do the job with skilled labor at a lower cost.

Overall, some blacks do not perceive competition with Latinos, yet others do and their perceptions of competition are affiliated with feelings of injustice.

Now, shifting to a quantitative approach to studying blacks' job competition with Hispanics, in Table 6.6 I report ordered logit estimates for blacks' perceptions of job competition with Hispanics and whites.

Table 6.6 Ordered Logit Results for Model of Blacks' Job Competition with Latinos and Whites

	Latinos		Whites	
	b	z	b	z
Contact				
Latino coworker	-0.039	-0.22	-0.389	-2.22**
Black coworker	-0.056	-0.31	-0.339	-1.86*
White coworker	-0.116	-0.64	-0.225	-1.24
Latino neighbor	0.405	1.71*	0.405	1.65*
Black neighbor	0.022	0.09	0.235	0.91
White neighbor	-0.104	-0.43	0.328	1.29
Latino friend	0.217	0.94	-0.129	-0.53
Black friend	-0.034	-0.14	0.020	0.08
White friend	-0.196	-0.74	-0.188	-0.67
Context				
Living in the south	0.155	0.87	0.209	1.17
Control Variables				
Age	0.013	2.18**	0.024	4.09***
Gender	0.050	0.28	-0.161	-0.89
Education	-0.214	-2.68***	-0.339	-4.15***
Household income	-0.145	-1.43	-0.301	-2.85***
Closeness with blacks	0.013	0.10	0.389	2.77***
Closeness with whites	-0.062	-0.59	-0.443	-4.11***
Closeness with Latinos	-0.319	-2.67***	-0.086	-0.72
Linked fate (blacks)	0.092	0.69	0.367	2.76***
N	474		480	
Pseudo R^2	0.037		0.076	
Log likelihood	-616.091		-605.629	
Mean VIF	1.79 (highest: 3.23)		1.79 (highest: 3.23)	

Source: 2004 National Politics Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less

At the outset, I find that this model does not do a good job in explaining blacks' views toward Latinos (adjusted R^2: 0.037). Nevertheless, one contact variable significantly shapes

blacks' competition with Latinos: having a Latino neighbor.[62] In contrast to what the contact theory predicts, I find that blacks who have a Latino neighbor are significantly more likely to perceive competition with Latinos in the workplace than blacks with no Latino neighbors (b = 0.405, t = 1.71). This is not what I suspected so why is this so? Blacks with Latino neighbors may be more likely to perceive Latinos as economic threats and thus perceive a considerable amount of job competition with them. The racial threat hypothesis may serve as a better explanation. Moreover, it may be that blacks with a low socioeconomic status may be more likely to perceive Latinos as competition than blacks with a higher socioeconomic status.

Even though living in the south does not shape black attitudes, several control variables do. Age and education have opposing effects on black attitudes. Older blacks have a greater predisposition to perceive Latinos competitively and well-educated blacks are less likely to perceive Latinos competitively. Moreover, in line with results found in my study on white perceptions of commonality and competition with Latinos and blacks (Wilkinson, 2010), I find that closeness with Latinos has a negative effect on perceptions of competition with Latinos. It is noteworthy that closeness with blacks does *not* have an effect.

Blacks' Job Competition with Whites

Unlike the Latino competition model, the white competition model does a better job in explaining blacks' perceptions of job competition (adjusted R^2: 0.076). Contact with Latinos has a significant effect on blacks' perceptions of competition with whites. Having a Latino coworker negatively affects blacks' attitudes, in the opposite direction of what I

[62] I ran the job competition models with the contact variables as additive variables and was less able to explain blacks' attitudes toward whites and Latinos than with the current version of the contact variables. Moreover, since finding in my focus groups that blacks with a low socioeconomic status are more likely to perceive competition than those with a high socioeconomic status, education may be diminishing the effects of contact.

hypothesized. Nevertheless, as hypothesized, blacks who have a Latino neighbor are more likely to perceive competition with whites than those who do not have a Latino neighbor (b = 0.405; t = 1.65). This finding supports the idea that blacks do not view Latinos and whites in the same way and, moreover, that contact between blacks and Latinos can create some sort of alliance which can lead to viewing whites in an antagonistic way.

Several controls variables do a good job in explaining blacks' perceptions of jobs competition with whites. It is not surprising to find that blacks with a high socioeconomic status are less likely to perceive job competition with whites than those with low education and household income levels. Economic self-interest may affect blacks' attitudes toward whites. Unlike the results of the Latino model, linked fate with other blacks has a significant effect on blacks' views toward whites. Blacks who have a high linked fate with other blacks have a greater predisposition to perceive competition with whites than those with lower linked fates.

Blacks' Political Competition with Latinos and Whites

Another dimension of competition between blacks, on one hand, and whites and Latinos, on the other, comes in the political realm. To what extent to blacks perceive that they are in competition with Latinos and whites in terms of political influence?

In Table 6.7, I describe blacks' perceptions of political competition with Hispanics and whites. Here, the results illustrate that blacks perceive more political competition with whites than with Latinos. The percentage of blacks who somewhat or strongly agree that political competition exists with Latinos is 33.7 percent. On the other hand, the percentage of blacks who somewhat or strongly agree that political competition exists with whites is 58.2 percent.

Table 6.7 Blacks' Political Competition with Hispanics and Whites

	%	N	%	N
Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements. More influential _____ in politics, less influential people like me.				
	Hispanics		Whites	
Strongly disagree	32.9%	240	19.5%	144
Somewhat Disagree	33.4%	243	22.4%	166
Somewhat agree	20.5%	149	24.5%	181
Strongly agree	13.2%	96	33.7%	249
Mean	1.14		1.72	
Standard deviation	1.02		1.12	
N	728		740	

In Table 6.8, I present the ordered logit estimates for blacks' political competition with Latinos and whites. Unfortunately, these two models do not do a very good job in explaining blacks' political competition with Latinos (adjusted R^2: 0.038) and whites (adjusted R^2: 0.049). Moreover, contact does not seem to explain blacks' political competition with Latinos and whites.[63] Living in the south does not have a substantive effect on blacks' perceptions of political competition with Latinos nor with whites.

Among the control variables, linked fate with other blacks has notable effects on blacks' perceptions of political competition. In both the Latino and white models, I find that blacks who perceive that they have a high linked fate with other blacks are more likely to perceive political competition. What is it about linked fate that triggers blacks to perceive political competition with Latinos and whites? Is political competition tied to symbolic

[63] I ran the models with the contact variables as additive variables and was less able to explain the blacks' views than I am now. Moreover, since I found in the focus groups that blacks with a low socioeconomic status are more likely to perceive competition with Latinos than those with higher socioeconomic status, I suspect that the contact effects are being diminished by the effects of household income.

representation which is strongly coveted by blacks with a high linked fate? This finding and explanation will be explored in further studies.

Overall, more research must be conducted to further explore the determinants of blacks' political competition with Latinos and whites.

Table 6.8 Ordered Logit Results for Models of Blacks' Political Competition with Latinos and Whites

	Latinos		Whites	
	b	z	b	z
Contact				
Latino coworker	-0.107	-0.61	0.034	0.19
Black coworker	-0.152	-0.86	-0.069	-0.39
White coworker	0.015	0.08	0.123	0.69
Latino neighbor	0.017	0.07	-0.379	-1.55
Black neighbor	0.115	0.45	-0.125	-0.49
White neighbor	-0.006	-0.02	-0.089	-0.36
Latino friend	0.125	0.53	-0.142	-0.61
Black friend	-0.052	-0.20	0.129	0.49
White friend	-0.164	-0.61	0.049	0.18
Context				
Living in the south	-0.003	-0.02	-0.089	-0.50
Control Variables				
Age	0.015	2.69***	0.011	1.94**
Gender	-0.058	-0.32	-0.381	-2.10**
Education	-0.105	-1.32	-0.094	-1.16
Household income	-0.353	-3.46***	-0.115	-1.14
Closeness with blacks	0.061	0.46	0.159	1.17
Closeness with whites	-0.137	-1.30	-0.57	-5.07***
Closeness with Latinos	-0.236	-1.92*	-0.059	-0.49
Linked fate (blacks)	0.346	2.59***	0.395	2.94***
N	475		482	
Pseudo R^2	0.038		0.049	
Log likelihood	-615.876		-607.944	
Mean VIF	1.79 (highest: 3.23)		1.79 (highest: 3.23)	

Source: 2004 National Politics Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less

Blacks' Lazy Stereotypes of Latinos, Whites, and Other Blacks

One other area in which contact and other independent variables can shape black views toward Latinos and whites is in the area of stereotypes. The 2004 NPS includes an item that reflects individuals' perceptions of the degree to which various racial and ethnic groups are lazy or hardworking. I use this item as a dependent variable in a model of the effects of interracial contact. Table 6.9 presents results for questions regarding blacks' hardworking/lazy stereotypes of Latinos, whites and other blacks.

Table 6.9 Blacks' Lazy Stereotypes of Latinos, Whites and Blacks

	%	N	%	N	%	N
Where would you rate _____ in general on a scale of -3 to 3, where 3 indicates lazy, -3 means hardworking, and 0 indicates most _____ are not closer to one end or the other?						
	Latinos		Whites		Blacks	
Hardworking	38.6%	274	31.5%	229	30.3%	221
-2	14.9%	106	18.2%	132	16.7%	122
-1	17.8%	126	17.3%	126	18.5%	135
Neither end	24.2%	172	25.9%	188	27.7%	202
1	1.41%	10	2.61%	19	3.2%	23
2	1.13%	8	1.38%	10	1.1%	8
Lazy	1.97%	14	3.16%	23	2.5%	18
Mean	-1.54		-1.33		-1.30	
Standard deviation	1.46		1.53		1.47	
N	710		727		729	

In this table I find that blacks are more likely to think that Latinos are hardworking than whites and other African Americans. The percentage of those who think Latinos are hardworking is 71.3 percent. Moreover, 67.0 percent of blacks think that whites are hardworking and 65.5 percent of blacks think that other African Americans are hardworking.

Note that blacks perceive themselves are the least hard-working of these three groups and perceive Latinos as the hardest working group.

Several focus group participants expressed that Latinos are hardworking.

> Ginger: They are hard workers. They are really hard workers. And lunch time, they're going. They are structured. If it's lunch at 12, I don't care what they're doing if it's 30 minutes, 30 minutes that's it. Back to work. They're not just, um, as people used to say working on their leg.

Moreover, one individual even expressed that she favored Latinos over blacks.

> Eloise: I think they're doing a good job over here and should send some more over here and should send some of our wherever.

Nevertheless, not all blacks expressed positive stereotypes of Latinos. The three main negative stereotypes that were conveyed throughout the focus groups were that Latinos drink too much, steal a lot and have many children.

> Trisha: And don't let them get drunk, they're violent. When they're drunk, I've seen that. And they can't drink. They'll fight and all that stuff you know.

> Kim: Now, I'm not going to lie. They steal like crazy. They steal trailers, all kinda stuff in my neighborhood. Like the pool trailer, you know how people have a trailer behind their house, stealing like three trailers came up missing in like one night.

> Madeline: But the thing is they do make a lot of babies, but they get along.

Hence, many blacks in New Orleans think that Latinos are hard workers, yet some do not neglect the fact that some Latinos drink, steal and procreate too much.

Table 6.10 presents a quantitative perspective to exploring blacks' stereotypes of Latinos. In this table, I provide ordered logit estimates of blacks' stereotypes of Hispanics and whites as lazy.

<u>Blacks' Lazy Stereotype of Latinos</u>

At the outset, it does not seem that this model does a good job in explaining blacks' attitudes toward Latinos since my R^2 is 0.027.

Table 6.10 Ordered Logit Results for Model of Blacks' Lazy Stereotype of Latinos and Whites

	Latinos		Whites	
	b	z	b	z
Contact				
Latino coworker	-0.283	-1.59*	-0.014	-0.09
Black coworker	-0.170	-0.88	0.121	0.70
White coworker	-0.125	-0.64	0.132	0.76
Latino neighbor	-0.044	-0.19	-0.259	-1.13
Black neighbor	-0.173	-0.73	-0.222	-0.95
White neighbor	-0.284	-1.19	-0.158	-0.68
Latino friend	-0.139	-0.59	-0.016	-0.07
Black friend	0.311	1.16	-0.259	-0.98
White friend	0.798	2.88***	-0.006	-0.02
Context				
Living in the south	-0.607	-3.34***	0.423	2.38***
Control Variables				
Age	0.002	0.35	-0.003	-0.55
Gender	-0.060	-0.34	-0.226	-1.30
Education	0.027	0.33	-0.079	-1.02
Household income	-0.027	-0.25	0.075	0.79
Closeness with blacks	0.194	1.43	0.123	0.92
Closeness with whites	0.242	2.27**	-0.030	-0.29
Closeness with Latinos	-0.311	-2.60***	-0.102	-0.88
Linked fate (blacks)	-0.194	-1.47	0.144	1.12
N	468		475	
Pseudo R^2	0.027		0.011	
Log likelihood	-671.716		-761.452	
Mean VIF	1.79 (highest: 3.23)		1.79 (highest: 3.23)	

Source: 2004 National Politics Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less

Nevertheless, living in the south and a few contact variables shape black views toward how hardworking are Latinos and whites.[64] In line with my hypothesis and in support of the

[64] I ran the models with the contact variables as additive variables and was less able to explain blacks' attitudes than I am now.

contact theory, I find that blacks who work with Latinos are less likely to view them in a negative way (b=-0.283; t=-1.59). Moreover, in support of what I hypothesized, having white friends has a significantly positive effect on the adoption of lazy stereotypes of Latinos. Hence, having white friends can result in a divisive effects. Blacks who have white friends may distinguish themselves from Latinos and view them as outsiders. This can lead us to conclude that contact with whites can serve as a detriment to the formation of an alliance between blacks and Latinos. Moreover, this finding is supported to a certain extent by research on skin color that argues that having a light complexion is seen as more attractive and pleasing in our society than having a dark complexion (Breland, 1998). Hence, blacks who choose white friends may adopt this mentality and only seek to associate themselves with individuals of a light complexion.

On the other hand, I am surprised to find that blacks who live in the south are less likely to adopt a lazy stereotype of Latinos than those outside of the south. A possible explanation for this is that the south as a whole has only recently seen a large influx of Latinos, thus making it hard for stereotypes to solidify at this moment in time.

Among the control variables, the effects of closeness with whites and closeness with Latinos are noteworthy. It makes sense to find that blacks who perceive that they are close to Latinos are not very likely to perceive them in a negative way. On the other hand, closeness with whites has a significantly positive effect on blacks' views Latinos as lazy. Why is this so? A possible explanation for this finding is that blacks who are close to whites may be less likely to perceive Latinos in a positive light. Again, the literature on skin color may provide support for this statement. Another explanation could be that the relationship that blacks form with whites can cause blacks to separate themselves from Latinos.

Blacks' Lazy Stereotypes of Whites

This model does not explain blacks' attitudes toward whites very well at all (adjusted $R^{2:}$: 0.011). Moreover, contact does not seem to shape blacks' views.[65] However, living in the south helps explain blacks' adoption of negative stereotypes toward whites. In line with my hypothesis, I find that blacks who live in the south are more likely to perceive whites as lazy than blacks who do not live in the south. The history of racial tensions between blacks and whites in the south may trigger this finding. Lastly, I find that blacks' education level has a significantly negative effect on their views toward whites indicating that education has a liberalizing effect on views toward whites.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I explore blacks' perceptions of closeness, competition and stereotypes of Latinos. Using the 2004 National Politics Survey data, I estimate a series of models examining the effects of contact and context on blacks' attitudes toward Latinos. In addition to survey data, I use data obtained from focus groups of African Americans in New Orleans to obtain a further grasp on blacks' attitudes toward Latinos.

What do I find? First, blacks do not view Latinos and whites in the same way. African Americans are more likely to feel closer to Latinos than whites and perceive more competition with whites than with Latinos. However, I did find that some blacks may not take race and ethnicity into consideration when they are thinking about how close they feel to someone. Some blacks may find a little in common with everyone. Regarding job competition, blacks in New Orleans perceive a substantial amount of job competition with Latinos. When it comes to adopting the stereotype that individuals are lazy, I find that

[65] I ran the models with the contact variables as additive variables and was not able to explain black attitudes as well as the current version of my contact variables. Furthermore, education may be diminishing the effects of contact on black attitudes.

blacks think that whites are lazier than Latinos and blacks. Moreover, several blacks think that Latinos are less lazy than other blacks.

Regarding the effect of contact on blacks' racial attitudes, I find some support for contact theory. The theory is able to explain blacks' perceptions of closeness with Latinos and blacks' adoption of stereotypes of Latinos. However, I did not support for contact theory in the job and political competition models for Latinos and whites. Since I found in the focus groups that blacks with a low socioeconomic status are more likely to perceive competition with Latinos than those with a higher socioeconomic status, education and household income may be diminishing the effects of contact in the competition models.

Living in the south is only able to explain blacks' attitudes toward Latinos and whites when it comes to perceptions of closeness and adoption of negative stereotypes.

When comparing the Latino and whites models as a whole, I am better able to explain blacks' feelings of closeness toward Latinos than closeness with whites. Nonetheless, my competition and stereotype models are better able to explain blacks' attitudes toward whites than they are African Americans' views toward Hispanics.

Hence, what should be done to fill the gaps in these models? First, once I obtain more contextual data, I will examine if context is better able to explain blacks' attitudes than contact. Second, the contact variables in my models may not be the best representatives of contact. Hence, I will explore using other types of contact variables and will conduct tests to determine if contact affects attitudes or attitudes affect contact. Third, even though I do not have any collinearity issues in my models, I may not be isolating the effects of certain variables as much as I would like to or should. Thus, structural equation modeling may be better able to explain blacks' attitudes toward Latinos.

So what do these results mean for the future of coalitions among blacks, whites and Latinos? Overall, based on the fact that blacks feel closer to Latinos than whites, blacks then may be more likely to form political coalitions with Latinos than with whites. However, socioeconomic status may influence blacks' coalition formation. Since blacks' perceptions of competition with Latinos and whites are strongly driven by socioeconomic status, I suspect that blacks with low socioeconomic status are less likely to form coalitions with Latinos and whites than those with higher socioeconomic status.

CHAPTER 7: WHITES AND BROWNS TOGETHER AS ONE? WHITES' PERCEPTIONS OF CLOSENESS, COMPETITION, AND STEREOTYPES OF LATINOS

Attitudes between blacks and Latinos have been the main focus of the literature on the perceptions of commonality and competition (McClain and Stewart, 2002; Kaufmann, 2003; McClain, Carter, Soto, Lyle, Grynaviski, Nunnally, Scotto, Kendrick, Lackey, and Cotton, 2006; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008). Nonetheless, the immigration attitudes literature has concentrated significantly on whites' attitudes toward Latino immigrants (Hood and Morris, 1997; Hood and Morris, 1998; Wilkinson and Garand, 2007).

However, surprisingly, very little work has been conducted on whites' perceptions of commonality and competition with Latinos. It is one thing to examine whites' primary reactions to immigration from Latin America and Latino immigrants overall but it is another to focus on whites' attitudes toward Latinos through a competition and commonality lens. Latinos have now become the largest minority in the U.S. They have and are continuing to shape this country socially, politically, culturally and demographically. How whites perceive commonality and competition with Latinos is clearly an appropriate subject of study.

An example of Latinos' strong presence and permanency in the U.S. is depicted in a recent *New York Times* article that notes how Latino leaders are trying to rouse Hispanics to fill out the 2010 U.S. Census in the months to come regardless of their legal status. Filling out the U.S. Census will grant Latinos more opportunities to receive funding for federal programs and political power through redistricting. Moreover, Hispanics are now voting more than blacks. They have "become the second-largest population group in the United States…Hispanics want to extend that voting power with a census count that would support more elected representatives for their communities" (Preston, 2009: 2). Hence, establishing

a solid Latino presence in the U.S. can truly test the majority's (whites) views toward Latinos. More specifically, as whites notice that Latinos are their fellow neighbors, coworkers, carpenters, teachers, and architects, how do they begin to view Hispanics? Do whites view Latino residents as outsiders? As their competitors? As their friends? Do whites regard Latinos in the same way that they do blacks? Or do whites perceive Latinos like one of them?

In order to address these complex questions that have not been addressed before, I build on the literature on the precursors of coalition formation by exploring the degree to which whites perceive closeness, competition and stereotypes of Latinos. It is important for me to note that I do not center my study on whether commonality, competition and stereotypes actually lead to coalition building but rather on whites' attitudes toward Latinos as well the determinants of these precursors of interracial coalitions. Moreover, some may contend that whites do not need to be included in the coalition formation literature because they are the majority of the United States. However, I argue that not all whites hold the same policy views. Some whites' views are closer to blacks and Latinos, yet others' views may be similar to other whites. Hence the possibility that whites will form coalitions with blacks or Latinos must be taken into account. In addition, in order to truly understand whites' attitudes toward Hispanics, I also explore whites' attitudes toward blacks. By providing a comparison group, I am able to disentangle how whites perceive Latinos, blacks and minorities in general.

Using the 2004 National Politics Survey, I examine whites' perceptions of closeness, competition and stereotypes of Latinos and the roles that contact and context play in shaping these attitudes. Contact has been studied extensively in the racial attitudes literature but has been seldom explored when it comes to individuals' perceptions of commonality,

competition and stereotypes. Moreover, studying contact and racial attitudes provides insight into the implications of racial policies including desegregation, busing laws and redistricting.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this section, I provide a brief review of the literature on the precursors of coalition formation, specifically perceptions of commonality and competition as it relates to whites. I begin by discussing the relevant literature that discusses whites' perceptions of commonality and competition and then discussing the literature on the contact theory and the racial threat hypothesis and their applicability toward whites' racial attitudes.

White Perceptions of Commonality with Latinos

The literature on commonality greatly centers on the prospects and the determinants for coalition building. McClain and Stewart (2002) assert that sharing goals, desiring similar outcomes and being willing to work cooperatively are required for political coalitions to form (156).

Overall, the literature on white/Latino commonality is scant. Mindiola, Niemann, and Rodriguez (2002) indirectly address whites' commonality with Latinos. They find that blacks think that whites are more likely to form coalitions with Latinos and are likely to keep Latinos from forming coalitions with blacks (62).

Regardless of the small amount of literature on white/Latino commonality, throughout the racial attitudes research regarding blacks and Latinos, there have been several mentions of how black/Latino relations compare to white/Latino relations (Johnson, Farrell, and Guinn, 1997; Browning, Marshall, and Tabb, 1997; Kaufmann, 2003; McClain et. al, 2006). In particular, McClain et. al (2002) assert that Latinos may have better relations

with whites than with blacks since Latinos profess to have more affinity with whites and have more in common with whites than with blacks.

White Perceptions of Competition with Latinos

In the precursors of coalition formation literature, competition is seen as a detriment to the formation of coalitions (Barreto and Sanchez, 2008: 3).

Similar to the literature on white/Latino commonality, very little has been written on whites' competition with Latinos. Nevertheless, in a study of interracial competition in Los Angeles, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) explore the determinants of whites', blacks', Asians' and Latinos' perceptions of competition. They find that whites' perception of competition with Latinos is strongly driven by education level and household income. For instance, whites with a high school degree are much more likely to express a sense of competitive threat than the most highly educated whites. Furthermore, household income has a negative effect on whites' perception of competition with Latinos.

The Contact Theory and Whites' Racial Attitudes

Contact theory asserts that individuals living in close proximity to other groups should develop more favorable attitudes toward them (Hood and Morris, 1998).

Sigelman and Welch (1993) explore white and black racial attitudes and find that interracial contact, particularly interracial friendships and neighborhood contacts, decrease perceptions of hostility between whites and blacks. In a later work in 2001, Welch, Sigelman, Bledsoe and Combs examine the role that racial composition plays in shaping race relations and find some support for the contact theory. They find that whites' contact with blacks has a negative effect on their adoption of negative stereotypes of blacks.

The Racial Threat Hypothesis and Whites' Racial Attitudes

The racial threat hypothesis can be seen as a counter to contact theory, insofar as the racial threat hypothesis suggests that contact has a *negative* effect on racial attitudes. The literature on racial attitudes often associates contact theory as the opposite of the racial threat hypothesis and visa versa (Hood and Morris, 1998: 3; Rocha and Espino, 2008: 2). Hence, in this work, I treat the contact theory and the racial threat hypothesis as competing theories.

In the immigration attitudes literature, Hood and Morris (1997) find support for the racial threat hypothesis. They find that the growing Latino and Asian population in the state of California has a negative effect on whites' attitudes toward immigration. Similarly, in 1998, Hood and Morris find some support for this theory regarding whites' attitudes toward undocumented migrants in California.

In a more recent work, Rocha and Espino (2008) test the racial threat hypothesis as well as examine the effect of segregation on Anglos' attitudes toward immigration and English-language policies. They argue that "segregation is an intervening factor that makes the conditions for either racial threat or social contact more likely, thus affecting Anglo attitudes" (10). Rocha and Espino find that the size of the Latino population and residential segregation between Latinos and whites have negative effects on whites' adoption of policies that are favorable toward Latinos.

MODELING WHITES' PERCEPTIONS OF COMMONALITY, COMPETITION AND STEREOTYPES TOWARD LATINOS

In this section, I lay out the contours of a model of whites' racial attitudes particularly regarding perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes toward Latinos. Specifically, I explore the effects of contact with Latinos such as the racial makeup of their coworkers, neighborhoods, and friends.

The data used in this study comes from the 2004 National Politics Survey. Unlike numerous national surveys, this survey has large representative samples of blacks (N=756) as well as Latinos (N=757). In addition, this survey includes key racial attitudes topics that are seldom included in other national surveys such as closeness to racial groups, competition with as well as stereotypes of racial groups.

A summary of the variables used in this study are found in Tables 3.6 of Chapter 3. The statistical method that I adopt to answer my research questions is ordered logit.[66]

Dependent Variables

My study explores whites' racial attitudes particularly regarding perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes. These attitudes make up three major categories.

The first category of dependent variables is commonality. I measure commonality as the degree to which whites perceive themselves as being close to Latinos and blacks. Although closeness to a particular individual is not exactly the same as examining how much commonality one has with another, commonality was not directly measured in the dataset. Nevertheless, closeness with a particular racial group can serve as the symbolic "glue"[67] that brings groups together and leads them to form coalitions. In addition, although my study focuses on whites' closeness with Latinos, I explore whites' closeness with blacks in order to gauge a better understanding of whites' attitudes. The 2004 NPS variables that I use to measure commonality include closeness to Latinos and closeness to blacks. Both of these variables are measured on a scale from 0 to 3 where 0 represents not close at all and 3 represents very close.

The second category of dependent variables that I include is competition. Perceptions of competition can be seen as detriments to the formation of coalitions among

[66] Predicted probabilities for the ordered logit models are available upon request.
[67] Term coined by Kaufmann, 2003 (200)

racial groups (Barreto and Sanchez, 2008). The 2004 NPS competition measures include employment and political competition with Latinos and blacks. Specifically, the variables that I explore are more jobs for Latinos, less jobs for people like me; more jobs for blacks, less jobs for people like me; more influential Latinos in politics, less influential people like me; more influential blacks in politics, less influential people like me. The competition variables range from 0 (strongly disagree) to 3 (strongly agree).

The third category of dependent variables in my models is racial and ethnic stereotypes. Stereotypes are associated with negative generalizations made about a particular group and adopting jaundiced views of a racial group as lazy or violent (Peffley and Hurwitz, 1998). Some research associates stereotypes with coalition building among Latinos, blacks and whites (Oliver and Wong, 2003; Gay, 2006; McClain et. al, 2006). In addition, other research suggests that stereotypes affect racial policy stances. For instance, Gilens (1998, 1999) asserts that whites' stereotypes of blacks shape their opposition to welfare in the U.S. Moreover, Sniderman and Piazza (1993) argue that when whites' negative stereotypes of blacks increase, the likelihood that they oppose government spending for blacks increases. These works may not directly discuss coalition building but their results provide implications for the creation of coalitions among various groups.

In this study, I adopt a measure of stereotypes which is commonly used in the literature and portrays strong stereotypes. The 2004 NPS stereotype measure is hardworking/lazy scale of Latinos; hardworking/lazy scale of blacks (McClain et. al 2006). The hardworking/lazy scale of Latinos is measured on a scale from -3 (Latinos are hardworking) to 0 (neither end) to 3 (Latinos are lazy). The hardworking/lazy scale for blacks is measured in the same way as the Latino scale.

Independent Variables

Contact

The effects of contact on attitudes have resounded in the racial attitudes literature for some time. Moreover, contact theory has been studied extensively. However, contact theory has not been directly tested in the literature on the precursors of coalition formation, particularly regarding perceptions of commonality and competition between whites and Latinos. Hence, in order to explore the effect of contact in this study, I incorporate three categories of independent variables in my study: neighborhood ethnic mix, workplace ethnic mix, and friend ethnic mix.

My first contact variable category is neighborhood ethnic mix. The makeup of individuals' neighborhood affects the adoption of stereotypes and racial attitudes overall (Sigelman and Welch, 1993; Welch et. al, 2001). Consequently, I suspect that neighborhood ethnic mix influences whites' stereotypes of Latinos and blacks as well as other attitudes such as perceptions of commonality and competition. The neighborhood mix category includes having mostly Latino neighbors, having mostly black neighbors and having mostly white neighbors. These three neighborhood contact variables are included in all of the commonality, competition and stereotype models.

The first neighborhood contact variable is having mostly Latino neighbors. Based on contact theory, I suspect that having mostly Latino neighbors influences whites to perceive commonality/closeness with Latinos but not to perceive competition with and adopt stereotypes of Latinos. For the models regarding closeness with blacks, I suspect that this variable has a negative effect since whites do not view blacks and Latinos in the same

way.[68] For the competition and stereotype of whites models, I expect that the coefficient of having mostly Latino neighbors is positive. This variable is coded on a scale from 0 to 2 where 0 represents other and no Latino neighbors; 1 represents mixed Latino neighbors; and 2 represents mostly Latino neighbors.

The second neighborhood contact variable is having mostly black neighbors. As indicated previously, in order to get a good grasp on whites' attitudes toward Latinos, it is important to explore their attitudes toward other racial groups such as blacks. Exploring the effect of having a black neighbor on whites' attitudes toward blacks/Latinos helps to provide a better understanding of how whites view Latinos, blacks, and minority groups overall.[69] I suspect that contact can have divisive effects. If whites have contact with blacks, then they will be more likely to view blacks positively and perceive Latinos as the outsiders and in a negative way. Hence, I hypothesize that having a black neighbor negatively affects whites' perceptions of commonality with Latinos and positively affects perceptions of competition and adoption of negative stereotypes. Moreover, in line with contact theory, I suspect that having mostly black neighbors has a positive effect in the black closeness model and a negative effect in the black competition and stereotype models. Similar to the Latino neighbor variable, this variable is measured on a scale from 0 (other, no black friends) to 2 (mostly black friends).

The third neighborhood contact variable is having mostly white neighbors. Similar to the black neighbor contact variable, including the effect of having mostly white neighbors helps us obtain a better grasp on whites' views toward other minority groups and

[68] Support for this statement comes from the descriptive results of the dependent variables which are described in the beginning of the results section.

[69] This argument is supported by findings in Wilkinson's (2009) work on Latinos' perceptions of commonality and competition with whites and blacks. She found that Latinos who have black friends are not very likely to perceive that they have something in common with whites and vice versa.

themselves. Are whites with white neighbors more likely to perceive commonality with Latinos than those without white neighbors? Does having white friends affect whites' views toward other racial groups at all? Including this variable in all of my commonality, competition and stereotype models will assist in answering these questions. I suspect that whites' contact with other whites has divisive effects resulting in viewing blacks and Latinos negatively. Consequently, I hypothesize that having a white neighbor negatively influences whites' perceptions of commonality with blacks and Latinos and positively influences whites' perceptions of competition and adoption of negative stereotypes of blacks and Latinos. This variable is measured in the same way as the Latino and black neighbor variables.

Although the effect of workplace ethnic mix on commonality, competition and stereotypes among Latinos, blacks and whites has not been explored, one's workplace is conducive to creating an environment where race relations can be greatly influenced. Hence, including workplace as a contact variable offers me the opportunity to test contact theory and explore another aspect of contact on whites' racial attitudes. The workplace contact variables that I include represent the degree to which each respondent has mostly Latino coworkers, mostly black coworkers, and mostly white coworkers. These variables are included in all of the closeness, competition and stereotypes models.

The first workplace contact variable is mostly Latino coworkers. Based on contact theory, I hypothesize that a Latino workplace ethnic mix (i.e., having Latinos as the majority) has a positive effect on whites' perceptions of closeness with Latinos and a negative effect on their perceptions of competition with and stereotypes of Latinos. Moreover, I suspect that having mostly Latino workers has a negative effect on whites' perceptions of commonality with blacks and a positive effect on whites' competition and adoption of negative stereotypes of blacks. This hypothesis is based on the reasoning expressed

previously regarding the divisive effects of contact. This variable ranges from 0 to 2 where 0 represents other/no Latino coworkers; 1 represents mixed Latino coworkers; and 2 represents mostly Latino coworkers.

In order to obtain a better understanding of the effect of contact on whites' attitudes toward Latinos and blacks, I also include a second contact variable, denoted mostly black coworkers. This variable is also measured on a scale from 0 (other, no black coworkers) to 2 (mostly black coworkers). Since I suspect that whites' contact with blacks has a divisive effect influencing whites to view Latinos negatively, I hypothesize that having a black coworker negatively affects whites' perceptions of commonality with Latinos and positively affects their perceptions of competition and adoption of negative stereotypes of Latinos. Moreover, in line with contact theory, I suspect that having mostly black coworkers has a positive effect in the black closeness model and a negative effect in the black competition and negative stereotype models.

The third workplace contact variable in my models is mostly white coworkers. This variable compares to the black coworker variable since it tests the contact theory, yet it explores the effect of having mostly white coworkers on whites' perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes. It is coded the same way as having mostly black friends. Based on the fact that whites' contact with other whites can reinforce their identity and influence them to view other racial groups negatively, I suspect that this variable has a negative effect in the closeness models for blacks and Latinos and a positive effect in the competition and stereotype models for blacks and Latinos.

Similar to workplace ethnic mix, the effects of friend ethnic mix on whites' attitudes toward Latinos has not been explored, yet including this variable in my models is essential since it portrays a relationship among individuals that truly embodies close contact.

Moreover, friendship mix has been found to significantly shape whites' racial attitudes when testing contact theory (Sigelman and Welch, 1993).[70] In accordance with contact theory, I speculate that friend ethnic mix positively influences whites' perceptions of commonality with Latinos and negatively shapes their competition and stereotypes of Latinos. The three friend contact variables include mostly Latino friends, mostly black friends and mostly white friends. These variables are included in all of my models.

The first friend contact variable is having mostly Latino friends. Based on the contact theory, I hypothesize that a Latino friendship (i.e., having mostly Latino friends) has a positive effect on whites' perceptions of closeness with Latinos and a negative effect on their perceptions of competition with and stereotypes of Latinos. Moreover, similar to the reasoning presented earlier, I suspect that having mostly Latino friends has a divisive effect on how whites view blacks, thus influencing them to view blacks negatively. Consequently, I hypothesize that this variable has a negative effect in the black closeness model and a positive effect in the black competition and stereotype models. This variable is coded on a scale from 0 to 2 where 0 represents other/no Latino friends; 1 represents mixed Latino friends; and 2 represents mostly Latino friends.

Understanding the effect of whites' attitudes toward Latinos can include examining their relationship and contact with blacks; hence, I also include a black friendship variable, having mostly black friends. This variable is measured on a scale from 0 (other/no black friends) to 2 (mostly black friends). Based on contact theory, I hypothesize that the coefficient for this variable is positive in the black commonality model and negative in the competition and stereotypes models. When it comes to the effect of having mostly black

[70] It is important to note that Sigelman and Welch (1993) recognize that friendship mix can influence racial attitudes and friendship mix can influence racial attitudes. Since individuals can choose their friends, a certain type of person may be more predisposed to having an interracial friendship mix than others. After obtaining the racial and demographic contextual data, I will address this issue.

friends on whites' attitudes toward Latinos, I suspect that whites' contact with blacks influences them to view blacks positively and perceive Latinos as the outsiders and in a negative way. Hence, I hypothesize that this variable has a negative effect in the Latino closeness model and a positive effect in the competition and stereotype models.

The third and final friend contact variable is mostly white friends. This variable explores the effect of having mostly white friends on whites' racial attitudes. Again, adopting the reasoning that whites' contact with other whites can reinforce their identity and influence them to view other racial groups negatively, I suspect that this variable has a negative effect in the closeness models for blacks and Latinos and a positive effect in the competition and stereotype models for blacks and Latinos. This variable is measured in the same way as the black friendship variable, but for whites.

Context

In this paper, I also explore the effect of context on white racial attitudes.[71] One contextual variable that I include in my models is living in the south. The southern part of the U.S. has a long history of discrimination, racism and overall racial tensions between blacks and whites; hence, provides a unique place to study race relations (Key, 1949). Besides blacks and whites, Latinos are slowly entering in the social and political arenas in the south. As the number of Latinos in the south is increasing, racial tensions are also brewing. The minutemen (mostly made up of individuals who identify as white) is a group along the U.S./Mexico border whose goal is to defend the U.S. border and prevent undocumented immigrants from entering the U.S. Moreover, whites from several regions throughout the

[71] I was originally going to include racial context and socioeconomic context variables in the models. However, since I have not yet received the necessary information to include this contextual data, I hope to include it in future models.

U.S., including the south, have formed protests and rallies in favor of enforcing less restrictive immigration policies.

Consequently, living in the south presents an interesting and important context to explore racial attitudes. I suspect that living in the south significantly shapes whites' racial attitudes toward Latinos. Due to the history of racial tensions between blacks and whites and tensions between whites and Latinos, I hypothesize that whites who live in the south are less likely to feel close to Latinos and whites and more likely to perceive competition with them and adopt negative stereotypes than whites who do not live in the south. This variable is coded as a dichotomy, where 0 represents not living in the south and 1 represents living in the south.[72]

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 summarize the directional hypotheses presented above.

Table 7.1 Directional Hypotheses for Closeness Models

	LATINOS	**BLACKS**
Latino coworker	+	-
Black coworker	-	+
White coworker	-	-
Latino neighbor	+	-
Black neighbor	-	+
White neighbor	-	-
Latino friend	+	-
Black friend	-	+
White friend	-	-
Living in the south	-	-

[72] The region identified as the south by the 2004 NPS is the one identified by the U.S. Census as the south. This region includes the following states: Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

Table 7.2 Directional Hypotheses for Competition and Stereotype Models

	LATINOS	BLACKS
Latino coworker	-	+
Black coworker	+	-
White coworker	+	+
Latino neighbor	-	+
Black neighbor	+	-
White neighbor	+	+
Latino friend	-	+
Black friend	+	-
White friend	+	+
Living in the south	+	+

Control Variables

Besides exploring the effect of contact on perceptions of closeness, competition and stereotypes, I include several control variables[73] in my models for whites' attitudes toward blacks and Latinos. As commonly found in racial attitudes literature, individual demographic attributes play integral roles in shaping attitudes stereotypes and perceptions of commonality and competition (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; McClain et. al, 2006; Nteta and Wallsten, 2007). Hence, I include age, income, gender, and education at the individual level in all of my models.

Besides demographic attributes, commonality with ethnic groups has also been found to shape adoption of stereotypes and competition among blacks, whites and Latinos (Welch et. al, 2001; Kaufmann, 2003; Barreto and Sanchez, 2008; Wilkinson, 2009). Consequently, in all of the white models, I include closeness with blacks, Hispanics and whites[74] as controls.

[73] The coding for these variables is found in Table 3.6 in Chapter 3.
[74] Of course I do not include certain variables as controls if they are the dependent variable in the models.

EMPIRICAL RESULTS

In the next few paragraphs I provide some preliminary results of whites' perceptions of closeness, competition and stereotypes of Latinos and blacks. I estimate separate models for Latinos and blacks. The models focus on the roles that contact and context play in shaping whites' racial attitudes yet I include other control variables in all of my models. Moreover, in all of the models described below I checked for collinearity issues and did not find any.

Whites' Closeness with Latinos and Blacks

Table 7.3 provides a description of whites' closeness to Latinos and blacks. Overall, I find that a substantial majority of whites (62.3%) are fairly or very close to Hispanics. Moreover, a substantial majority of whites (72.4%) think that they are fairly close to blacks. Overall, however, whites seem to feel closer to blacks than Latinos.

Table 7.3 Whites' Closeness to Hispanics and Blacks

	%	N	%	N
How close do you feel to each of the following groups of people in your ideas, interests and feelings about things? Very close, fairly close, not too close, or not close at all?				
	Hispanics		Blacks	
Not close at all	10.5%	90	6.7%	58
Not too close	27.4%	235	20.9%	181
Fairly close	52.4%	449	60.7%	526
Very close	9.68%	83	11.7%	101
Mean	1.61		1.77	
Standard deviation	0.80		0.74	

Table 7.4 presents ordered logit results of models of whites' perceptions of closeness with Latinos and blacks. Here I am able to explain the variation in whites' closeness with blacks and Latinos. I present two models, one for Latinos and another for blacks.

Table 7.4 OLS Regression Estimates for Model of Whites' Closeness with Latinos and Blacks

	Latinos		Blacks	
	b	z	b	z
Contact				
Latino coworker	0.224	1.40	-0.279	-1.67**
Black coworker	0.213	1.32	0.321	1.91**
White coworker	0.253	1.72*	-0.122	-0.80
Latino neighbor	-0.007	-0.04	-0.039	-0.23
Black neighbor	-0.167	-0.97	0.168	0.96
White neighbor	-0.496	-2.92***	0.106	0.61
Latino friend	0.962	4.49***	-0.462	-2.08**
Black friend	-0.947	-4.27***	1.089	4.75***
White friend	-0.415	-2.12**	-0.259	-1.27
Context				
Living in the south	-0.399	-2.72***	0.068	0.44
Controls				
Age	0.001	0.22	0.007	1.54*
Gender	-0.282	-1.94**	0.349	2.29**
Education	0.166	2.57***	-0.022	-0.33
Household income	0.003	0.04	-0.032	-0.40
Closeness with blacks	1.718	13.97***	----	----
Closeness with whites	0.251	2.14**	0.657	5.37***
Closeness with Latinos	----	----	1.639	13.91***
N	828		828	
Pseudo R^2	0.194		0.206	
Log likelihood	-768.324		-698.576	
Mean VIF	1.82 (highest: 3.17)		1.81 (highest: 3.10)	

Source: 2004 National Politics Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less

Whites' Closeness with Latinos

At the outset, I note that the first model in Table 7.4 does a fair job in explaining whites' closeness with Latinos (pseudo R^2: 0.194).

Overall, whites' contact with Latinos significantly affects their perceptions of closeness. First, unlike what I expected, contact in the workplace does not do a good job in

explaining whites' attitudes. However, contact in the neighborhood and friendship does. In line with what I hypothesized, having a white neighbor decreases the likelihood that whites view Latinos in a close manner (b=-0.495, t=-2.92). More than likely, whites who live near many other Anglos have developed some sort of linked fate with whites that may influence them to feel close only to whites.

When it comes to examining the effect of contact through a friendship lens, I find very interesting results. First, as expected and in support of contact theory, whites who have Latino friends are more likely to feel close to Latinos than those who do not have Latino friends (b=0.962, t=4.49). On the other hand, having a black friend has a significantly negative effect on whites' closeness with Latinos (b=-0.947, t=-4.27). I find this result very intriguing since it increases our understanding of what whites think about Latinos as well as blacks and, in general, of the role of contact on whites' attitudes toward Latinos. Based on this result, it seems that whites do not view blacks and Latinos in the same way. This finding is supported to a certain extent by the idea that whites and blacks are not perceived in the same way by society (Breland, 1998; Hunter, 2002; Levin and Banaji, 2006). Having a black friend influences whites to view Latinos in a negative way. Why could this be so? Would whites' black friends influence them not to feel close to Latinos? What goes on in the friendship relationship that makes whites think this way? When choosing friends, do whites feel that they have to choose a specific minority group, for instance, Latinos or blacks? Hence, what factors affect whether whites choose Latinos or blacks as friends? These are questions that will be addressed in a qualitative chapter of whites' views toward Hispanics and blacks as well as in future research. Consequently, I will conduct interactions using skin color and contact in the near future to further explore these results.

As expected, whites with white friends have less of a predisposition to perceive commonality with Latinos than whites with no white friends (b=-0.415, t=-2.12). Apparently, having a white friend leads to isolating effects. When it comes to living in the south, I find that whites who live in the south are less likely to perceive commonality with Latinos (b=-0.399, t=-2.72). This may be due to the fact of the south's long history of racial tensions and conflict or to the fact that only recently have Latinos established a strong presence throughout many parts of the south.

Among the control variables, I find interesting results regarding the effects of education and closeness with blacks. Education has a significantly positive effect on whites' closeness with Latinos indicating that well-educated whites are more likely to be open to Latinos and feel close to them than those who are not as well-educated. This result is in line to a certain extent with the liberalizing effects of education on whites' immigration attitudes (Wilkinson and Garand, 2007). In addition, closeness with blacks has a highly significant effect on whites' attitudes toward Latinos (b=1.718, t=13.97). This result to a certain extent counters my finding of having a black friend. If having a black friend decreases whites' closeness with Latinos, then to what extent can whites' closeness with blacks increase their closeness with Latinos? This is not to say that I think that being close to someone is similar to being their friend, but friendship and closeness compare to a certain extent. Do these results hold on a case by case basis? One possible explanation for this is that whites view blacks and Latinos in similar ways so when asked about commonality they thought of blacks and Latinos as minorities and not as separate groups.

Whites' Perception of Closeness with Blacks

In order to obtain a better understanding of whites' attitudes toward Latinos, I compare their attitudes toward Latinos with their attitudes toward blacks. The second

model of Table 7.4 reports whites' closeness with blacks. In general, this model does a satisfactory job in explaining whites' attitudes since the pseudo R^2 for the model is 0.206. Moreover, several contact variables significantly affect whites' closeness with blacks.

First, unlike the results in the Latino model, having a Latino coworker negatively affects whites' perceptions of closeness with blacks (b=-0.279, t=-1.67). This result provides greater depth in our understanding that whites may not view blacks and Latinos in the same way. Second, as expected and in support of the contact theory, I find that whites who have mostly black coworkers are more likely to perceive closeness with blacks than those who do not have mostly black coworkers (b=0.098, t=2.08). Third, among the neighbor variables, I find no significant relationships. Unlike the results in the Latino model, having a white neighbor does not shape whites' views toward blacks.

Fourth, when it comes to the effect of friendship on whites' closeness with blacks, I find that whites who have mostly Latino friends are less likely to feel close to blacks than those who have no Latino friends (b=-0.461, t=-2.08). Similar to the closeness with Latinos model, I find considerable support for the notion that whites do not view blacks and Latinos in the same way and that choosing one seems to have some sort of negative effect on views toward the other. I pose the same questions mentioned prior here as to why this is so. What is it about the contact that occurs in friendship that leads to these dividing views? Do whites feel that they have to choose between blacks and Latinos after befriending one group? I attempt to answer these questions in my qualitative exploration of whites' attitudes toward Latinos in comparison to blacks.[75] On the other hand, having a black friend has a

[75] In order to obtain a better idea of the effect that contact has on whites' attitudes, I have combined the Latino contact variables into one and have done the same for contact with blacks and whites. However, the results did not do a good or better job in explaining the effect that contact has on whites' attitudes.

significantly positive effect on whites' perceptions of closeness with blacks. The coefficient for the black friendship variable (b=0.295, t=4.65) conveys support for contact theory.

Lastly, the results of two control variables are worth noting. The coefficient for closeness with whites is both positive and significant conveying that whites who feel close to other whites are also likely to feel close to blacks (b=0.164, t=4.80). Moreover, the coefficient for closeness with Latinos is also positive and significant (b=0.441, t=15.52). Again, I am perplexed by this finding, similar to the one in the Latino model. How can I find that whites' contact with Latinos and blacks through friendship leads to dividing views of Hispanics and African Americans, yet whites' closeness with Latinos leads to greater closeness with blacks? One possible explanation for this is that some whites do not think in terms of race when considering what they have in common with others.

Overall, when comparing the results of the two models in table 7.4, I can conclude that whites are not generally predisposed to viewing Latinos and blacks in the same way. Having mostly Latino workers, white neighbors, Latino friends and black friends have opposing effects on whites' perceptions of closeness with Latinos and blacks. Nonetheless, the effects of closeness with blacks and Latinos on whites' attitudes do not provide support for this assertion.[76]

Whites' Perceptions of Job Competition with Latinos and Blacks

Table 7.5 provides a description of whites' perceptions of job competition with blacks and Latinos. When examining the results from Table 7.5, it seems that whites perceive very similar competition with Latinos as with blacks, yet we can assert that whites' perceive a little more competition from Hispanics (mean: 0.63) than from blacks (mean: 0.54). What accounts for the variation in these results? What role does contact play in

[76] Although some results are perplexing, I have found no collinearity issues among the independent variables in both models.

shaping whites' attitudes toward blacks and Latinos? In Table 7.6, I estimate an ordered logit model of whites' perceptions of job competition with Latinos and blacks.

Table 7.5 Whites' Job Competition with Hispanics and Blacks

	%	N	%	N
Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements. More jobs for _____, less jobs for people like me.				
	Hispanics		Blacks	
Strongly disagree	60.3%	535	62.7%	557
Somewhat Disagree	23.8%	211	24.6%	219
Somewhat agree	8.7%	77	8.4%	75
Strongly agree	7.3%	65	4.3%	38
Mean	0.63		0.54	
Standard deviation	0.92		0.82	

Table 7.6 Ordered Logit Model of Whites' Job Competition with Latinos and Blacks

	Latinos		Blacks	
	b	z	b	z
Contact				
Latino coworker	0.374	2.17**	0.242	1.40
Black coworker	-0.103	-0.60	0.028	0.16
White coworker	0.256	1.64**	0.184	1.16
Latino neighbor	-0.086	-0.50	-0.279	-1.62*
Black neighbor	-0.145	-0.84	-0.139	-0.79
White neighbor	-0.354	-2.08**	-0.380	-2.25*
Latino friend	-0.205	-0.90	-0.181	-0.79
Black friend	-0.377	-1.62*	-0.191	-0.81
White friend	-0.179	-0.87	-0.024	-0.12
Context				
Living in the south	0.427	2.82***	0.429	2.79***

Table 7.6 (continued)

Control Variables				
Age	0.014	3.27***	0.019	4.41***
Gender	-0.134	-0.89	-0.011	-0.07
Education	-0.483	-7.01***	-0.371	-5.42***
Household income	-0.080	-0.99	-0.108	-1.34
Closeness with blacks	-0.090	-0.74	-0.303	-2.46**
Closeness with whites	0.135	1.12	0.153	1.23
Closeness with Latinos	-0.612	-5.38***	-0.414	-3.62***
N	810		811	
Pseudo R^2	0.093		0.082	
Log likelihood	-777.500		-730.839	
Mean VIF	1.82 (highest: 3.13)		1.82 (highest: 3.13)	

Source: 2004 National Politics Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less

Whites' Job Competition with Latinos

In the Latino model, the pseudo R^2 for the model is 0.082, indicating a fair job in explaining whites' perceptions of job competition with Latinos.

Overall, the core coefficients observed in this model are not strongly consistent with expectations. None of the coworker coefficients significantly shape whites' attitudes. Turning to the neighbor contact variables, having mostly white neighbors has strong effects on whites' competition with Latinos. Whites who have mostly white neighbors are less likely to perceive Latinos as competitors in the workplace than whites with no white neighbors (b=-0.380, t=-2.25). This variable was also significant in the closeness with Latinos model. What is it about having a white neighbor that shapes whites' views toward Latinos? I suspect that whites who live near many other Anglos are less likely to feel threatened by other racial groups due to the strong relationships that they form with their neighbors. Another possible explanation for this finding is that whites who live near other whites may have higher socioeconomic statuses than those who do not. Hence, whites who have a high socioeconomic status are less likely to feel threatened economically than others.

Regarding the effect that living in the south has on white attitudes, I find that whites who live in the south are more likely to perceive job competition with Latinos (b=0.429, 2.79). This result coincides with what I hypothesized.

Among the control variables, closeness with Latinos has a significantly negative effect on whites' perceptions of job competition with Latinos (b=-0.414, t=-3.62) illustrating that closeness with a particular group leads whites to view that racial group in a positive way and not view them as competitors. This result makes sense and can reaffirm the idea that perceptions of closeness and job competition for whites are distinct, opposing views.

Whites' Perceptions of Job Competition with Blacks

Table 7.6 also provides a model of whites' job competition with blacks. After skimming over the model, the model seems to do a fairly good job in explaining whites' competition with blacks (pseudo R^2: 0.082).

Nevertheless, unlike the Latino model, having mostly white neighbors is the only variable that has a considerable effect on whites' competition with blacks. None of the black contact variables shape whites' attitudes. The coefficient for the Latino neighbor variable is negative conveying that whites who have mostly Latino neighbors are less predisposed to perceive job competition with blacks than whites with no Latino neighbors. This result compares to that of Sigelman and Welch's (1993) finding that interracial neighborhood contact decreases whites' perception of anti-black feelings (789). In addition, similar to the results regarding the effects of having mostly black friends in the Latino competition model, I can conclude that Latinos can influence whites not to view blacks in a competitive manner and possibly perceive them in a positive way. In addition, this may provide support to the idea that whites view blacks and Latinos similarly.

Regarding the effect of living in the south, as expected, I find that whites in the south are more likely to perceive job competition with blacks than whites outside of the south (b=0.429, t=2.79). Turning to the control variables, the results for two major variables are notable. First, the coefficient for closeness with blacks is negative, illustrating that whites who feel close to blacks have a lower predisposition to perceive competition with them when it comes to jobs. Moreover, I find that the closer whites feel to Latinos the less likely they perceive job competition with blacks. This finding indicates that whites may view blacks and Latinos in a comparable way regarding job competition. Whites who are close to blacks and Latinos are less likely to perceive competition with blacks.

Overall, Table 7.6 results illustrate that contact is more likely to affect whites' job competition with Latinos than whites' job competition with blacks. Furthermore, the contact results in both models increase my support for the idea that whites may view blacks and Latinos in similar ways. One way or another, I find little support for the contact theory.

Whites' Political Competition with Latinos and Blacks

Table 7.7 provides a description of whites' perceptions of political competition with blacks and Latinos. Based on the results from Table 7.7, it seems that whites perceive very similar competition with Latinos as with blacks. Nonetheless, whites feel that more political competition exists with Latinos (mean: 0.63) than with blacks (mean: 0.55).

In Table 7.8, I present an ordered logit model for perceptions of political competition with Latinos and another for political competition with blacks. Specifically, I explore the effect of contact on whites' attitudes to obtain a better understanding of the variation in whites' views toward blacks and Latinos.

Table 7.7 Whites' Political Competition with Hispanics and Blacks

	%	N	%	N
Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements. More influential _____ in politics, less influential people like me.				
	Hispanics		Blacks	
Strongly disagree	58.8%	524	61.1%	547
Somewhat Disagree	26.9%	240	25.5%	228
Somewhat agree	9.2%	82	10.4%	93
Strongly agree	5.1%	45	3.0%	27
Mean	0.630		0.55	
Standard deviation	0.85		0.80	

Table 7.8 Ordered Logit Results for Model of Whites' Political Competition with Latinos and Blacks

	Latinos		Blacks	
	b	z	b	z
Contact				
Latino coworker	0.272	1.61	0.155	0.91
Black coworker	-0.259	-1.54	-0.113	-0.67
White coworker	-0.031	-0.21	0.110	0.71
Latino neighbor	-0.656	-3.83***	-0.592	-3.44***
Black neighbor	-0.519	-2.98***	-0.172	-0.98
White neighbor	-0.688	-4.19***	-0.372	-2.26**
Latino friend	0.109	0.47	0.250	1.07
Black friend	0.098	0.41	-0.046	-0.19
White friend	0.265	1.20	0.296	1.35
Context				
Living in the south	0.439	2.90***	0.439	2.87***
Control Variables				
Age	0.027	5.86***	0.023	5.17***
Gender	-0.246	-1.62	-0.417	-2.74***
Education	-0.333	-4.89***	-0.368	-5.34***
Household income	-0.204	-2.45***	-0.146	-1.78*

Table 7.8 (continued)

Control Variables (continued)				
Closeness with blacks	-0.265	-2.19**	-0.540	-4.41***
Closeness with whites	0.549	4.41***	0.365	2.95***
Closeness with Latinos	-0.645	-5.63***	-0.264	-2.28***
N	812		814	
Pseudo R^2	0.121		0.102	
Log likelihood	-748.590		-726.912	
Mean VIF	1.82 (highest: 3.13)		1.82 (highest: 3.13)	

Source: 2004 National Politics Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less

Whites' Political Competition with Latinos

The Latino political competition model seems to do a good overall job in explaining whites' political competition with Latinos (pseudo R^2: 0.121). Regarding the contact variables, I find that having coworkers and friends do not shape whites' political competition with Latinos. On the other hand, the three neighbor variables significantly influence whites' competition with Latinos. Indirectly supporting the contact theory, the results indicate that whites with mostly Latino neighbors are less likely to perceive political competition with Latinos than those with no Latino neighbors (b=-0.656, t=-3.83). Similarly, having mostly black neighbors has a significantly negative effect on whites' attitudes (b=-0.519, t=-2.98). This finding provides support for the idea that whites are affected by Latinos and blacks in comparable ways and they may view blacks and Latinos similarly. In addition, this finding to a certain extent expands Sigelman and Welch's (1993) argument that interracial neighborhood contacts increase whites' support for racial integration.

In addition, the coefficient for the white neighbor variable is significant and negative indicating that whites with mostly white neighbors are less predisposed to perceiving political competition with Latinos than those with no white friends (b=-0.688, t=-4.19). This variable has been significant and negative in all of the Latino models so far leading me to conclude that whites' who have mostly white neighbors are strongly influenced by their

neighbors when it comes to their views of Latinos. Furthermore, I suspect that whites who live near other whites are more likely to have a high socioeconomic status and having a high level of education and household income decreases their perceptions of threat and competition with blacks and Latinos.

When it comes to contextual effects, I conclude that white southerners have a greater predisposition to perceive political competition with Latinos than whites outside of the south. This finding is in agreement with the hypothesis that I presented for this variable.

Among the control variables, almost all of the demographic variables have significant effects yet I find the effects of whites' closeness with other whites and their closeness with Latinos noteworthy. Closeness with whites has a significantly positive effect on whites' perceptions of competition with Latinos. I am perplexed by this finding since having mostly white neighbors has the opposite effect on whites' attitudes. Although whites may not perceive closeness and neighborhood makeup in the same way, why would these have opposing effects on whites' perception of competition? A possible explanation for this finding is that closeness with whites may lead whites to possess some sort of linked fate with whites that may increase whites' perception of competition with any other group other than whites. On the other hand, having mostly white neighbors may not result in the same dynamic. Furthermore, having mostly white neighbors may signal whites' higher socioeconomic status hence decreasing whites' perception of threat by other groups. This reasoning alludes to theories regarding economic self-interest and whites' immigration attitudes (Hood and Morris, 1997; Fetzer, 2000).

Unlike closeness with whites, closeness with Latinos has a negative effect on whites' attitudes. The closer whites feel to Latinos, the less likely that they are to perceive political

competition with them. This result compares to the effects of closeness with Latinos in the job competition models.

Whites' Political Competition with Blacks

Table 7.8 also presents a model of whites' political competition with blacks. The model does a fairly good job in explaining whites' attitudes (adjusted R^2: 0.1026). Similar to the Latino model, coworkers and friends do not shape whites' political competition. Furthermore, the effects of the neighbor variables are quite comparable. Whites with mostly Latino neighbors are less likely to perceive political competition with blacks (b=-0.592, t=-3.44). Also, whites who have mostly white neighbors are less predisposed to perceiving political competition than those with no white neighbors (b=-0.372, t=-2.26). Surprisingly, the black neighbor variable does not significantly influence whites' political competition with blacks, yet the coefficient is negative, in the same direction as the coefficient in the Latino model.

The effects of closeness with whites and Latinos also compare to the Latino model. Moreover, it is not surprising to find that the coefficient for the closeness with blacks variable is negative indicating that the more whites feel close to blacks, the less likely that they are to perceive political competition with them.

In general, the results of Table 7.8 lead me to conclude that whites do not view blacks and Latinos very differently when it comes to perceiving political competition. It makes sense that closeness with Latinos/blacks has a negative effect on whites' political competition with Latinos/blacks. With regards to contact theory, Table 7.8 results support the contact theory in the sense that increasing contact leads whites to be less predisposed to perceive political competition.

Whites' Lazy Stereotype of Latinos and Blacks

Besides exploring whites' perceptions of commonality and competition with blacks and Latinos, I examine whites' negative stereotypes of these groups.

Table 7.9 Whites' Lazy Stereotypes of Latinos and Blacks

	%	N	%	N
Where would you rate _____ in general on a scale of 1 to 7, where 3 indicates lazy, -3 means hardworking, and 0 indicates most _____ are not closer to one end or the other?				
	Latinos		Blacks	
Hardworking	17.9%	156	10.5%	91
-2	22.4%	195	12.7%	110
-1	21.8%	190	24.5%	213
Neither end	31.4%	273	39.6%	344
1	4.4%	38	8.98%	78
2	0.69%	6	2.42%	21
Lazy	1.38%	12	1.38%	12
Mean	-1.11		-0.63	
Standard deviation	1.31		1.27	

Table 7.9 provides a description of whites' stereotypes of blacks and Hispanics. The table illustrates that many whites think that blacks (39.6%) and Latinos (31.4%) are neither hardworking nor lazy. However, when taking a more careful glance at the table results, I find that whites think that Latinos (17.9%) are more hardworking than blacks (10.5%). In general, based on these results, it seems that whites are open to other racial groups yet they may be more likely to perceive Latinos in a more positive light than blacks.

What accounts for whites' difference in views toward Latinos' and blacks' work ethic? Table 7.10 presents ordered logit results of models for whites' adoption of a lazy stereotype of Latinos and blacks. Similar to the other tables, the first model is for Latinos and the second is for blacks.

Table 7.10 Ordered Logit Results for Model of Whites' Lazy Stereotype of Latinos and Blacks

	Latinos		Blacks	
	b	z	b	z
Contact				
Latino coworker	-0.129	-0.87	-0.017	-0.11
Black coworker	-0.262	-1.77*	-0.287	-1.90**
White coworker	-0.208	-1.45	-0.230	-1.59
Latino neighbor	0.084	0.56	-0.137	-0.88
Black neighbor	0.054	0.35	-0.105	-0.65
White neighbor	0.169	1.11	0.027	0.17
Latino friend	-0.116	-0.59	-0.093	-0.47
Black friend	0.181	0.91	0.176	0.88
White friend	0.127	0.73	0.058	0.33
Context				
Living in the south	-0.462	-3.45***	0.084	0.62
Control Variables				
Age	-0.001	-0.21	-0.006	-1.55
Gender	-0.249	-1.89*	-0.614	-4.53***
Education	-0.028	-0.47	-0.085	-1.40
Household income	0.090	1.31	0.053	0.75
Closeness with blacks	0.008	0.08	-0.700	-6.05***
Closeness with whites	0.126	1.15	0.110	0.99
Closeness with Latinos	-0.591	-5.63***	-0.144	-1.38
N	796		794	
Pseudo R^2	0.028		0.042	
Log likelihood	-1216.933		-1203.484	
Mean VIF	1.82 (highest: 3.13)		1.82 (highest: 3.13)	

Source: 2004 National Politics Survey P value: ***0.01 or less; ** 0.05 or less; * 0.10 or less

Whites' Lazy Stereotype of Latinos

Overall, the model does not do a very good job in explaining whites' stereotype of Latinos (adjusted R^2: 0.028). Moreover, none of the variables in the neighbor and friend contact categories significantly affect whites' attitudes. Nevertheless, having a black coworker decreases whites' adoption of the lazy stereotype of Latinos (b=-0.262, t=-1.77).

This finding may be due to the fact that interracial contact decreases whites' adoption of stereotypical attitudes. Furthermore, this finding may be due to the experiences that whites have with black coworkers. Nevertheless, these are mere speculations.

As found in the other models, living in the south significantly shapes whites' attitudes. Here I conclude that white southerners are less likely to perceive Hispanics as lazy than whites who live outside of the south. This result does not coincide with what I hypothesized. However, one possible explanation for this is that Latinos only recently established a strong presence throughout numerous parts of the south so whites' initial reaction to them is positive.

In the control variable category, the effect of closeness with Latinos is worth noting. I find that the more whites feel close to Latinos, the less likely they are to adopt negative stereotypes of Latinos. Again, I find that closeness with Latinos has a negative effect on whites' negative attitudes toward Latinos.

Whites' Lazy Stereotype of Blacks

Similar to the Latino stereotype model, the model for whites' stereotypes of blacks does a fair job in explaining whites' attitudes toward blacks (pseudo R^2: 0.041). Nevertheless, none of the contact variables significantly affect whites' attitudes except one. Whites who have black coworkers are significantly less likely to perceive blacks as lazy (b=-0.287, t=-1.90). A control variable whose effect is noteworthy is closeness with blacks. I find that the closer whites feel to blacks, the less likely that they will adopt negative stereotypes of blacks.

In conclusion, Table 7.10 illustrates that contact does not significantly shape whites' adoption of lazy stereotypes of Latinos and blacks. However, it makes sense that closeness

with Latinos and blacks negatively affect whites' negative views toward Latinos and blacks, respectively.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter I use data from the 2004 National Politics Survey to explore whites' perceptions of closeness, competition and stereotypes of Latinos. The 2004 NPS is a very valuable dataset for exploring my research questions due to the large variety of questions that address white racial attitudes. Very few national survey datasets have explored questions regarding whites' stereotypes, political and job competition and closeness with blacks as well as Latinos. In exploring whites' racial attitudes toward Latinos, I consider whites' perceptions of closeness, job and political competition and adoption of a lazy stereotype toward Latinos. For every Latino model, I include a model for blacks to serve as leverage and to increase my understanding of whites' attitudes toward Latinos.

When I examine the effect of contact on whites' attitudes, I find that contact (in the form of friendship, coworkers and neighborhood makeup) significantly shapes whites' perceptions of closeness and job competition with Latinos and, to a certain extent, blacks. On the other hand, contact does not have a critical effect on whites' perceptions of political competition and stereotypes of blacks and Latinos. Nevertheless, the effect of contact on perceptions of closeness and job competition are not always in the same direction. In the closeness models, I find some support for the contact theory through the effects of having mostly Latino coworkers and friends. However, the effect of having mostly Latino coworkers provides no support for the contact theory.

Another major finding in the closeness models is that whites may not view Latinos and blacks in the same way. For instance, I find that having many Latino friends has a positive effect and having mostly black friends has the opposite effect on how close whites

feel to Latinos. Nonetheless, the effects of closeness with blacks and Latinos in this model actually counter this assertion. This may shed light on the fact that some whites do not think in terms of race when they think about commonality. Some may perceive commonality with certain individuals regardless of race. However, whites may differ by skin tone and skin tone may play a mediating factor on the effect of commonality with whites/Latinos on whites' general attitudes toward them. Thus, future research will employ interactions of skin color and perceptions of commonality.

Furthermore, the job and political competition models support the idea that whites do not view blacks and Latinos in different ways. The results for the effect of contact with blacks and Latinos are often in the same direction. Moreover, many of the significant relationships in the political competition with Latinos model are found in the black model.

It is clear that interracial contact shapes whites' perceptions of closeness in a different way than it affects whites' competition with Latinos and blacks. Why is this so? Moreover, there are other types of contact that warrant study that are not captured in my models. I am constrained by the type of questions asked about contact and perceptions of closeness and competition asked across various surveys including, but not limited, to the 2004 NPS. Hence, taking a qualitative approach to answering the numerous questions that remain may assist in my understanding of whites' attitudes toward Latinos and blacks.

With regards to contextual effects on white attitudes, I find that living in the south shapes whites' attitudes toward Latinos and blacks among almost all of my models. White southerners are less likely to perceive commonality with Latinos and more likely to perceive economic and political competition with Latinos and blacks. This may be due partly to the history of racial tensions and conflict in this region of the country.

Among the control variables, closeness with blacks and Latinos provided some very interesting results. I find that closeness with blacks and Latinos have a positive effect on closeness with Latinos and blacks, respectively. I also found that closeness with blacks and Latinos negatively affected competition with blacks and Latinos. This sheds light on the fact that whites may view blacks and Latinos similarly. Moreover, this finding may contribute to the skin color literature in that it may shed light on the fact that some whites may lump those who are not commonly associated with having light complexions into one category and not take into consideration the variations of skin tone between blacks and Latinos. Nevertheless, this is mere speculation and future work will explore this finding.

Overall, although this study is quite preliminary, conducting a study like this is essential. The literatures on whites' racial attitudes toward blacks and immigration attitudes are quite vast. Moreover, the debate on the importance and usefulness of the contact theory in explaining racial attitudes is lengthy. Hence, this paper has somewhat aggregated the major findings of these literatures and posed new, controversial questions that are more in line with what is going on in our country today.

Based on these findings, what are the implications for coalition building between whites and blacks and whites and Latinos? Overall, due to the divisive effects found in the contact variables, if whites were to form coalitions with Latinos, then may not form coalitions with blacks and vice versa. However, my findings suggest that there are some whites who do not think in terms of race when it comes to perceptions of closeness and competition. This may shed light on the fact that some individuals may form coalitions with others regardless of race. On the other hand, I do not take skin tone into account when exploring whites' attitudes toward Latinos and blacks. Skin tone may play a mitigating role in shaping whites' racial attitudes and this will be explored in future research.

CHAPTER 8: WHITES' ATTITUDES TOWARD LATINOS AND BLACKS IN THE GREATER NEW ORLEANS AREA: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

It has been argued that the literature on immigration attitudes has focused extensively on whites' attitudes toward immigrants and immigration, yet the literature on the perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes among racial groups has concentrated very little on whites' attitudes. Furthermore, it is one thing to study whites' attitudes toward immigration and immigrants from Latin America, but it is another to explore their views toward Latinos who have established themselves in the U.S. for several generations and who have and are continuing to shape the country demographically, politically, socially and economically.

In this chapter I explore whites' attitudes perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes of Latinos in comparison to those of blacks. What distinguishes this chapter from the earlier chapter on whites' attitudes is that I provide a qualitative approach to answer my research questions through the use of focus groups conducted from January to March 2010. Moreover, this study differs from the quantitative study of whites' attitudes since my study focuses on whites who live in the city of New Orleans. This study also differs from the quantitative study since I examine whether contact has a positive or negative effect on whites' views toward blacks and Latinos. Some of the questions that I seek to answer in this chapter are: Do whites in New Orleans view Latinos and blacks in the same way? Do whites perceive more competition with blacks than with Latinos just because they have a longer history of contact with them? Does contact shape whites' attitudes? In what way? Nevertheless, it is important for me to mention that the results of this study are not meant to supplement those found in the previous chapter but to reinforce the findings.

NEW ORLEANS

Currently African Americans make up the majority of the residents of New Orleans. The 2005 U.S. Census (conducted prior to hurricane Katrina) indicates that blacks made up 67.5 percent of the parish's population. However, after the hurricane, the 2006 American Community Survey sponsored by the U.S. Census indicates that the black population in Orleans parish decreased to 58.8 percent of the total city population. Nevertheless, whites have always maintained a steady presence in New Orleans. In 2000, they made up 26.6 percent of the Orleans parish population and 30.7 percent in 2008 (Plyer and Ortiz 2009). Hence, although whites were and continue to be a minority of Orleans Parish, their presence is made known.

Consequently, New Orleans may seem very different than other major U.S. cities yet it does not differ very much from them. The city of New Orleans has seen a significant and very quick rise in the Latino population greatly due to a hurricane disaster, yet New Orleans can be considered an emerging Latino city like many cities throughout the U.S. Similar to other major cities with a strong Latino presence, Latinos in New Orleans are influencing the city and its surrounding areas demographically, socially, economically and culturally. Furthermore, parallel to many other major cities in the south, New Orleans has a history of racial tensions between blacks and whites and has considerably large African American and white populations. Therefore, the results found in this paper may not be completely representative of whites nationwide, yet my results may not veer too far from whites' attitudes in other areas of the country.

THEORETICAL APPROACH: CONTACT THEORY

In this study of whites' attitudes toward blacks and Latinos, I explore the role that contact plays in shaping whites' perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes of

blacks and Latinos in New Orleans. Specifically, I test contact theory, which appears frequently in research regarding whites' immigration attitudes and whites' hostility and stereotypes of blacks (Sigelman and Welch, 1993; Hood and Morris, 1997; Welch, Sigelman, Bledsoe and Combs, 2001; Wilkinson and Garand, 2007).

In order to examine the effect of contact on whites' attitudes, I ask whites in the focus groups whether they have been in contact with Latinos and blacks, such as having friends, neighbors or coworkers. Moreover, I ask them if contact with blacks/Latinos shapes their attitudes toward individuals from these groups. When it comes to blacks, I ask: Based on the contact that you have with blacks, how does this affect your attitudes toward blacks? For instance, does contact affect how much in common and competition that you have with blacks? If so, in a positive way or negative way? I ask the same question with regards to Latinos.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The data for this paper comes from a project directed by the author of this dissertation. In the early spring of 2010, I launched an in-depth qualitative study of whites' attitudes toward blacks and Hispanics in New Orleans.

For as intense a topic as whites' attitudes toward blacks and Latinos in New Orleans, focus group research is critical since it permits me to track respondents' thought patterns as well as the intensity of their responses. Moreover, it is important to mention that at the beginning of my research, I did not pose clear directional hypotheses and specific ideas of what I wanted the participants to say. I knew I wanted the participants to discuss their attitudes toward blacks and Latinos and led the discussion with a focus on perceptions of commonality and competition and asked questions regarding the effect of contact on these perceptions. I guided the discussion by presenting general questions allowing the

respondents' answers to branch off into other topics as long as the topics remained in the realm of the questions' topics (Hibbing and Theiss-Morse, 1995).[77]

Participant Characteristics

This qualitative data collection focuses on six focus groups with a total of 21 whites from the city of New Orleans and its surrounding areas. Most of the focus groups were conducted in a public library in Metairie, a suburb of New Orleans, as well as in a classroom at the Baton Rouge main campus of Louisiana State University.[78]

The demographic characteristics of the focus group participants provide an interesting glimpse of the white population in New Orleans. The percentage of men who were interviewed was 76% percent. Also, the average reported age of the participants was 30 years. More than half of the respondents (62 percent) reported being employed and more than half (approximately 52 percent) of the respondents reported having an annual income of $25,000 or less. Furthermore, regarding education, about 67 percent of the respondents reported having less than a college diploma. I recognize that my sample of white respondents may not completely represent the white population in the Greater New Orleans area. However, this is an ongoing study and more whites will be included in my sample size in the future.

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[77] The questions that were asked in the focus groups are found in the appendix of this paper.

[78] Participants were identified and recruited in various ways. I recruited Louisiana State University undergraduate students from the New Orleans area who identify as white by visiting university classrooms and informing students about my study and leaving flyers with the presiding professor so that any interested students could obtain my contact information. In addition, flyers were placed on cars in parking lots of grocery stores and convenient stores in the Greater New Orleans area. A newspaper ad was placed in the classified section of the *Times Picayune*, the local newspaper of the Greater New Orleans area. In addition, several ads were placed on the New Orleans section of craigslist (www.craigslist.com), a website that allows members to place advertisements regarding jobs, housing, objects for sale, volunteer opportunities and so forth. When recruiting, I communicated on the ads and flyers that I was recruiting white residents of the Greater New Orleans area, was conducting a multi-racial study on race relations in New Orleans and would compensate each participant $20 for an hour of their time.

Before going any further, I think it is important to point out that a certain type of person may be more willing to participate in a study of race relations than others. As noted, a significant number of focus group participants were young men. This did not occur with the focus groups for blacks and Latinos. Actually, Latinas and African American women greatly outnumbered black men in the focus group samples. So, why did so many white men decide to participate? Are white men more willing to talk about their racial attitudes than white women? Are white women more fearful of discussing race relations? I recognize that such a large white male sample is not representative of the white population in the New Orleans area, yet more focus groups will be conducted in future research to balance the weight of the white male sample.

Data Analysis

The participants' responses were recorded with a tape recorder and noted on a laptop using the software, Microsoft Word. Then, the data were collected in a data display format.[79] This format is commonly used to display large quantities of data in a reduced format allowing the researcher to easily identify the appropriate variables. In order to ensure accurate findings, I transcribed all the focus groups, while another experienced researcher verified all of the transcriptions. Moreover, each researcher examined each transcribed focus group and extracted the themes individually. The commonality in the themes between the two researchers was 90 percent. This means that the two researchers found the same themes while reading each transcribed focus group minus the exception of two or three themes.

[79] When using a data display format, a researcher usually prints out each transcribed focus group in different colored paper. Then, each set of questions and answers of each focus group are cut up individually and placed in piles. The researcher places the same questions and answers of each focus group in one pile. By doing this, the researcher is able to look at each focus group's response to each question and is able to explore the themes (shared by all the focus groups) found in the answers to each question. For more information regarding this format, please contact the author.

RESULTS OF WHITE FOCUS GROUPS IN NEW ORLEANS

In this section, I present data on whites' perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes toward Latinos and blacks in New Orleans. Moreover, I discuss the effect that contact has on their attitudes. This section is divided into several subsections: contact, perceptions of commonality, competition, effect of contact on attitudes and stereotypes and future race relations among Hispanics, blacks and whites. I begin by briefly discussing how much contact whites have with blacks and Latinos. The commonality and competition sections describe whites' reported commonality and competition with blacks and Latinos. The section that follows discusses the effect of contact on whites' attitudes towards both racial groups. Following these sections, I discuss the explicit and implicit stereotypes that were expressed throughout the focus groups. Lastly, I describe how whites envision future race relations with blacks and Latinos and other major themes that arose.

Contact

One of the first questions asked in each focus group was how much contact whites have with blacks and Latinos. When it comes to contact with blacks, the majority of participants stated that they have a good bit of contact with blacks and most have black coworkers and neighbors.

Gary: Several neighbors, and my last job was about half black workers.

In addition, a few mentioned that they had black friends.

Joe: I have a few black friends and some on my block.

On the other hand, whites have some contact with Latinos but not as much on a regular basis as blacks. Several white participants have Hispanic friends.

Kyle: I do have some but I just don't see them…yeah, not every day."

Some have worked with them and live close to them.

> Jim: Yeah, I work with them, some live in my apartment. You know, when you live in an apartment, you don't really talk to your neighbors. You say hello when they pass by but you don't really know them."
>
> Joe: Um, we didn't have all that many Hispanics living around us. Like when I used to, like when I did construction, we had a lot of Hispanic workers.

Hence, these statements indicate that whites in New Orleans have a more frequent contact with blacks in the workplace and neighborhood than Latinos, yet contact with Hispanics exists.

Commonality

In this section, I discuss whites' perceptions of commonality with Latinos and blacks. I discuss whites' attitudes toward each group separately. First, I describe the answers that focus group participants gave in a questionnaire regarding how much they perceive commonality with Latinos and African Americans and then present the statements that they made throughout the focus groups.

Commonality with Latinos

Figure 8.1 presents the perceptions of commonality that the focus group participants have with Latinos. Before the focus group began, the participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire where this topic was addressed.[80] The participants were asked to convey how much in common they have with Latinos on a scale from 0 (nothing in common) to 10 (a lot

[80] Besides asking demographic questions, I included two questions in the questionnaire that assessed whites' perceptions of commonality with blacks and Latinos. I did this in order to obtain a better understanding of whites' attitudes since I may not be able to capture all of the participants' attitudes in an hour-long focus group. Another reason for doing this is to examine whether the actual focus group process influenced individuals' attitudes or the portrayal of their views. I can state that whites' attitudes expressed in the questionnaire did not differ very much from what they expressed throughout the focus groups, yet I noticed that several participants were cautious in the way that they talked about African Americans in general. In two focus groups, there were a few friendly disagreements regarding blacks. When one individual (over the age of 40) described blacks as lazy and as those who take advantage of the resources given to them, another responded (younger than 30 years) by stating that some whites are racist and do not understand why blacks act the way that they do. In another focus group, after hearing that blacks should not wear their pants so far down and that they are lazy when speaking, one individual (younger than 30 years) responded by stating that blacks have a legitimate reason for wearing their pants down and for speaking in a lazy manner. Moreover, for many years blacks have been "neglected, they've been put down and forced in the ghettos, projects." Throughout the focus groups, younger generations seemed to have a less discriminatory view of blacks than older individuals.

in common). The figure illustrates that the majority of whites perceive that they have some commonality with Latinos, though it is noteworthy that no respondents scored at the most extreme values on this scale.

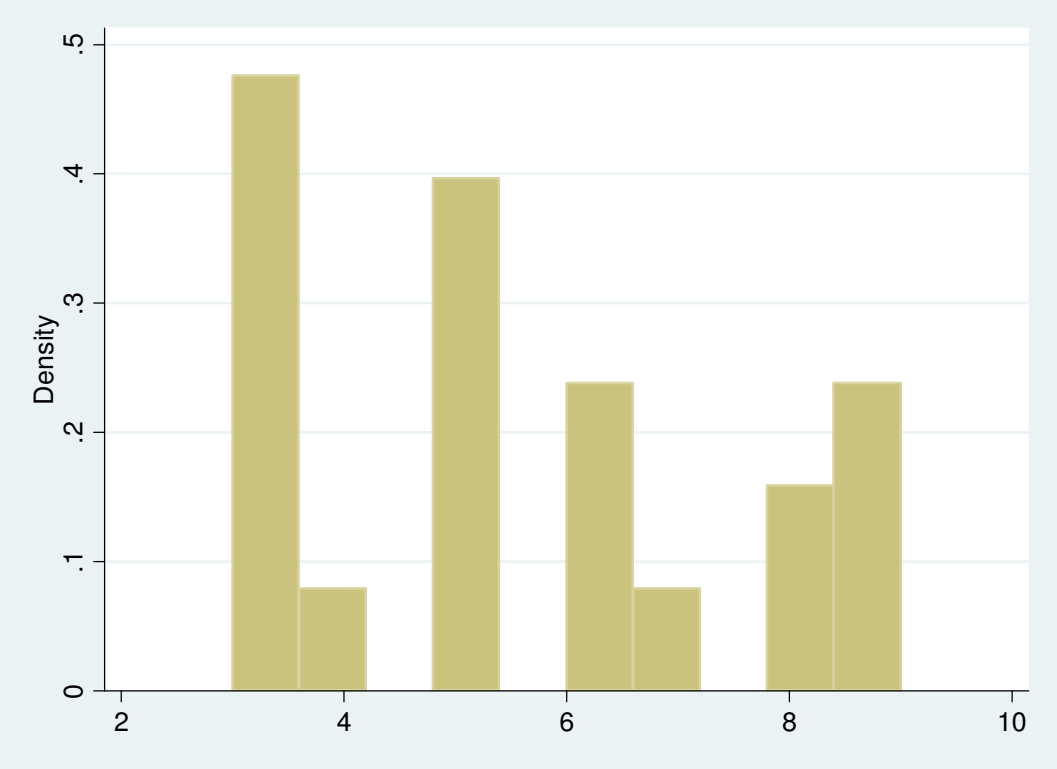

Figure 8.1 Whites' Perceptions of Commonality with Latinos

In the focus group discussions, four main themes emerged regarding commonality with Latinos. First, several stated that they like the same food as Latinos. A second theme that arose is that Latinos are more family-oriented and have deeper traditions than whites. A third theme is that the Spanish language can be a barrier to finding things in common with Hispanics. Lastly, many stated that commonality has to do with a person and is not about race or ethnicity.

A response that appeared throughout many focus groups is that whites like the same food that Latinos like, particularly Mexican food.

> Gary: As far as food goes, I love Mexican food. They are one of my favorite types of food. But culture aspects such as music and clothes, probably very little.
>
> Troy: I like the same food that they do.

Moreover, a few participants recognized that Latinos are very family-oriented and probably more family and community-oriented than most whites.

> Kevin: I believe that Hispanics have more of a solid family unit than whites do and especially in America, Hispanics seem to ask their mother and grandmother to live with them instead of putting them in a nursing home. Um, they also seem to have more of a community. It's more of a unity in the community.
>
> Michael: They have always been very warm, really family-oriented and very, ah, just good…I'm not as family-oriented…it seems like they keep in contact with their people and make sure that they're taken care of.

In several focus groups, individuals mentioned that the Spanish language was a barrier to finding things in common with Latinos.[81]

> Troy: Every Hispanic person that I have come across is like, they're all like really nice people. It's like the language barrier is the only difference.
>
> Joe: I haven't really met a Hispanic that I would necessarily dislike or hate. I mean there are people where there is a language barrier like the only difference…And they are like, they're striving to like mix our cultures and there's really not that much difference.

Another prominent theme that emerged in the focus groups is that race or ethnicity is not a determining factor for deciding whether one has something in common with an individual. Many respondents indicated that Latinos just want the same basic things as whites.

> Leroy: So I don't think it's a black/white/Hispanic thing whether I have something in common with them…It's not about race, definitely more about the person…we all more or less strive for the same things, you know: family,

[81] However, it is important for me to mention that in other parts of the focus groups, several participants mentioned that they are trying to learn Spanish and try to speak it, but others stated that Latinos must learn English.

job, food on the table, roof over your head. You know, a nice life or as nice as you can have.

Sean: I think we are all, we are all people. You know, family, we want a comfortable bed. You know, there's so many things we have in common if you put language and a couple other things [aside].

Thus, whites find some things in common with Latinos but are aware of how they differ from them as well.

Commonality with Blacks

In Figure 8.2, I present a histogram representing whites' perceptions of commonality with blacks. On the questionnaire, focus group participants were also asked about how much in common they have with blacks. They were asked to measure their perceptions of commonality on a scale from 0 (nothing in common) to 10 (a lot in common). Figure 8.2 conveys that the majority of whites have some or a lot of commonality with blacks. Indeed, whites seem to perceive that they have more in common with blacks than with Latinos.[82]

Throughout the focus groups, most participants expressed the view that there were few differences between blacks and them overall. On the other hand, specifically, three major themes emerged from white participants' answers: (1) they like the same music that blacks like; (2) they have something in common with them if share the same financial situation as blacks; and (3) race does not play a factor in determining commonality.

Music taste (particularly rap and hip hop) seems to be something that many whites share with African Americans:

Troy: I like to listen to music that is considered black.

Jay: I listen to a lot of the same music black people listen to.

When it comes to specific music tastes that whites share, one individual stated:

Kevin: I like jazz, I like funk. I like hip hop.

[82] This finding is supported by my quantitative results from the 2004 National Politics Survey.

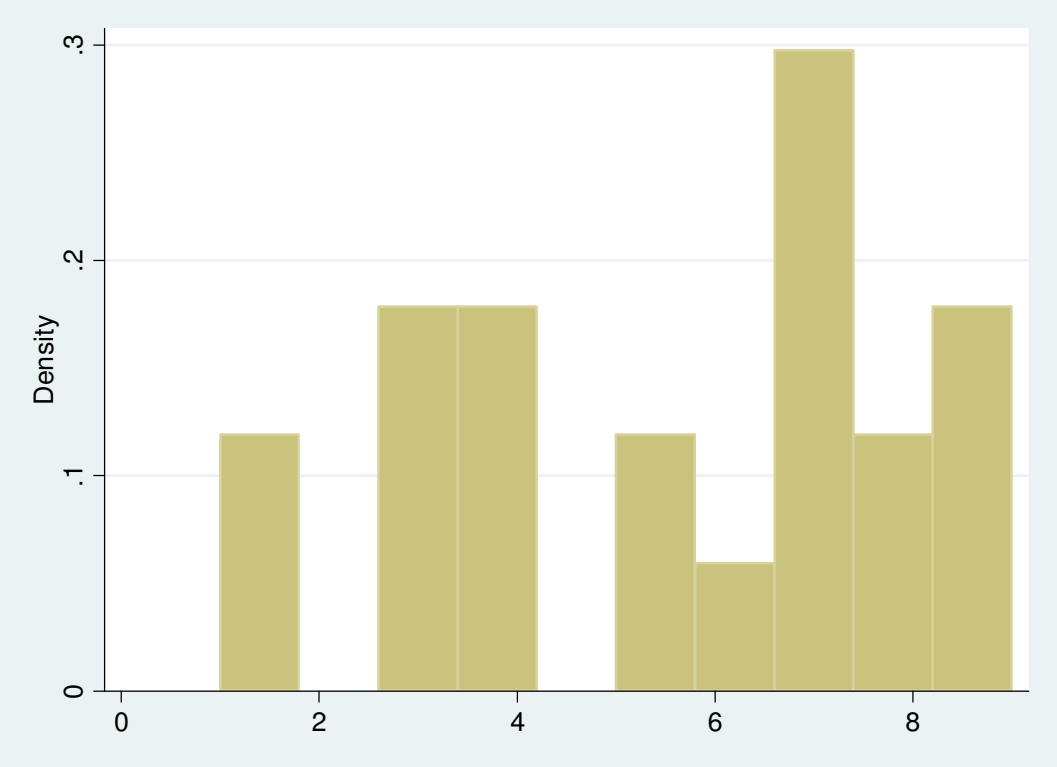

Figure 8.2 Whites' Perceptions of Commonality with Blacks

Moreover, several focus group participants associate blacks with individuals in a working class, lower middle class. Therefore, if they were part of a working class, then the participants felt that they had something in common with African Americans.

> Jack: I have to say it's more of a poor thing. My neighborhood in Chalmette wasn't that rich or anything...My parents are on food stamps right now so they had the same problems that people in the city had and that kind of stuff.
>
> Michael: I think that my differences are not as much black and white but rich and poor…I guess I do have a stereotype of blacks being a little underprivileged but, you know, and not having that much money so in that regard I feel in common.
>
> Jim: So at that point I could kinda relate to blacks because I was in the same kind of situation-we were both lower working class, lower middle class white. Now, I make a heck of a lot more money because I'm a permanent park ranger and maybe I can't relate with blacks anymore.

Similar to whites' perceptions of commonality with Latinos, a few focus group participants state that they have many things in common with blacks regardless of race.[83]

> Leroy: I found out in general that everyone likes to get the same thing out of life. In general, everyone is more or less, you know, likes more or less the same things and hopes, same hopes and dreams more or less.

Nonetheless, it is important for me to mention that several whites indicate that differences existed among blacks. For instance, some state that blacks on college campuses are not the same as those in the inner city.

> Jack: I guess it depends on how much you hang around those type, like if you hang around a lot of African Americans on college campuses like you will have a better view. But if it's like city African Americans who have not had much education, you might have a more negative view.

Moreover, African Americans from the north are perceived differently than blacks from the south.[84]

> Sally: I just feel like there's a difference between blacks from the north and Blacks from here. A different attitude, a different mindset…just their attitude about work and education and about just community involvement and how much responsibility, they are willing to take for their own life, community and well-being.

In addition, whites indicate that young blacks act differently than older ones.

> Sally: And I think that I have more in common with the older black people than young people...my experience with younger black people is that they feel like either violence or threatening or anger, that's the way to handle a problem. Not to think it out or talk it out or be reasonable.

As a result, when looking at the commonality results as a whole, whites may perceive to have more in common with blacks than Hispanics. Some state that they have specific things in common with blacks and Hispanics like music or favorite food. On the other

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[83] This finding is supported to a certain extent by my quantitative results of whites' perceptions of closeness with Latinos where I find that closeness with blacks and whites has a positive effect on whites' closeness with Latinos. Some people may think of closeness in terms of having specific attributes or experiences in common and not about race as a determining factor.

[84] I recognize that this comment may decrease the applicability of this study's results for the entire U.S. and be more applicable to race relations in the south.

hand, several assert that race or ethnicity is not a driving factor as to how much they have in common with someone.

Competition

Besides commonality, I explore whites' perception of competition with blacks and Hispanics in New Orleans. I discuss whites' attitudes of each racial group separately. First, I describe whites' competition based on results from questionnaire questions and second I discuss the major themes that emerged in their focus group answers.

Competition with Latinos

Figure 8.3 presents the perceptions of competition that the focus group participants have with Latinos based on their questionnaire answers. The participants were asked to indicate how much competition they perceive with Latinos on a scale from 0 (no competition) to 10 (a lot in competition). The figure illustrates that the majority of whites perceive that they have no or little competition with Latinos. The distribution on this variable is skewed to the right, with relatively few focus group participants expressing the view that there is a great deal of competition between whites and Latinos.

Throughout the focus groups, the responses regarding competition with Latinos were divided. Some participants stated explicitly that they do not perceive competition with Latinos.

> Kyle: Personally, no competition.
>
> Kevin: and Hispanics, I believe, they have, I pretty much don't think that I have competition with Hispanics at all or like illegal immigrants.

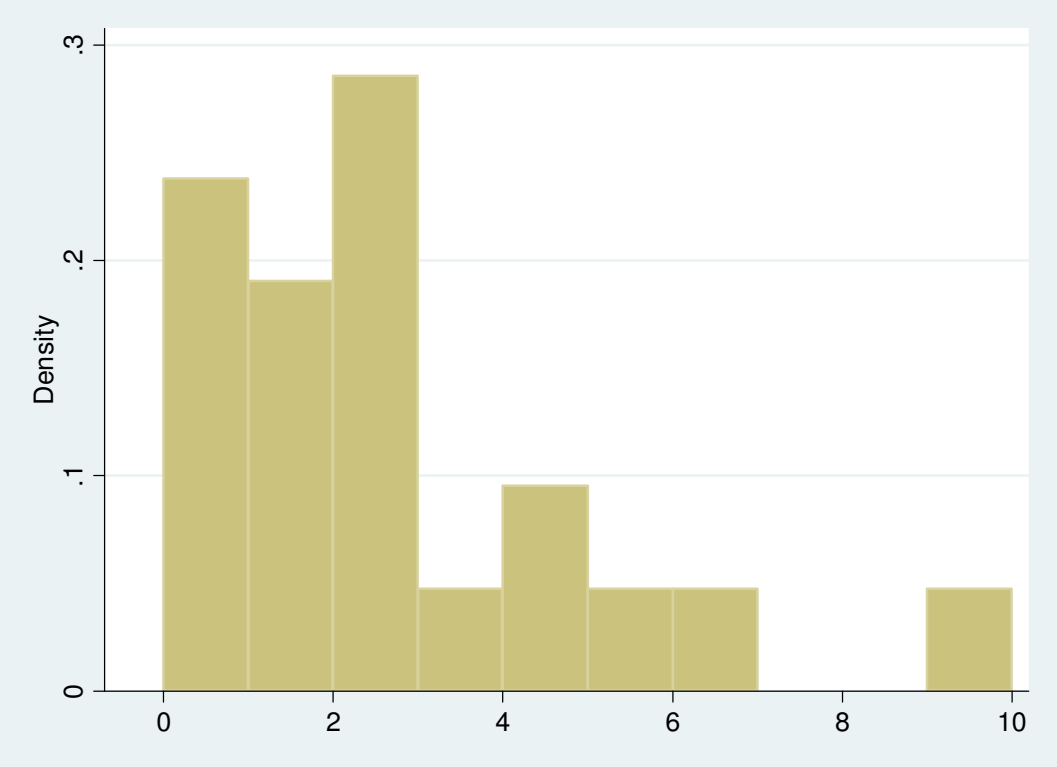

Figure 8.3 Whites' Perceptions of Competition with Latinos

On the other hand, others stated that there was a good bit of job competition.

> Joe: For competition, it would be jobs cause in the Westbank where I'm from, you see, a lot of Hispanic people like on the side of the road are like looking for work and like and just like labor competition. Like I guess just for work, there's competition.

Among those who noted job competition with Latinos, several stated that job competition was specifically with illegal immigrants who can charge less and with Latinos who are bilingual. Moreover, the majority of those who perceived job competition with Latinos were whites who were involved in manual labor in one way or another.

> Tom: There's some job competition but with Hispanics…it's a lot of illegals that are causing a problem…they're working for so much less. Everybody's wage is falling by maybe as much as thirty percent.

> Pam: I think the one competition that, you know, that I have with Hispanics would be, especially if they speak English well enough. To be bilingual. I think that it's an asset to be able to speak more than one language and that's admirable especially in a workplace so in that, competition-wise.

> Michael: Honestly, I have more competition with Hispanics because there are Hispanic contractors there now and they have crossed the language barrier better than I do and they can negotiate cheaper labor prices than I can and so.

This finding to a certain extent compares to what I found among blacks' perceptions of competition with Latinos: individuals with a low socioeconomic status are more likely to perceive competition with Latinos than those who have a higher socioeconomic status

Competition with Blacks

Figure 8.4 presents whites' questionnaire responses regarding perceptions of competition with blacks. Similar to whites' competition with Latinos, the majority of white participants seem to perceive little or no competition with blacks. However, a substantial proportion of focus group participants suggest that they perceive some competition with blacks.[85]

In the focus groups, similar to the results for whites' competition with Latinos, some whites think that competition does not exist while others think that it does.

> Pam: I don't feel like I have this competition between me and blacks. I don't feel that I have to compete with blacks for my happiness or my job or, you know, that kind of measure or anything like that.

> Sean: I don't have any competition with blacks.

Among those that say competition exists, several bring up the fact that whites have an unfair advantage over blacks due to employers' discrimination and racism. Since blacks perceive competition with whites, competition exists.[86]

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[85] On the other hand, my quantitative results indicate that whites perceive just a little bit more job and political competition with Latinos than with blacks.

[86] It is important for me to mention that all of the individuals who mentioned this were under 30 years of age. Hence, age may play a mitigating factor in determining whites' competition with blacks and their awareness or recognition of white on black discrimination. In addition, this statement is supported by my statistical models of whites' job and political competition with Latinos and blacks. The older whites are, the more job and political competition they have with Latinos and blacks.

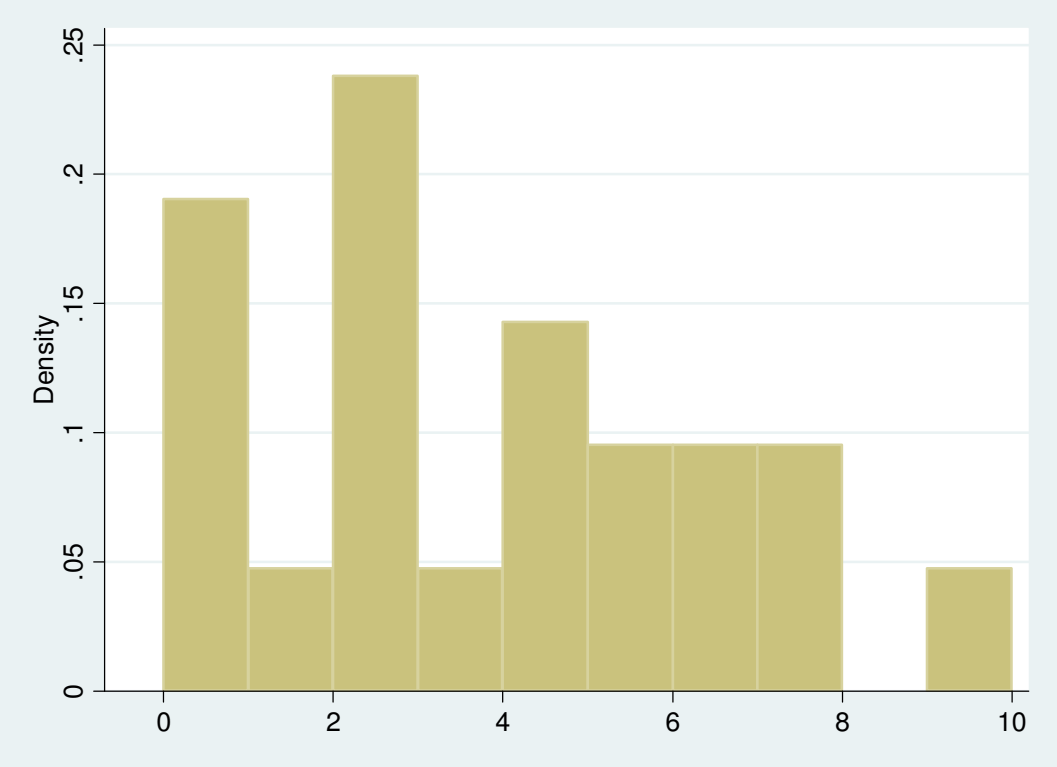

Figure 8.4 Whites' Perceptions of Competition with Blacks

> Kevin: Actually, I think there's competition between me and African Americans because African Americans actually have it harder, you know, in getting jobs and um than whites do…I notice that a lot of times when…an African American is more qualified than a white for a position, the white person gets the job rather than an African American.
>
> Joe: In one of my jobs in the past…like me and my boss were pretty tight and like he told me that one day on the job they hire white people if they can. Just, the only reason they said that is because they are statistically more reliable and ah, other than that, there's not that much competition.
>
> Michael: I seem to think that it's a lot harder for a black person to be a CEO position in a company or to get to that point where they can get the CEO position.

When asked why she would think that blacks would have competition with her, Amy responded:

> Amy: Because if they [blacks] were raised in particularly a bad neighborhood, they would have to fight extra hard to get what they needed and if they, you

> know, see me and assume that I was just going to get it just because, even if, it's not the case. That's again, in certain situations.

In sum, when it comes to competition I find that whites may perceive more competition with blacks than Latinos. However, whites' responses for competition with Latinos and blacks seem to be divided among those who think that competition exists and those who think that it does not. A key difference between how whites think about competition with Hispanics and blacks is that several whites may think that competition exists with blacks because blacks think that competition exists with them since blacks have an unfair advantage in the employment sector. Hence, some whites may think that competition exists with blacks in response to blacks' perceptions that competition exists with them.

Effect of Contact on Attitudes

Besides asking questions regarding perceptions of commonality and competition, I guided the discussion towards examining the effect of contact on racial attitudes, specifically perceptions of commonality and competition toward Latinos and blacks. This question was not addressed in the questionnaire but it was mentioned in the focus groups.

Effect of Contact on Attitudes toward Latinos

Whites' responses to the effect of contact on their attitudes toward blacks consisted of one common theme: contact has a positive effect on attitudes toward Latinos. When speaking of the effect of contact on attitudes, many spoke very highly of Hispanics.

> Carol: Oh, definitely. I would definitely say so because getting very close to someone, you know, and getting to know their family and just hearing their story and what they have had to overcome to get here…I really admire them, you know.

> Pam: The contact that I have is positive and actually I think that when we talk about New Orleans and Katrina, I think they really saved the city in a lot of ways. I respect them…They came in and did the job that no one else wanted to do.

> Sean: It's positive…I don't think that I've had any negative experiences…Yeah, I enjoy them as a culture. I enjoy the food. I enjoy their company as a friend.

Consequently, contact seems to have a positive effect on whites' attitudes toward Latinos.

Effect of Contact on Attitudes toward Blacks

I also asked individuals in the focus groups about the effect that contact has on their views toward blacks. Similar to the effect of contact on whites' views toward Latinos, many participants perceive that contact has a positive effect on their attitudes toward blacks.

> Tom: Because you're working with somebody and you're spending all this time with them, you're going to get to know them whether they are black. You can't help it, you're going to be friends with this person, you know…has a positive effect.

Among the younger generations, several said that contact with blacks had a positive effect on their views toward blacks and helped reject the negative stereotypes conveyed by their older relatives.

> Ashley: Yeah, I would say positive. Like he said, everything is different and people try to tell you certain things. Um, if you have contact with black people, it really helps you make your own opinion than what the stereotypes and older generations want you to believe.

> Jay: I guess you hear different people's opinions. My grandmother grew up seventy years ago and that was the common theme. Racism has always affected what she said but I know black people. They [older generations} are just mistaken. They were in a different time than we did.

However, unlike what was mentioned regarding Latinos, several whites state that contact affects their views on a case by case basis.

> Joe: Like everyone has their own personality, it depends on like. Like if you run into a good person, you think that they're good people. But if you run into a rude person or someone that's like inconsiderate, you shouldn't, it's different. It depends on the situation.

> Leroy: Contact with blacks specifically doesn't really ah transfer to blacks in general because contact that I have had with blacks in my life, I have treated them on an individual basis. I mean if the contact was good, then I kept up

> the contact. If the contact was negative, well then I wanted to have as little contact as possible

As a result, contact seems to have a positive effect on whites' attitudes toward Latinos and blacks. Contact may have a more positive effect on views toward Hispanics than views toward blacks.[87] Moreover, whites may recognize that the effect of contact with blacks should not always translate to views about the entire black population so many would state that contact has a positive/negative effect on an individual basis.

Future Race Relations

Towards the end of each focus group, I asked individuals about future race relations among Latinos, blacks and whites. I asked this question in order to obtain a better understanding of how whites perceive blacks and Latinos and how they perceive that whites as a majority group compares and relates to other racial groups.

In general, many whites perceive that race relations between whites and blacks will remain the same but then eventually improve.

> Jack: I don't think it's going to improve that fast but if you've seen how everybody was racist like whites were racist toward blacks and in the 1960s things kind of started changing. Children were coming out and people were becoming less and less racist over time and I think that the interactions between whites and blacks will be more peaceful.

However, a few stated that black/white relations and tensions in New Orleans were going to remain the same.

> Carol: I don't see that race relations are improving after Katrina at all. Um, there is a lot of mistrust. There is a lot of anger, there is a lot of deep-seeded hate I would say for whites, for black on white.

[87] My quantitative results in the previous support the idea that contact with Latinos and contact in general is more likely to have a significant effect on attitudes towards Latinos than the effect of contact with blacks on whites' attitudes toward blacks.

When asked specifically about the future of race relations between whites and Hispanics, most stated that relations were going to improve and that relations with blacks are not as peaceful as with Latinos.

> Ashley: Historically there's more of a tension between whites and blacks than there are between whites and Hispanics so I think it will be peaceful between Hispanics and whites.
>
> Jack: Both will continue to improve it. It's that I think whites and Hispanics are more peaceful than whites and blacks right now, but I think that that will improve in the same way.

One important observation worth noting is that when discussing future race relations with blacks and Latinos and competition with blacks, several whites asserted that relations between blacks and Latinos are not improving and that competition exists between the two.

> Gary: I think that there's more tension between Hispanics and blacks themselves than there are between whites and Hispanics or whites and blacks…I think that a lot of black people resent them because they are willing to come here for so cheap and they are taking a lot of jobs that normally black people would have.
>
> Fred: I understand that there is a lot of racial tension between African Americans and Latinos.
>
> Ashley: And there might be some tension between blacks and Hispanics

Consequently, most whites think that race relations between whites and blacks and whites and Latinos will improve. However, they recognize that it may be easier for white/Latino relations to improve and that black/Latino relations may become heated.

Stereotypes

Although I did not specifically ask focus group participants of the stereotypes that they held of blacks and Latinos, several themes of implicit and explicit stereotypes were expressed throughout the focus groups. I think that it is important for me to convey these themes in order to paint a better picture of whites' attitudes toward blacks and Latinos.

Overall, whites adopted more negative stereotypes of blacks than Latinos. Many of the negative black stereotypes convey that blacks tend to be lazy, uneducated and opportunistic.

> Sean: You know what, I know what I get with a black contractor, I want a white contractor. That's what it is. We know what we get. Four years of having black politicians, we want a white one.

> Tom: I feel like for black folks they got a whole lot of bad especially if you go down to lockup and you'll go visit somebody there's a large black population, some Spanish and not too many white guys… I got in common with the guys that's working for a living. I got nothing in common for the guys out there hustling, selling and doing dope which I see a lot when I drive down my street.

Several compare blacks with Latinos and provide more positive views toward Latinos.

> Jack: I don't see African Americans progressing that much economically and I see like the Hispanics coming here and they want to work…They came here with no English and the dad went to Vietnam and his parents with no college education put all their kids to private school and college and the daughter went on to med school…so I just see that if you do, the Hispanic community is going to progress way faster than African Americans.

More specifically, whites expressed several positive stereotypes of Latinos: they are family-oriented, hard workers and resilient. Several even expressed admiration towards them.

> Jay: From what I knew before, the reputation of Hispanics, they are very hard workers and working with them a little bit...It is true they are very hard workers.

> Carol: What they have had to overcome to get here and having to live once they get here with fifty people in one apartment. You know, the hardships that they go through and the determination, I really admire them, you know.

However, some individuals did recognize that the increase in the Hispanic population in New Orleans has led to a drain on the resources provided to the community.

> Pam: They were, you know, increasing in population and they are draining on the resources and, you know, and that goes to everything.

> Sally: So the competition is because they are using your money and your money and all of the tax money to use up for welfare system because they don't have a job or they're not settled in or whatever.

As a result, whites may view Latinos in a more positive light than blacks. However, some whites may recognize that Latinos are taking jobs and are taking resources that would be given to them or to blacks if Latinos would not be there.

A key observation that I made throughout the focus groups is that several participants recognized that they can have racist tendencies against blacks, yet they try to resist them. The majority of those who stated this were part of the younger generations, individuals younger than 30 years.

> Sean: Yeah, they [blacks] broke into my car three or four times. They stole tools…So but there's this, you wait for something to happen like you're, you're not disappointed or surprised when it does. You're not disappointed. You're like, well, I kind of half-way expected it. And I hate to think that…I know but I specifically thought that I don't want to be perceived as a racist.
> Rod: Let me tell you what goes through my head when I'm walking down the street. If I see a black dude or a black person from afar I'm like, hmm, it will only be a thought and it will only be something I acknowledge. No, just acknowledging that racist thing. I mean, yeah, I'm not trying to sit here and be like…say no I don't think about race at all…I have racist tendencies. I have racist thoughts and it gets weird like Sean said to like acknowledge them and don't and fall back in shame that I have them.

> Jack: With race, you always want to jump to like a stereotype or something…if I'm on the street somewhere trying to walk, carrying something in my house and a black guy is standing in my way. It's like, wow, why is that guy being so rude? And like in my head, I will jump to a conclusion to like, wow, black people are rude but then I'll have to try to keep that out of my head and say like that's just that one person.

As mentioned, younger whites seem to strive to be more open-minded about race and to suppress their expression of stereotypes.[88] Several stated that they do not think the same things as their older family members.

> Jay: Yeah, I mean, ah I guess you hear different people's opinions. My grandmother grew up seventy years ago and that was the common theme: racism, has always affected what she said, but I know black people. They are just mistaken, they were in a different time than we did.

[88] Nonetheless, I did not find that age has a significant effect on whites' adoption of lazy stereotypes of blacks and Latinos in my chapter using survey data.

When talking about racism and individuals' racist tendencies, the participants did not express their attitudes toward Latinos. However, one individual differentiated blacks from Hispanics. The fairly recent Latino presence in New Orleans may have affected his views.

> Fred: When I interact with African Americans, the negative situation makes me, there is a temptation to give into racism. It's not really there with Hispanics…There's not this built up tension all around when I grew up cause like they weren't really there.

In sum, whites may adopt mostly negative stereotypes of blacks and mostly positive stereotypes of Latinos, yet Latinos are not always seen positively. Moreover, several (mostly younger) whites may recognize their racist tendencies and attitudes toward blacks and they may try to suppress them as much as they can.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have provided a qualitative approach to exploring whites' attitudes using focus groups in New Orleans. Specifically, I examine whites' perceptions of commonality and competition and the effect that contact has on their attitudes. As noted earlier, this project provides only preliminary results since I plan to conduct more focus groups in the future and does not seek to supplement the results found in the quantitative chapter.

What did I find? Several of my focus group findings compare to those found in the chapter where I present my quantitative results. Whites may perceive a little bit more in common with blacks than with Latinos for the most part. Moreover, age may strongly influence how much competition whites perceive to have with blacks and Latinos. Older whites may be more likely to perceive job and political competition with blacks and Latinos than younger generations. Also, throughout discussions on whites' perceptions of commonality and competition, several stated that race does not influence how much they

perceive to have in common with someone. Commonality may have more to do with the person and not with one's race. This finding helps to explain my quantitative results indicating that closeness with blacks and whites has a significantly positive effect on whites' closeness with Latinos. Hence, there may be some individuals who find something in common with everyone regardless of the color of their skin.

I also made other interesting observations from the focus groups regarding whites' attitudes toward blacks and Latinos. Many whites may perceive in common with Latinos and blacks what some would state as stereotypical things like Mexican food, basketball and the same taste in music. When it comes to competition, some whites may think that they have competition with Latinos and blacks, while others may not think competition exists. The results for the effect that contact has on whites' attitudes toward Latinos and blacks compare greatly, yet whites may be more likely to state that contact has an effect on an individual basis regarding their views toward blacks.

Many whites expressed positive and negative stereotypes of blacks and Latinos, yet Latinos were perceived in a more positive light than blacks. What I found very interesting is that younger whites recognized what they perceive to be racist tendencies and attitudes toward blacks and they try to suppress them as much as they can.

So what do these results really mean? Before providing an absolute answer and stating that I have uncovered whites' attitudes toward blacks and Latinos in New Orleans, I want to reiterate that I will conduct more focus groups of whites in New Orleans to increase the external validity of my sample and results and the results presented here are only meant to support those presented in the quantitative chapter on white attitudes. These results mean that age can truly influence whites' views toward other minority groups. Some may state that future race relations will remain terrible, but there seems to be some hope, at

least from a white perspective, that racial tensions may decrease and race relations will improve among whites, blacks and Latinos.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

This project began with a glimpse into race relations among blacks, whites and Latinos in the 21st century. Recently, predominantly white Tea Party Protestors have made what some observers consider to be offensive remarks towards President Obama and several African American legislators. Moreover, the arrival of Latino workers in the Greater New Orleans area in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina and the nomination of Latina Justice Sotomayor have not been met with open arms by all blacks and whites. Hence, even in the new century, after the civil rights and women's movements and the abolishment of slavery in the U.S., race relations among blacks, whites and Latinos are not completely peaceful.

In the beginning of this dissertation, I also provide a discussion of political coalitions and a description of the precursors of coalition formation- perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes. I argue that studying the precursors of coalition formation among whites, blacks and Latinos is an important step in painting a comprehensive and significant picture of race relations in the U.S. today. In order for coalitions to form, individuals must share something in common and/or have a "glue" that brings them together (McClain et. al, 2002; Kaufmann, 2003). On the other hand, competition between two groups can lead to the breakdown of political coalitions or prevent them from forming in the first place. Moreover, discussion of commonality, competition and stereotypes get at some core feelings of prejudice, resentment and admiration that can foster or deteriorate relationships among African Americans, Latinos and whites.

What does the literature on perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes tell us so far? The literature on commonality and competition focuses heavily on race relations between African Americans and Latinos. Scholars and political observers express interest in whether or not blacks and Latinos can come together to form electoral

and governmental coalitions in order to compete with the majority white electorate and white policy makers. Yet some scholars introduce the idea that Latinos' views toward blacks are strongly influenced by their attitudes and relations with whites, suggesting that Latinos may be well positioned to form electoral coalitions with whites. (McClain et. al, 2002, 2006). I argue that in order to truly understand Latinos' attitudes and relations with blacks and vice versa, Latinos' attitudes toward whites must be considered. In fact, in several of my focus groups of blacks and Latinos, several participants mentioned their relationship with and attitudes toward whites in comparison to those of blacks/Latinos without being asked.

When examining the precursors of coalition formation, I focus on the effects that contact and context have on racial attitudes. Contact and context have been studied extensively in the racial attitudes literature, yet very few scholars have explored their effects on perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes among and toward blacks, whites, and Latinos. Furthermore, the effects of contact and context on perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes have great implications for public policies such as neighborhood zoning and busing laws. If contact and/or racial context have a positive effect on racial attitudes, then we could argue that laws that promote desegregation result in more peaceful race relations and they must continue to be reinforced. On the other hand, if contact and/or racial context were to affect racial attitudes negatively, then desegregation laws can be assessed to determine the best way to improve race relations.

Consequently, in order to zero in on the issues mentioned above and fill in some of the gaps in the interracial coalitions literature, I explore the potential for coalition formation by looking at the degree to which whites, blacks and Latinos see commonality, competition, and stereotypes in each other and the effect that contact and context have on these attitudes.

LATINOS' PERCEPTIONS OF COMONALITY AND COMPETITION WITH BLACKS AND WHITES

In the first two empirical chapters, I examine Latinos' commonality and competition with blacks and whites using national survey data and focus group data from the city of New Orleans. Table 9.1 presents a summary of Latinos' racial attitudes.

Overall, I conclude that the contact theory is an important theory in explaining Latinos' commonality with blacks and whites, while the racial threat hypothesis does a very good job in explaining Latinos' competition with blacks. However, the results of my models are not as simple as this. Latinos do not view blacks and whites in the same way. I find that many Latinos perceive more commonality with whites than blacks. In addition, my results illustrate that Latinos who have black friends are less likely to perceive that they have something in common with whites and Latinos with white friends are not very likely to perceive commonality with blacks. On the other hand, my results indicate that contact and race may not always influence what Latinos' have in common with members of other racial and ethnic groups. The focus group results asserting that Latinos' attitudes may be influenced by cultural level and not race provide support to the quantitative finding that commonality with blacks and whites positively influence Latinos' commonality with other racial groups.

I also find that skin color plays a mitigating role in Latinos' perceptions of commonality with blacks and whites. Dark-skinned Latinos are more likely to perceive commonality with blacks than lighter-skinned Latinos. On the reverse side, light-skinned Latinos have a greater predisposition to perceive commonality with whites than those who identify as dark-skinned. These results convey some of the differences among Latinos and open a window into our understanding of skin color and its affect on racial attitudes. Clearly, more research needs to be done on this subject, perhaps using experimental designs

to ascertain how light- and dark-skinned Latinos differ in their evaluations of African Americans.

Table 9.1 Summary of the Main Results in the Latino Quantitative Chapter[89]

	Commonality with blacks	Commonality with whites	General competition with blacks
Latino group participation			
Black group participation	+		
White group participation		+	
Latino friend			
Black friend	+	_	
White friend	_	+	
Latino coworker			
Black coworker			
White coworker			
Percent black	+	_	+
Percent white			_
Percent Latino			+
Unemployment rate			+
Percent bachelor degree			+
Commonality with blacks		+	+
Commonality with whites	+		
Commonality with Latinos	+	+	
Linked fate with Latinos	+		+
Time in US			
Nativity	_	+	
Skin color		+	
Age		+	
Gender			
Education	+	_	
Household income	+		

I also find that Latinos' attitudes in emerging states differ from those in traditional Latino states. Due to having established a strong presence in a state, Latinos in traditional

[89] The table only presents significant relationships.

Latino states have the opportunity through historical experience to learn more about whites and blacks and begin to perceive them in different ways. On the other hand, Latinos in emerging states may not have the historical experience to differentiate blacks and whites very well, and this may result in a strong predisposition to perceive all individuals who are non-Latino as making up one category.

BLACKS' PERCEPTIONS OF COMMONALITY, COMPETITION AND STEREOTYPES OF LATINOS AND WHITES

I take a quantitative and qualitative approach to explore African Americans' attitudes toward Latinos and whites. Table 9.2 presents the main findings in the chapter on black attitudes.

At the outset, I conclude that blacks do not view Latinos and whites in the same way. African Americans are more likely to feel closer to Latinos than whites and perceive more competition with whites than with Latinos. Nevertheless, in my quantitative and qualitative study, I find some support for the idea that some blacks may not take race and ethnicity into consideration when they are thinking about how closely they feel toward someone. Some blacks may find a little in common with everyone. However, it is important for me to recognize that blacks differ in skin tone. In future research, I will run interactions with skin color and contact and skin color and commonality with Latinos and whites.

When it comes to adopting the stereotype that individuals are lazy, I find that blacks think that whites are lazier than Latinos and blacks. Moreover, several blacks think that Latinos are actually less lazy than other blacks. Regarding contact effects, I find some support for contact theory. The theory is able to explain blacks' perceptions of closeness with Latinos and blacks' adoption of stereotypes of Latinos. Blacks who have contact with Latinos have a greater predisposition to feel close them than those with no contact with

Latinos. Furthermore, contact with Latinos negatively affects blacks' adoption of negative Latino stereotypes.

Finally, living in the south significantly shapes blacks' attitudes toward Latinos and whites, yet the results are a little perplexing. Blacks who live in the south are more likely to perceive commonality with whites, yet they are more likely to adopt negative stereotypes of whites than blacks outside of the south. Moreover, blacks who live in the south are not very likely to perceive commonality with Latinos yet they are less likely to adopt negative stereotypes of Latinos.

WHITES' PERCEPTIONS OF COMMONALITY, COMPETITION AND STEREOTYPES OF LATINOS AND BLACKS

Using national survey data and focus groups in New Orleans, I examine whites' attitudes toward Latinos and blacks and make several interesting conclusions. I find that contact (in the form of friendship, coworkers and neighborhood makeup) significantly shapes whites' perceptions of closeness and job competition with Latinos and, to a certain extent, blacks. Moreover, I conclude that whites may not view Latinos and blacks in the same way. For instance, I find that having many Latino friends has a positive effect and having mostly black friends has the opposite effect on how close whites feel toward Latinos. Nonetheless, the effects of closeness with blacks and Latinos in this model actually counter this assertion. Similar to my results of blacks and Latinos, this may shed light on the fact that some individuals do not think in terms of race when they think about commonality. Some may perceive commonality with certain individuals regardless of race. Table 9.3 presents the main significant results in the white quantitative chapter.

Table 9.2 Summary of Findings in Black Attitudes Chapter[90]

	Closeness with Latinos	Closeness with whites	Job competition with Latinos	Job competition with whites	Political competition with Latinos	Political competition with whites	Latino lazy stereotype	White lazy stereotype
Latino coworker	+							
Black coworker								
White coworker								
Latino neighbor								
Black neighbor								
White neighbor								
Latino friend	+							
Black friend								
White friend		+					+	
Living in the south	–	+					–	+
Age	–	+	+	+	+	+		
Gender		–				–		
Education	+		–	–				

[90] Table 9.2 only presents relationships that have been found to be significant.

Table 9.2 (continued)

Household income	–			–	–			
Closeness with blacks	+			+				
Closeness with whites	+			–		–	+	
Closeness with Latinos		+	–				–	
Linked fate with blacks				+	+	+		

Table 9.3 Summary of Findings in White Attitudes Chapter[91]

	Closeness with Latinos	Closeness with blacks	Job competition with Latinos	Job competition with blacks	Political competition with Latinos	Political competition with blacks	Latino lazy stereotype	Black lazy stereotype
Latino coworker		–	+					
Black coworker		+						–
White coworker			+					
Latino neighbor					–	–		
Black neighbor					–			
White neighbor	–		–		–	–		
Latino friend	+	–						
Black friend	–	+						
White friend	–							
Living in the south	–		+	+	+	+	–	
Age			+	+	+	+		
Gender	–	+				–		–
Education	+		–	–	–	–		

[91] This table only presents significant relationships.

Table 9.3 (continued)

Household income					–			
Closeness with blacks	+			–	–	–		–
Closeness with whites	+	+			+	+		
Closeness with Latinos		+	–	–	–	–	–	

IMPLICATIONS

So, what do these results mean in terms of future coalition formation among African Americans, whites and Latinos? First, due to the strong support for contact theory, I suspect that contact may facilitate coalition formation among Latinos, blacks and whites. Having friends, neighbors and joining groups with those of a different race may increase the likelihood that whites, blacks and Latinos form coalitions with each other. However, I recognize that self-selection may bias this project. The fact that individuals can choose their friends and choose the groups and organizations that they join may bias some of my results, even though a few scholars have noted that contact influences racial attitudes regardless of self-selection. In the near future, I will test for this.

Moreover, skin color plays a key role in shaping attitudes. I conclude that Latinos do not view blacks and whites in the same way. Whites do not view blacks and Latinos in the same way. Blacks do not view Latinos and whites in the same way. These findings are supported to an extent by the idea that we live in a society where having a light complexion is favorable and is perceived as being attractive and competent (Breland, 1998). Hence, it is not surprising to find that individuals differentiate those who have light complexions from those with darker skin tones. Hence, I suspect that if Latinos were to form coalitions with whites than they may not form coalitions with blacks and vice versa. If blacks were to form coalitions with Latinos, they may not form coalitions with whites and vice versa. Moreover, I suspect that if whites were to form coalitions with Latinos, then they may not form coalitions with blacks and vice versa.

On the other hand, my findings suggest that there are some Latinos, blacks and whites who do not think in terms of race when it comes to perceptions of commonality. This may

shed light on the fact that some individuals may form coalitions with others regardless of race.

Nevertheless, based on Latinos' strong positive views toward whites and implicit and negative stereotypes toward blacks, I suspect that Latino/white coalitions are more likely to form in the future than Latino/black coalitions. However, it is noteworthy to mention that skin color may shape coalition formation for Latinos. Since I find that skin color significantly shapes Latinos' perceptions of commonality with blacks and whites, I suspect that Latinos with darker skin are more likely to form coalitions with blacks than those who perceive that they have a lighter skin. Moreover, I suspect that Latinos with light-colored skin are more likely to form a coalition with whites than those with darker skin. This reasoning is somewhat supported by Harvey et.al's (2001) conclusion that blacks with different skin tones respond differently to racial context and Ronquillo et. al's (2007) conclusion that whites perceive a slight threat when they see an image of an individual with a dark complexion. If individuals perceive others with a different skin tone as a threat, they are not very likely to form a coalition with them. Moreover, not all whites and Latinos may perceive the same threats since their distinct skin tones influence them differently.

In addition, socioeconomic status may shape coalition formation for individuals, especially blacks. Based on my findings, I suspect that individuals with a certain socioeconomic status will join others with similar education and income levels.

Lastly, I found that nativity influences Latinos' racial attitudes since foreign born Latinos are significantly more likely to perceive commonality with whites than native-born Latinos. This results runs counter to Branton's (2007) conclusion that that more assimilated people think more like those who are native born and whites. Hence, in addition to

exploring the effects of skin color further, Latinos' acculturation and assimilation is an important topic to explore to increase our understanding of Latinos' racial attitudes.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Based on these results and implications, what other questions or issues should be addressed in the future? First, as mentioned previously, I will take into account endogeneity issues and explore whether self-selection shapes the effect that contact has on racial attitudes. Second, since I find throughout all my chapters that some individuals do not consider race when thinking about commonality, I want to explore who those individuals are. What type of individual is less likely to think in terms of race when considering commonality and competition with other racial groups? Moreover, since I find that skin color significantly shapes Latinos' racial attitudes and blacks, whites and Latinos do not always perceive each other in the same way, I will run interactions between skin color and contact and skin color and commonality to shed further light on the effect of skin color on racial attitudes.

Third, more research needs to be conducted to capture native-born and foreign-born Latinos' racial attitudes. Apparently, differences exist between the two groups and exploring the effect of acculturation and assimilation on racial attitudes may close the gap in the literature on Latino assimilation and racial attitudes. Fourth, future research should examine the degree to which whites, blacks and Latinos share sufficient ideological similarity to form coalitions. The literature on the effect of partisan identification and political ideology on coalition formation is pretty extensive. However, little work has been conducted to explore ideological coalition formation among whites and minority groups.

Lastly, I want to assert that my study is does not lack limitations and shortcomings. I recognize that I did not study Asians' racial attitudes. As another growing immigrant group,

it is important to explore where Asians fit into the picture of race relations in terms of perceptions of commonality, competition and stereotypes. The availability of more national survey data of Asians will help. I also recognize that I have not explored ethnicity within individuals' race. I recognize that there are black Latinos, white Latinos, immigrants from Latin America who identify as white only and individuals who have light-skin who may identify as African American. This shortcoming sheds light on the fact that race is not clearly defined in the racial attitudes literature. However, with the availability of more national survey data that more clearly delineates race and ethnicity, more accurate studies on racial attitudes may be conducted.

One way or another, this project has opened a window and shed light on a future world that we may or may not want to think about or see where struggles for social, economic, political and even cultural power may bring out the best and/or the worst in us.

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APPENDIX A

LATINO FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

I. Are you an immigrant or were you born in the U.S.? If you are an immigrant, when did you come to the U.S.?

II. Here in New Orleans, the majority of the population is black and white. How much contact do you have with blacks? For instance, do you have any neighbors, coworkers, or friends who are black?

III. How much in common do you have with blacks?

IV. Do you think that competition exists between you and blacks? How much?

V. Based on the contact that you have with blacks, how does this affect your attitudes toward blacks? For instance, does contact affect your commonality and competition with blacks?

VI. Now when it comes to another large group in New Orleans, whites, how much contact do you have with whites? For instance, do you have any neighbors, coworkers, or friends who are white?

VII. How much in common do you have with whites?

VIII. Do you think that competition exists between you and whites? How much?

IX. Based on the contact that you have with whites, how does this affect your attitudes toward whites? For instance, does contact affect your commonality and competition with whites?

X. How do you envision the future of race relations between you and blacks? Peaceful? Cooperative? Competitive?

XI. How do you envision the future of race relations between you and whites? Peaceful? Cooperative? Competitive?

XII. Well, that concludes our discussion. Is there anything else that you would like to add about your attitudes toward blacks and whites?

APPENDIX B

LATINO FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE

First name or alias _____

Gender _____

Age _____

Employed (please circle): Yes No

Income (please check):
____ $10,000 or less
____ $10,001-$25,000
____ $25,001-$40,000
____ $40,001 or more

Education (please check):
____ Elementary School (K-8th grade) but did not graduate
____ Elementary School diploma
____ Middle School (6-8th) but did not graduate
____ Middle School diploma
____ High School (9-12th) but did not graduate
____ High School diploma
____ College but did not graduate
____ College diploma
____ Graduate school or higher

Occupation: _____

On a scale from 0 to 10 (10 having a lot in common and 0 having nothing in common), how much in common do you think you have with blacks? _____

On a scale from 0 to 10 (10 having a lot in common and 0 having nothing in common), how much in common do you think you have with whites? _____

On a scale from 0 to 10 (10 having a lot of competition and 0 having no competition), how much competition do you think exists between you and blacks? _____

On a scale from 0 to 10 (10 having a lot of competition and 0 having no competition), how much competition do you think exists between you and whites? _____

APPENDIX C

WHITE FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

I. Here in New Orleans, a large portion of the population is African American. How much contact do you have with blacks? For instance, do you have any neighbors, coworkers, or friends who are black?

II. How much in common do you have with blacks?

III. Do you think that competition exists between you and blacks? How much?

IV. Based on the contact that you have with blacks, how does this affect your attitudes toward blacks? For instance, does contact affect how much in common and competition that you have with blacks? If so, in a positive way or negative way?

V. Now when it comes to another minority group in New Orleans, Hispanics, how much contact do you have with Hispanics? For instance, do you have any neighbors, coworkers, or friends who are Hispanic?

VI. How much in common do you have with Hispanics/Latinos?

VII. Do you think that competition exists between you and Hispanics/Latinos? How much?

VIII. Based on the contact that you have with Hispanics/Latinos, how does this affect your attitudes toward Hispanics? For instance, does contact affect your commonality and competition with whites? If so, in a positive way or a negative way?

IX. How do you envision the future of race relations between you and blacks? Peaceful? Cooperative? Competitive?

X. How do you envision the future of race relations between you and Hispanics? Peaceful? Cooperative? Competitive?

XI. Well, that concludes our discussion. Is there anything else that you would like to add about your attitudes toward blacks and Hispanics?

APPENDIX D

WHITE FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE

First name or alias _____
Gender _____
Age _____
Employed (please circle): Yes No

Household Income (please check):
____ $10,000 or less
____ $10,001-$25,000
____ $25,001-$40,000
____ $40,001-$55,000
____ $55,001-$70,000
____ $70,001-$85,000
____ $85,001 or over

Education (please check):
____ Elementary School (K-8th grade) but did not graduate
____ Elementary School diploma
____ Middle School (6-8th) but did not graduate
____ Middle School diploma
____ High School (9-12th) but did not graduate
____ High School diploma
____ College but did not graduate
____ College diploma
____ Graduate school or higher

Occupation: _____

On a scale from 0 to 10 (10 having a lot in common and 0 having nothing in common), how much in common do you think you have with Hispanics/Latinos? _____

On a scale from 0 to 10 (10 having a lot in common and 0 having nothing in common), how much in common do you think you have with blacks? _____

On a scale from 0 to 10 (10 having a lot of competition and 0 having no competition), how much competition do you think exists between you and Hispanics/Latinos? _____

On a scale from 0 to 10 (10 having a lot of competition and 0 having no competition), how much competition do you think exists between you and blacks? _____

What is the racial makeup of your neighborhood? _____

a.) majority white
b.) majority black
c.) majority Hispanic/Latino
d.) mixed black and white
e.)mixed black, white and Hispanic/Latino

VITA

Betina Cutaia Wilkinson was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in a city called Lomas de Zamora in December 1981. Her parents are Rosario Sgaramella de Cutaia and Gabriel Cutaia. Along with her parents and sister, Clarisa, she moved to the United States when she was six years old. She grew up in Metairie, Louisiana, where she attended St. Mary's Dominican High School.

Following high school, Betina Cutaia Wilkinson attended Loyola University New Orleans where she obtained a major in sociology and in Spanish. After graduating from Loyola in 2004, she attended the Paul M. Hebert Law School at Louisiana State University for one year and realized that law school was not for her. Following her last semester in law school, she married Jason Wilkinson on May 20, 2005 in Kenner, Louisiana. During the summer after getting married, Ms. Wilkinson decided to attend graduate school in political science at Louisiana State University and entered the political science graduate program in August of 2005. Her main area of study is American politics with a concentration in Latino politics, public opinion and racial and ethnic politics.

Throughout her academic career in graduate school, Ms. Wilkinson was honored as one of the American Political Science Association's (APSA) 2007-2008 Minority Fellows. Moreover, she has received numerous travel awards to present her work at academic conferences. Also, in the summer of 2010, she will be honored as the 500th graduate of the Institute of Teaching and Mentoring sponsored by the Compact for Faculty Diversity.

In the fall of 2010, Betina Cutaia Wilkinson will begin a tenure-track position as an assistant professor in the department of political science at Wake Forest University where she will teach and conduct research.