

A “Southern Exception” in Black-Latino Attitudes?

Perceptions of Competition with African Americans and Other Latinos

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One of the more surprising revelations in the 2010 Census was a dramatic increase in the number of Latinos living in the South. Between 2000 and 2010, the Hispanic population of the southern states grew by 57.3 percent, to 18.2 million persons. Georgia is now home to the nation’s tenth-largest Latino population, and North Carolina is not far behind. At the same time, the Black population of the South grew less quickly, by 18.3 percent, but at 23.1 million persons, it is greater than the combined Black populations in the rest of the country and remains greater than that of southern Hispanics. Given the African American population’s historic presence in the South, and its significant political empowerment there as well, what do these major demographic changes mean for the future of Black-Latino relations in the South? In this chapter, Barreto and Sanchez explore whether Hispanics in southern states perceive lesser, or greater, competition with African Americans and ask whether social proximity and Black concentration play roles in shaping those Latino perceptions.

The Latino Emergence in Southern States

Recent dramatic growth in Latino populations across the United States has captured the interest of academics and political observers, with special attention to the movement of Latinos, and particularly Latino immigrants, into regions of the country previously not associated with this population. In 1990, for example, Hispanics accounted for less than 2% of the population in twenty-two states (Garcia and Sanchez 2008). By 2000, however, there were only eleven states in which Hispanics constituted only 2% or less of the population, and Hispanics are now found in numbers above 1,000 in every one of the fifty states. This demographic shift has been most pronounced in the southern United States, as Latinos have almost doubled in numbers within this region from 1990 to 2000—from 6.8 million to almost 12 million (Guzmán 2001). In this same period, for example, the Latino population grew by an average of 308% in Arkansas, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Alabama (Kochhar, Suro, and Tafoya 2005). This dramatic surge in population has led the Pew Hispanic Center to report that “the Hispanic population is growing faster in much of the South than anywhere else in the United States” (Kochhar, Suro, and Tafoya 2005).

The demographic trends associated with the Latino population in the South may have a marked impact on this region, an environment which has been defined historically by race relations. Although scholars and political observers have noted the importance of this demographic change, little work to date has examined the social and political consequences of the incorporation of a new ethnic group, neither

Research Questions

- Do Latinos living in the South, as compared to Latinos living outside the South, perceive greater competition with African Americans?
 - Does having Black friends or Black co-workers improve Latino attitudes toward Blacks, with respect to perceptions of social, economic, and political competition?
 - How does the existence of a large Black population at the county level impact Latino attitudes toward Blacks?
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Black nor White, in a region where for nearly four centuries, social interactions have been based on a White-Black paradigm.

With this context in mind, we focus attention on relationships between Latinos and African Americans, using data from the Latino National Survey (LNS) to evaluate Latinos' perceptions of competition with African Americans. Our analysis is multifaceted, and in this chapter we test several distinct research hypotheses. We are particularly interested in identifying any possible differences in perceptions and attitudes toward Blacks, comparing Latinos who live in the South to those who live in other regions. We utilize the national LNS sample to determine if Latinos in the South are more or less likely to see African Americans as competitors or as a community with common interests with Latinos. One of the primary advantages of using the LNS is that we can conduct analyses within specific regions or individual states, using the survey's robust state-level sample sizes. This chapter capitalizes on this opportunity by isolating the LNS respondents from the southern states of Arkansas ($n = 401$), North Carolina ($n = 401$), Georgia ($n = 400$), and Florida ($n = 800$), in an additional investigation of determinants of perceptions of competition with Blacks within the region. The large Black population of these southern states—in the 2000 Census, the African American population share was 16.0% in Arkansas, 22.1% in North Carolina, 29.2% in Georgia, and 15.5% in Florida¹—and the fact that virtually all social, cultural, and economic structures in the region have historically been defined by race provide an important and unique context to study Black-Latino relations.

Moreover, we contend that when assessing Latinos' attitudes toward African Americans, it may be important to take into account the attitudes of Latinos toward *other* groups—including Latino coethnics. In an earlier analysis utilizing the LNS (Barreto and Sanchez 2007) we suggested that a key feature of LNS data is the opportunity they provide to isolate Latino perceptions of competition with African Americans, while comparing them to perceptions of overall competition. In the current analysis, we build on that earlier working paper and illustrate the depth of the LNS, by utilizing our comparative perception measure in an analysis of the South. This research design will allow a comparison of results generated with the conventional approach to measurement of racial attitudes to results based on perceptions of competition between Latinos and African Americans relative to similar perceptions of competition with other Latinos.

Results from the full LNS sample suggest that Latinos actually view coethnics as a greater source of competition than they do Blacks when our standardized measure is used to interpret Latinos' perceptions of competition with African Americans. Similarly, perceptions of competition do not vary by region when the standard measure is utilized, but interestingly, when the relative competition measure is employed, we find that Latinos who live in southern states do have higher perceptions of competition with Blacks than do Latinos more generally. We believe that these trends provide a valuable addition to the extant literature focused on intergroup relations, by emphasizing that place and context matters to these dynamics. Finally, we find evidence that supports the notion that social interactions help influence Latinos' attitudes toward Blacks. However, our results build on the extant literature by emphasizing that it is critical to take into account the nature of the interactions that take place between groups, not just the extent to which these interactions are occurring. This is reflected in our finding that having African American friends leads to more positive attitudes toward Blacks in general, particularly in the South.

Race Relations in the New South

The regional dynamics of the South provide a unique opportunity to examine perceptions of competition among Latinos and African Americans. Political scientists have noted the unique political culture of the South, particularly the distinctive voting behavior of southern residents (Frymer, Kim, and Bimes 1997; Burden and Kimball 2002; Wattenberg 2002). Scholars have discussed the recent transformation of the "New South" due to overall population growth (a 17% increase in population from 1990 to 2000) and increases in education, income, and age over time as well (Hillygus and Shields 2008; Cobb 1993). Arguably, the greatest demographic change in this region, however, has been the explosion of the Latino population. This demographic shift has led Roberto Suro and Audrey Singer (2002) of the Pew Hispanic Center to refer to many cities in the South as "New Latino Destinations." Specifically, many locations throughout the South saw some of the largest increases in Latino population from 1980 to 2000, including 538% in Sarasota, 995% in Atlanta, 859% in Orlando, and 630% in Nashville. The state of North Carolina is a great example of this population growth, as Raleigh-Durham saw a striking 1,180% increase in Latino population from 1980 to 2000, Charlotte an increase of 932%, and a 962% increase in Greensboro. Suro and Singer contend that "these metropolitan areas epitomize the new economy of the 1990s with rapid development in the finance, business services, and high tech sectors" (2002, 5), which are responsible for a large share of this population growth.

This is an important point, as the influx of Latinos entering into the South is due to the region's fairly recent economic success. In comparison to other regions of the United States, employment in the South increased in six southern states by an average of 2.4%—larger than the national employment average (Kochhar, Suro, and Tafoya 2005). Given the size of the employment rate, employers across a variety of industries have sought unskilled and inexpensive labor (Torres 2000). While the majority of Latinos took jobs performing services, expansions in manufacturing

and construction provided additional opportunities for Latinos to migrate from other areas in the U.S. as well as to immigrate directly to the South from Latin America (Kochhar, Suro, and Tafoya 2005). In South Carolina, for example, "Latinos held 20 percent of the state's meat industry jobs" (Torres 2000, 6). Furthermore, "in North Carolina and Georgia, increased labor demands in industry and construction led to a 75 percent increase in the Latino population" (Torres 2000, 6). The poultry-processing industry has been particularly successful in the South, with approximately half of all poultry processing in the country occurring in Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, and North Carolina (Odem and Lacey 2009). Creating over 400,000 new jobs for Latinos in the areas of manufacturing, construction, and services, the South has provided job opportunities not present elsewhere in the United States (Kochhar, Suro, and Tafoya 2005).

Although the majority of Hispanic workers throughout the South have been concentrated in blue-collar occupations, it is important to note that Latinos are making rather significant inroads into white-collar occupations in this region as well. For example, between 1995 and 2005, just over 15,000 Hispanic workers filled jobs in office and administrative support occupations. Another 17,000 Hispanic workers filled jobs in professional, management, business, and financial occupations in North Carolina during the same period (Johnson and Kasarda 2009).

We consider whether the demographic changes fueled by this labor demand have impacted race relations within this region. While there have been some studies focused on the impact of Latino migration to the South on the region's economy (Murphy, Blanchard, and Hill 2001; Mohl 2003; Ciscel, Smith, and Mendoza 2003; Torres 2000; Kandel and Parrado 2004; Johnson and Kasarda 2009; Mohl 2009), there has been limited research exploring how the marked increases of Latinos have influenced intergroup relations in the South. We draw, however, from a growing literature focused on race relations in the South to develop our theory of Latino attitudes toward Blacks in this region.

In comparison to other regions of the United States, the South is populated by a large number of Blacks who have a long historical residence in this area and a relatively smaller but rapidly growing Latino population. Given the rate at which Latinos are entering into the region, social interaction between the two groups is likely to be higher than in areas with more traditional Latino neighborhoods. Thus, in sharp contrast to traditional Latino migration to southwestern cities with small African American populations and comparatively larger Hispanic populations, African Americans across the South outnumber Latinos (Schmidley 2003). More importantly, the South is a region where race has historically defined the social, economic, and political life of its residents (McClain et al. 2006; Stuesse 2009).

Latino newcomers to the South, however, are often unaware of these historical realities, which may have a direct impact on their perceptions of African Americans. This trend is reflected well from the following quote: "Many [Hispanic migrants] also lack knowledge of the social and political histories of the South and often find it difficult to empathize with the life experiences of their coworkers and neighbors who are often African American" (Stuesse 2009, 92). This lack of understanding may lead Hispanic workers in the South to have negative attitudes about their Black co-workers and neighbors. For example, Angela Stuesse's (2009) focus-group work

in Mississippi indicates that most Hispanics accept the dominant ideology that Blacks are responsible for their disadvantaged economic condition.

The structural conditions of the South impact both African Americans and Latino newcomers individually as well as the intergroup relations between these groups. For example, the economic gap between Blacks and Whites, particularly in the rural South, has led to greater levels of both perceived and real competition between Latinos and Blacks in this region (McClain et al. 2009; Dunn, Aragonéz, and Shivers 2005; Rich and Miranda 2005; Marrow 2009). Previous research has shown that these competitive environments can lead to greater levels of intergroup discrimination (Kasinitz et al. 2008; Marrow 2009). So while Latino immigrants report being discriminated against by Whites in the South, qualitative work in the region suggests that due to a perceived economic threat from immigrants, the hostility from poor Blacks is even greater (Marrow 2009).

Ongoing research by Paula McClain and her colleagues has illustrated this dynamic well within Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina. Raleigh-Durham is a city with a large Black population that lives below the poverty line (22% in 2000), along with a growing Latino population that is generally composed of unskilled workers with low levels of educational attainment (McClain et al. 2009). The economic gap between both groups and Whites led McClain et al. (2009) to suggest that Latino immigrants and the Black underclass of this city are likely to be in competition for the same low-paying jobs as well as social services. They found support for this contention, as survey data collected by the authors indicate that Blacks in Raleigh-Durham feel that Latino immigration threatens both their economic and political positions (McClain et al. 2009). In a related study, McClain et al. (2006) found that Latinos' stereotypes of Blacks in Raleigh-Durham are more negative than White stereotypes of Blacks. Specifically, nearly 57% of Latinos in this study felt that few or almost no Blacks could be trusted, and nearly 59% believed that few or almost no Blacks are hardworking (McClain et al. 2006, 578). Particularly when contrasted with Latinos' significantly less negative perceptions of Whites in the study, it appears as though Latinos (at least those in Raleigh-Durham) do not have strong feelings of commonality with Blacks. Furthermore, qualitative interviews from the state indicate that these attitudes are not confined to the metropolitan city of Raleigh-Durham. Helen Marrow's (2009) article finds that Latinos living in the more rural southeastern segment of the state share some of these stereotypical views of Blacks. Interviews with Latino immigrants from this study illustrate stereotypical views of African Americans in the state as "loud, violent, lazy, uneducated, dependent, and lacking in family values" (Marrow 2009, 1045). We are able to determine if these trends hold across a larger sample of Latino respondents in North Carolina, as well as whether Latinos in North Carolina are unique from those living in other southern states, through the large sample sizes of the LNS.

We believe that the unique cultural dynamics associated with the South as well as the recent Latino influx may heighten real and perceived competition among Latinos and African Americans. Given the size of the LNS nationwide sample, the LNS provides an opportunity to examine whether Latinos' perceptions of competition are distinct in the South as well as the ability to isolate respondents from several southern states to conduct multivariate analyses with this split sample. Our

preceding discussion of this important region of the country motivates the following hypothesis:

Southern Hypothesis: We anticipate that Latinos living in the South will have higher perceptions of competition with African Americans than those living outside of the South due to the unique demographic and cultural dynamics of this region.

The Impact of Social Interactions on Racial Attitudes

While our primary focus in this project is to examine the impact of region on Latino's attitudes toward African Americans, we are also interested in addressing another major question in the race-relations literature: what is the impact of social interaction on intergroup relations? Previous research focused on the relationship between the social contexts and the racial attitudes of Whites has produced mixed results. A number of studies exploring the *racial threat hypothesis* have found that larger populations of minority groups correspond with greater White racial animosity and/or prejudicial attitudes (Frisbie and Niedert 1977; Glaser 1994; Taylor 1998; Wright 1977). However, other studies report that racial contact lessens racial antagonism (Sigelman and Welch 1993; Welch et al. 2001; Powers and Ellison 1995). There is much less published research focused on the role of social interaction on minority attitudes toward each other. However, J. Eric Oliver and Janelle Wong (2003) find that negative stereotypes and perceptions of competition among both Blacks and Latinos decrease as their neighborhoods become more diverse. The authors speculate that this trend is a result of social interaction leading to greater tolerance among racial and ethnic groups. Scholars have added to this framework by finding that negative attitudes toward Latinos increase with higher concentrations of Latinos in the neighborhoods in which Black respondents live (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Bobo and Johnson 2000; Cain, Citrin, and Wong 2000; Oliver and Wong 2003; Branton and Jones 2005) and when Blacks are disadvantaged economically relative to Latinos (Gay 2005; Oliver and Wong 2003).

We believe that the lack of clarity in this area of research is at least partially due to the inability of the typical research design to account for two important factors. First, most of the work in this area assumes a linear relationship between population increases and attitudes. Using a measure for the percentage or overall population of the target group within a geographical unit (city, county, neighborhood, etc.), such work hypothesizes that as this population increases, so will hostile or positive attitudes toward that target group. We question this assumption, as it seems likely that the impact of social context must vary according to the *relative* magnitude of change—not in some linear, arithmetic way. To illustrate, imagine that a county's Black population doubles from 10% to 20%. How could a similar change—measured as absolute or percentage increases—yield the same racial threat effect, if the starting point were, for example, much higher, as in a county whose 50% Black population increased to 60%? To the contrary, we believe that Latino perceptions of competition with African Americans will diminish significantly in majority and supermajority Black counties. Our argument is based on the notion that in areas where Blacks are the clear majority, Latinos will not see themselves as

a viable challenger to the dominant African American population—thus decreasing perceptions of competition. Such contexts may also diminish hostility in the other direction, toward Latinos among Blacks, as any perceived threat from a rise in Latino population will be offset by the African American community's perception of its own strength in numbers. We are able to test this inference by applying a quadratic term to our Black population measure.

Second, the extant literature has not been able to account for the nature of perceived interactions among the populations under study. Specifically, this approach does not allow for the distinction of whether the presumed interactions between members of different racial and ethnic groups are positive or negative in nature. We contend that this is a critical yet often overlooked point. For example, having friendships with people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds may temper more general perceptions of competition with that group. There is evidence that accounting for this distinction is important, as having Black friends does in fact influence Whites' attitudes toward minority populations (Wilner Walkley, and Cook 1955; Cook 1963; Jackman and Crane 1986). This is reinforced by findings that suggest friendship with Whites has motivated more positive racial attitudes among African Americans (Ellison and Powers 1994; Sigelman and Welch 1993). This distinction has yet to be made, however, within the Latino population.

Contrary to interactions through friendship, high levels of social interaction in other contexts, including within the workplace, may heighten perceptions of competition due to this type of social interaction being more naturally competitive. Stuesse's (2009) focus-group work in Mississippi indicates that most Hispanics do not see much in common with their African American co-workers, often perceiving Blacks to be privileged and themselves and other Latinos to be exploited in the workforce. The most troubling outcome of Stuesse's work in the South is that these racial stereotypes are often advanced by management in an effort to divide the workforce along racial lines to prevent the formation of alliances. We therefore test the following hypotheses through the LNS, as this effort may provide important clarifications to our extant knowledge regarding the impact of social context and social interactions on Latinos' attitudes toward Blacks.

Social Interaction Hypothesis: We anticipate finding a differential impact for our Black friends and Black co-workers measures, with Black friends producing positive attitudes and Black co-workers leading to greater perceptions of competition.

Nonlinear Hypothesis: We anticipate that the impact of Black population on Latino attitudes toward Blacks will be nonlinear, possibly producing a curvilinear pattern in which the impact of Black population becomes less pronounced at levels beyond 50%.

The Impact of Relative Perceptions of Competition on Latinos' Attitudes toward Blacks

Finally, in addition to the ability to explore the impact of region and social interactions on Black-Latino relations, the LNS provides the opportunity to account for

Latinos' perceptions of competition with Blacks relative to perceptions of competition with other groups—including other Latinos. Previous work has found Latinos to have high perceptions of conflict and competition with African Americans. However, this research has not been able to control for general perceptions of conflict and/or competition. We contend that while it is plausible that Latinos maintain high levels of competition with Blacks, this trend may be tempered by perceptions of competition in general—including internal competition. Research interested in the contextual determinants of racial animosity among Whites has found that individuals faced with economic adversity tend to exhibit not only a generic distrust of out-groups but also feelings of relative deprivation, anxiety, and alienation (Oliver and Mendelberg 2000). Similarly, African Americans in urban ghettos tend to have a “deep suspicion of the motives of others, a marked lack of trust in the benevolent intentions of people and institutions” (Massey and Denton 1993, 172). Claudine Gay (2004) has also found that African Americans living in low-income neighborhoods tend to believe that racism limits their individual life chances, as well as the overall socioeconomic attainment of Blacks as a group. We contend that it is likely that Latinos, primarily those who are foreign-born, may have similar worldviews marked with perceptions of competition.

During the 1980s, many of the nation's major cities went through rapid demographic transformations, while government cutbacks left new immigrants and older residents in poor sections of these cities directly engaged in competition for scarce resources (Jones-Correa 2001). The upward concentration of wealth in the U.S. in the past two decades has been coupled with declines in real wages and lack of investments in urban neighborhoods, putting the Black and Latino working class in a disadvantaged position (Jennings 2003). Not surprisingly, foreign-born Latinos have been found to perceive greater competition with African Americans than do their native-born counterparts (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Rodrigues and Segura 2004; Jones-Correa 2001; McClain et al. 2006).² However, we contend that this trend does not necessarily reflect hostility toward Blacks among Latinos but possibly a more general worldview that includes high perceptions of competition. Thus, Latinos may be just as likely (if not more likely) to perceive competition with other Latinos as they do with Blacks. By accounting for this important trend, we are able to isolate competitive attitudes toward African Americans from competitive perceptions more generally.

Due to these trends identified in the extant literature, we believe that it is vital to assess Latinos' perceptions of competition with Blacks relative to those same attitudes toward coethnics. Testing of the following hypothesis will therefore add significantly to our working knowledge of not only coalition politics among Latinos and African Americans but the nature of internal competition among Latinos as well.

Relative Perception of Competition Hypothesis: We anticipate finding that seemingly high levels of perceived competition with Blacks among Latinos will become significantly tempered when perceptions of competition with coethnics is taken into account.

Data and Methods

As previously noted, the data for this study are from the 2006 Latino National Survey (LNS). The LNS was a national, bilingual, stratified-random-sample telephone survey of 8,634 Latino residents of the United States, with more than 165 question items to assess the qualitative nature of political and social life for Latinos in America. In this chapter, we utilize the national data but focus on responses from Latinos living in southern states,³ including 1,440 interviews with respondents in Georgia, Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia, and Washington, D.C. The universe for the survey was all adult Latinos (eighteen years of age and older), with surveys conducted in the preferred language of the respondent (English, Spanish, or both languages). The survey is particularly useful for our purposes because it contains a large sample of foreign-born Latinos, a group previously hypothesized to perceive, or to actually be in, greater competition with African Americans. Overall, 6,184 foreign-born Latinos are in the sample, including 1,219 in the South.

With the ability to account for perceptions of commonality and competition across various contexts, as well as the ability to analyze Latinos' perceptions of competition with African Americans relative to other Latinos, the LNS is the only dataset available to address the research questions driving this analysis. To take advantage of the unique approach and rich sample sizes of the LNS, we implement a wide range of statistical analyses to provide a comprehensive investigation of Latino perception of social and political competition with Blacks. The first stage of the analysis consists of a series of descriptive statistics to determine the degree to which Latinos perceive commonality or perceive African Americans to be competitors for economic and political resources relative to Latinos' perceived competition with other Latinos. Results are provided for South/non-South comparisons, as well as for specific southern states of interest.

We then present results from multivariate regression models to test a host of explanatory variables on overall perceptions of Black-Latino competition nationally and also in the South. In particular, we are interested in whether Latinos who regularly interact with African Americans as co-workers or friends or live in heavily Black areas are more or less likely to perceive competition with Blacks. The regression models provide the opportunity to determine whether the trends we identify with descriptive statistics hold true when other factors are accounted for. For example, we are able to directly test whether Latinos in the South have higher perceptions of competition with African Americans than do Latinos from other areas in the country when we control for other important factors, such as social class (income) and social interactions.

Although there has been a significant increase in the Latino population throughout the entire southern United States, the impacts of these demographic changes are likely to be mediated by preexisting political and social structures in specific southern states, as well as the characteristics of the Latino population that has migrated to specific location within the South. In short, there is a need to explore any potential differences across this region that may influence perceptions of competition and commonality among Latinos and Blacks. North Carolina, for example, is a very intriguing location to study Black-Latino relations, as this state has been defined as

the premier "new destination," posting the greatest Latino population growth during the 1990s (Marrow 2009). There is also evidence that this state may be more institutionally receptive to Latino immigrants than other areas in the South are. For example, Marrow (2005) finds that North Carolina may have greater resources available to better incorporate Latino migrants to the state, specifically in the realms of the education and judicial systems. One of the primary advantages of the use of LNS for this project is the large sample of southern residents, which allows for the inclusion of dummy variables for multiple southern states. This will provide the opportunity to determine if Latino attitudes vary across the region.

Variable Construction

We think two important advances appear in our study. First, we conduct in-depth analyses of the South as compared to the non-South, a comparative feature absent from previous studies, perhaps for reasons of data limitations. Second, our dependent variables are *relative* measures of perceived competition. Most studies cited earlier rely on a single, unidirectional measure or index of Black-Latino competition, quantifying how Latinos perceive Blacks or how Blacks perceive Latinos. However, a Latino respondent's perception of Blacks alone is difficult to interpret without some knowledge of that same respondent's perceptions of a reference group. In this study, we construct a relative measure of Black-Latino competition on the basis of how much competition Latinos perceive with African Americans, compared to how much competition they see with other Latinos. For example, for the dependent variable "social trust," when on a 0–10 scale a respondent assigned "trust in Blacks" a value of 3, that response on its face would appear to be low and could be interpreted as an "anti-Black" attitude. However, if we asked that respondent how much she trusts other Latinos, and she reported the same value of 3, the full context suggests that the attitudes are not anti-Black but reflect low levels of trust in general, for both her own in-group and an out-group. Almost every previous study of Black-Latino conflict has relied on a single measure of positive or negative viewpoints toward just one group, either toward Blacks or toward Latinos. In this project, we utilize two series of questions within the LNS to create relative, comparative measures for Black-Latino competition, a potentially significant improvement for understanding race relations in the real world.

First, respondents were asked,

Some have suggested that Latinos are in competition with African-Americans. After each of the next items, would you tell me if you believe there is strong competition, weak competition, or no competition at all with African-Americans? How about . . .

- . . . in getting jobs?
- . . . having access to education and quality schools?
- . . . getting jobs with the city or state government?
- . . . having Latino representatives in elected office?

From these four questions, we created an overall index of competition with African Americans, with a Cronbach alpha interitem covariance of .354 and a scale reliability of .793. However, this is only half of the story. We are interested in knowing

whether the perceived competition is a unique Latino-versus-Black phenomenon or if competition is also perceived with other Latinos. Thus, we used the exact same series of questions asked later in the survey with respect to competition among Latinos: “Some have suggested that [respondent’s country-of-ancestry group]⁴ are in competition with other Latinos. After each of the next items, would you tell me if you believe there is strong competition, weak competition, or no competition at all with other Latinos?” The same four items were used: jobs, education, government jobs, and elected representation. By combining the Black competition index with the Latino competition index, we are able to arrive at an overall relative measure of Black-Latino competition.

The combined index ranges from -8 to $+8$, where a value of -8 represents “high competition” with Latinos and “low competition” with Blacks. In contrast, a value of $+8$ represents “high competition” with Blacks and “low competition” with Latinos. Respondents who had the same value for both groups, regardless of what that value was, are scored as a zero because they see no difference in the amount of competition between Blacks and Latinos.

Independent Variables

We rely on a variety of well-known, as well as some new, independent variables in predicting Black-Latino competition. Several variables related to social interaction, contact, and association with African Americans are included, to determine whether exposure to the Black community has a positive or negative impact on how Latinos view competition with Blacks. The first of these variables are two items related to social interactions; Black friends and Black co-workers are included as dummies and measure whether the respondent’s friends or co-workers are mostly Black or mixed Black and Latino or if these social circles do not include any African Americans. In contrast to these two social interaction variables, a variable related to self-reported negative experiences with African Americans, whether the respondent has been the victim of a crime or has experienced discrimination by an African American, is included and called “Black discrimination.” Last, we include a preimmigration variable of exposure to Black populations in Latin America, controlling for whether the Latino respondent traces his or her ancestry to a country in Latin America with a noticeable “Black” population such as the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, or any other country in Latin America with at least a 10% Black population.⁵

Finally, we control for region-related variables that are particularly relevant to this study. First, we include a simple dummy variable for whether the respondent resides in one of four southern states: Georgia, North Carolina, Arkansas, D.C./Virginia. Separately, we also include dummy variables for each of these states to test whether all southern states are similar or if one or two may be driving an effect. Next, we include two measures of the percent population which is Black within the county that the Latino respondent resides. We include percent-Black and also percent-Black-squared to assess any nonlinear effects. These variables allow us to test whether population dynamics contribute to feelings of competition and if Latinos view greater competition as the Black population increases. For example, Latinos in counties with a very small Black population may not see much competition

with Blacks because they do not come into frequent contact, whereas Latinos residing in majority-Black areas may see Blacks as their competitors, both in the South and in Los Angeles. In full, we employ five variables specifically related to race.

Finally, standard demographic variables include age, education, income, gender, marital status, and home-ownership status. Here, we are particularly interested in class-based variables, such as income, and also variables which evaluate the respondent's personal financial situation. We also include many standard ethnic variables to test cultural-based hypotheses, which include religion (Catholic or born-again), immigrant generation, Spanish usage, Latino linked fate, importance of maintaining Latino culture, and identification as American. With respect to political variables, we include interest in politics and party identification. (Complete coding instructions for all independent variables can be found in appendix 9A.)

The Results

The first level of results is a comparison of mean averages for the Black-Latino competition dependent variable. Using the perceived relative competition measure, we compare means of several different geographic subgroups of Latinos. Looking to table 9.1, a negative mean value demonstrates that the group perceives more competition with other Latinos than with Blacks (i.e., low competition with Blacks), while mean values greater than zero demonstrate that the group perceives more competition with African Americans. The second column of table 9.1 reveals more interesting patterns by region and state. Overall, for all states in the sample, Black-Latino competition is low, with an average of -0.183 . For states in the South, the overall average is positive, 0.047 , suggesting perceived competition with African Americans is higher in this region than in the non-South, which has a mean of -0.295 . Further, the state results indicate that the perceived competition is particularly strong in North Carolina (0.155) and Arkansas (0.129). Averages in Georgia and the D.C. metro are still "higher" than for the non-South, though they both register negative

Table 9.1: The Relationship between Region and Perceptions of Competition with Blacks Relative to Coethnics among Latinos

State-region	Relative competition (-8-8)
All states	-0.183
Southern	0.047
Georgia	-0.023
Carolina	0.155
Arkansas	0.129
D.C. metro	-0.094
Non-South	-0.229
California	-0.295
Florida	-0.080
Texas	-0.501
New York	-0.070
Illinois	-0.342

Note: The statistics reported here reflect mean competition levels on our *Relative competition* scale for each location. Negative coefficients indicate greater perceived competition with other Latinos, while positive coefficients indicate greater perceived competition with African Americans.

values. Outside of the old South, states such as California, Texas, and Illinois appear to have among the lowest levels of perceived Black-Latino competition. To illustrate the impact of region on perceptions of competition graphically, we replicate the frequencies of the relative perception of competition measure for the states in the South. Consistent with the trends in table 9.1, Latinos in the South are more likely to view African Americans (38%) as competitors relative to other Latinos (36%), a difference from the trends of the full sample. Although the gap here is rather limited, when compared to the frequencies of the full sample and the comparison of means in table 9.1, it is clear that Latinos' attitudes toward African Americans are distinct in the South. There is therefore support for our *Southern Hypothesis*, as the unique social, demographic, and cultural context in this region of the country appears to create the context for greater levels of perceived competition among Latinos.

Building on the descriptive statistics, we next move to a multivariate regression analysis in which we test our hypotheses through a more rigorous set of models. Here, we look for statistically significant results related to contributors to intergroup attitudes that may be driven by region and the Black social context variables by isolating data from southern states. We conclude the analysis with a direct test of the *Nonlinear Hypothesis* with our Black county population variables. Overall, the regression results point to a consistent finding that the social context reflected through region matters greatly.

While we have determined through descriptive statistics that there is a distinct regional effect among Latinos in the South, we are also interested in whether this trend holds after accounting for other factors that may influence Latinos' attitudes toward Blacks. We therefore start our regression analysis by examining perceptions of relative competition (table 9.2) using the full sample, with control variables for the southern region. Table 9.2 contains results for two OLS regressions using the two-item index of perceived competition between Latinos and Blacks. Looking first to our key independent variables, we find that when it comes to understanding perceptions of competition, having Black friends plays an important role. Latinos with Black friends are less likely to perceive Black-Latino competition compared to those without Black friends, all other things being equal. In contrast, working with Blacks leads to higher perceptions of competition. Consistent with our *Social Interaction Hypothesis*, while friendship is a great resource in alleviating any social pressures that may contribute to competitiveness between Latinos and Blacks, it seems that workplace coexistence only further reinforces perceptions of competition.

Further, the variable Black ancestry, which accounts for the presence of large Black populations in Latin American countries, also contributes to perceived competitiveness, perhaps building on learned notions of competition between Mestizo and Afro-Latinos in Latin America. Finally, we note that Latinos in southern states are statistically more likely to perceive competition with Blacks when compared to Latinos in other regions. This is in line with the descriptive statistics and further supports the *Southern Hypothesis*. In order to take full advantage of the robust sample sizes of the LNS, we take a closer look at this regional influence by isolating individual states to see if elevated perceptions of competition are present across the entire southern region. Looking to column two, we see that this is largely driven by heightened perceived competition in the states of Georgia and North Carolina in

Table 9.2: Predictors of Competition with Blacks Relative to Coethnics among Latinos (Full Sample)

	Coef.	SE		Coef.	SE	
Black friends	-0.295	0.169	†	-0.294	0.169	†
Black co-workers	0.558	0.180	***	0.554	0.180	***
Black discrimination	-0.144	0.148		-0.150	0.148	
Black ancestry	0.374	0.094	***	0.373	0.094	***
Southern state	0.388	0.157	***			
Georgia				0.470	0.260	†
Carolina				0.504	0.276	†
Arkansas				0.510	0.572	
D.C. metro				0.214	0.232	
Latino linked fate	-0.048	0.037		-0.048	0.037	
Identify as Latino	-0.085	0.048	†	-0.085	0.048	†
Identify as American	-0.088	0.038	*	-0.088	0.038	*
Maintain Latino culture	0.097	0.070		0.097	0.070	
Age	0.002	0.003		0.002	0.003	
Education	-0.024	0.010	*	0.024	0.010	*
Income	5.4E-06	2.3E-06	*	5.4E-06	2.3E-06	*
Personal finances better	0.078	0.048		0.077	0.048	
Female	0.041	0.070		0.041	0.070	
Married	-0.139	0.073	†	-0.141	0.073	*
Home owner	-0.026	0.080		-0.029	0.080	
Years at address	0.003	0.004		0.003	0.004	
Catholic	0.137	0.078	†	0.138	0.078	†
Born again	-0.064	0.070		-0.064	0.070	
Generation	-0.014	0.042		-0.014	0.042	
Spanish ability	-0.149	0.037	***	-0.149	0.037	***
Political interest	0.090	0.046	*	0.091	0.046	*
Party 7-pt.	-0.014	0.020		-0.015	0.020	
Constant	0.397	0.412		0.389	0.412	
N	6,920			6,920		
Adj R ²	.0120			.0118		

† p > .100, * p > .050, ** p < .010, *** p < .001

Note: The dependent variable in these models is the *Relative competition* variable. Negative coefficients indicate greater perceived competition with other Latinos, while positive coefficients indicate greater perceived competition with African Americans.

particular. Tested independently, Arkansas and the D.C. metro are not statistically different from nonsouthern states such as California or Illinois. Our analysis has therefore indicated that not only is it critical to account for region when analyzing intergroup attitudes, but when possible, scholars should also control for state and/or local context as well.

While we have determined that there is a distinct effect among Latinos in the South, we are also interested in knowing whether the key covariates related to Black-Latino interactions work the same or differently in the South. Thus, in table 9.3, we turn to a split sample analysis of data from only the southern states to assess these relationships. Consistent with findings from the full model, and in line with the *Social Interaction Hypothesis*, we find that Latinos who have Black friends are statistically less likely to view competition with Blacks. We are also interested in whether the effects for Black-Latino friendship are more pronounced in southern states. We therefore directly compare the substantive impact of having Black friends in the South versus the impact of this type of social interaction outside of this region. Outside the South, the presence of Black friends does reduce perceptions of competition by $-.30$. In contrast, for Latinos living in the South, having

Table 9.3: Predictors of Competition with Blacks Relative to Coethnics among Latinos in the South

	Relative competition		
	Coef.	SE	
Black friends	-0.693	0.373	†
Black co-workers	0.152	0.361	
Black discrimination	0.084	0.286	
Black ancestry	0.285	0.247	
Latino linked fate	0.063	0.085	
Identify as Latino	-0.092	0.112	
Identify as American	-0.162	0.087	†
Maintain Latino culture	0.079	0.172	
Age	-0.004	0.008	
Education	0.031	0.023	
Income	-1.9E-06	5.9E-06	
Personal finances better	0.143	0.115	
Female	-0.015	0.165	
Married	-0.149	0.172	
Homeowner	0.311	0.197	
Years at address	0.045	0.020	*
Catholic	0.021	0.185	
Born again	0.182	0.167	
Generation	0.128	0.125	
Spanish ability	-0.038	0.095	
Political interest	-0.047	0.111	
Party 7-pt.	-0.061	0.052	
Constant	-0.004	1.006	
N	1,130		
Adj. R ²	.090		

† p > .100, * p > .050, ** p < .010, *** p < .001

Note: The dependent variable in these models is the *Relative competition* variable. Negative coefficients indicate greater perceived competition with other Latinos, while positive coefficients indicate greater perceived competition with African Americans.

Black friends reduces perceived competition by $-.80$. More interestingly, the effect in the South is substantively meaningful. Those who have no Black friends actually perceive a positive (above zero) degree of competition with Blacks (.10); however, this drops to a negative value ($-.70$) for those with Black friends—reversing the direction of perceived competition altogether.

In addition to the measures directly related to our hypotheses, the ethnic-specific variables offer some interesting patterns. Latinos with a heightened sense of linked fate with other Latinos also tend to perceive that they have more in common with African Americans, perhaps out of a shared minority experience. It does not seem to be the case that Latino-based ethnic-identity variables are driving a wedge between Blacks and Latinos; in fact, the opposite appears to be the case. In addition to linked fate, Latinos who think it is important to maintain a clear Latino culture also view higher levels of commonality with Blacks, as do Latinos who subscribe to the label “Latino or Hispanic” and also those who identify more as “American.” It could be that these variables, taken together, point to Latinos’ acceptance of their status as an American minority group, distinct from the dominant White population, and therefore they see themselves more closely aligned with African Americans. In regard to relative perceptions of competition, Latinos who self-identify

as American are less likely to view African Americans as a source of competition; however, living at the same address for a longer duration yields higher levels of perceived competition with Blacks relative to other Latinos.

Lastly, we examine how the demographic context of where Latinos live affects their perceptions of competition with Blacks. Previous work has relied on population counts at the neighborhood, city, county, or state level to assess whether, and how, the degree of racial diversity impacts minority viewpoints toward each other. Here, we include data about the Black population at the county level to determine how Latinos within the South view competition with Blacks on the basis of whether they live in proximity to African Americans. However, building on the contradictory findings of previous studies, we do not necessarily believe this relationship is a linear one. Therefore, we include both a direct continuous variable and a squared (quadratic) version of the population variable. Regression results are presented in table 9.4 and show that Latinos are impacted by the surrounding Black population—however, not in a linear fashion. The effect for the linear term is positive, suggesting that as the Black population in a county increases, Latinos begin to perceive more competition. However, the effect for the squared term is negative, suggesting that at some point, this pattern changes and Latinos begin to perceive less competition in high-density Black counties, something akin to an *n*-curve. In the full

Table 9.4: Predictors of Competition with Blacks Relative to Coethnics among Latinos—Black County Population Models

	Full LNS dataset			Southern states only		
	Coef.	SE		Coef.	SE	
Black friends	-0.194	0.166		-0.652	0.362	†
Southern state	0.293	0.160	†			
% county Black	0.017	0.006	***	0.035	0.017	*
% county Black squared	-1.8E-04	1.0E-04	†	-5.5E-04	2.8E-04	*
Latino linked fate	-0.054	0.037		0.065	0.085	
Identify as Latino	-0.087	0.048	†	-0.090	0.112	
Identify as American	-0.080	0.038	*	-0.148	0.086	†
Maintain Latino culture	0.103	0.070		0.098	0.172	
Age	0.004	0.003		-0.001	0.007	
Education	-0.018	0.010	†	0.036	0.022	
Income	5.9E-06	2.3E-06	**	-1.4E-06	5.9E-06	
Personal finances better	0.072	0.049		0.142	0.115	
Female	0.059	0.070		-0.011	0.164	
Married	-0.156	0.073	*	-0.161	0.172	
Homeowner	-0.027	0.080		0.325	0.196	†
Years at address	0.002	0.004		0.044	0.019	*
Catholic	0.135	0.078	†	0.023	0.185	
Born again	-0.058	0.070		0.177	0.166	
Generation	-0.017	0.042		0.137	0.124	
Spanish ability	-0.152	0.037	***	-0.046	0.094	
Political interest	0.085	0.046	†	-0.043	0.110	
Party 7-pt.	-0.010	0.020		-0.059	0.052	
Constant	0.159	0.412		-0.555	1.030	
N	6,675			6,909		
Adj R ²	.115			.099		

† p > .100, * p > .050, ** p < .010, *** p < .001

Note: The dependent variable in these models is the *Relative competition* variable. Negative coefficients indicate greater perceived competition with other Latinos, while positive coefficients indicate greater perceived competition with African Americans.

Key Findings

- We find that rates of perceived competition with Blacks are lower overall when compared to perceptions of competition with other Latinos.
 - We find, however, that perceived competition with Blacks is mediated by region, with Latinos living in the South having higher rates of perceived competition with African Americans. This trend holds even when other factors are accounted for in our regression models.
 - We also find that social interactions help to explain perceptions of relative competition with African Americans, as having Black friends leads to lower levels of perceived competition, while having Black co-workers increases perceived competition. Further, the positive impact of having Black friends is more pronounced in the South.
 - Finally, we find that there is a positive relationship between living around African Americans and perceptions of competition with Blacks. However, there is not a linear relationship here, as perceptions of competition with Blacks actually begin to decrease in counties with greater than 50% African American density.
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sample, Latinos who live in counties with almost no Blacks view very low levels of Black-Latino competition, yet this steadily rises in medium-density Black counties, only to begin dropping again as the Black population increases. Results for the southern states are once again more robust than those in the full sample. Competition starts at a higher level in the South, increases slowly as the Black population increases, but then sharply drops off to a much lower level. That is, Latinos who live in very high-density Black counties in the South perceive very little competition with Blacks.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we have identified several new dimensions to the study of Black-Latino relations in this chapter. First, it is clear that place matters, as it appears as though Latinos' perceptions of competition with Blacks are higher in the South when compared to other region of the U.S. The significant rise of the Latino population in this region provides a very interesting context in which to study intergroup attitudes. We hope that scholars build on our work to explore other dimensions of relations between groups in this region of the country. Our analysis in this chapter suggests that Latinos' perceptions of competition are particularly high in the southern states of Georgia and North Carolina, and our chapter's literature review provides some speculation to explain this more specific regional trend. However, this is one area where scholars can expand on our work by conducting further research in this important region.

Second, our study finds that social interactions play a major role in how Latinos view African Americans. However, our study provides some new insights regarding this relationship. For example, we find that while Black population concentration

impacts Latinos' views toward African Americans, there is not a linear impact on perceptions of competition. Further, the nature of social interactions also matters here; working alongside African Americans does not influence attitudes toward Blacks for Latinos in the South, while having Black friends leads to lower levels of competition and higher rates of perceived commonality.

Finally, it is important to note that this chapter has only examined the viewpoints of Latinos toward perceived competition with Blacks. As Latinos now represent the largest minority group in America, surpassing African Americans in thirty states, it may be that Blacks actually view more competition with Latinos than Latinos do with Blacks. While reliable data for this investigation are an obstacle, future studies should examine both groups simultaneously to fully understand the dynamics of Black-Latino relations.

Study Questions

1. Why is it important to study Black-Latino relations?
 2. What are the principal variables used by scholars to investigate Latino attitudes toward Blacks?
 3. How do demographic factors (e.g., age, education, religion, gender, etc.) affect Latino attitudes toward Blacks?
 4. How do southern Latinos' perceptions of Blacks compare and contrast with those of Latinos living in other regions of the country?
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Appendix 9A: Variable Coding for Analysis of *Relative Competition*

Independent Variables

AGE	Continuous; 18–98
EDUCATION	Categorical; 0 = none; 4.5 = less eighth; 10.5 = some HS; 12 = HS grad.; 14.5 = some college; 16 = college grad.; 18 = graduate school
INCOME	Categorical with missing income replaced using Barreto and Espino (2008) income imputation
FINANCES BETTER	Personal financial situation; 1 = worse; 2 = same; 3 = better
UNEMPLOYED	Dummy; 1 = currently unemployed
FEMALE	Dummy; 1 = female
MARRIED	Dummy; 1 = married
HOME OWNER	Dummy; 1 = home owner
YEARS ADDRESS	Continuous; number of years lived at current address; 0–90
CATHOLIC	Dummy; 1 = Catholic
BORN AGAIN	Dummy; 1 = born again (includes any religious denomination)
GENERATION	Categorical; 0 = foreign noncitizen; 1 = foreign citizen; 2 = second; 3 = third; 4 = fourth

SPANISH (SCALE)	Categorical; 1 = English only; 2 = English, a little Spanish; 3 = English, decent Spanish; 4 = fully bilingual; 5 = Spanish, decent English; 6 = Spanish, a little English; 7 = Spanish only
SPANISH SERVICES	Index, see question L23 of LNS; 0 = no Spanish services available in community; 1 = one of three services in Spanish; 2 = two of three services in Spanish; 3 = three of three services in Spanish
POL INTEREST	Categorical; interested in politics; 1 = low; 4 = high
POL KNOWLEDGE	Index, see J10, J11, J12; 0 = zero of three correct; 1 = one of three correct; 2 = two of three correct; 3 = three of three correct
PARTY (7 POINT)	Categorical; 1 = strong Dem.; 2 = weak Dem.; 3 = lean Dem.; 4 = indep.; 5 = lean GOP; 6 = weak GOP; 7 = strong GOP
BLACK SKIN	Dummy; 1 = self-identify as having very dark or dark skin (see E16)
BLACK FRIENDS	Dummy; 1 = friends are mostly Black or mix of Black and Latino (see G6)
BLACK WORKERS	Dummy; 1 = co-workers are mostly Black or mix of Black and Latino (see G7)
BLACK CRIME	Dummy; 1 = victim of crime committed by Black (see L18/L19)
BLACK DISCRIMINATION	Dummy; 1 = experienced discrimination by Black (see N2/N4)
BLACK ANCESTRY	Dummy; 1 = ancestry is to one of eight Latin American countries with large Black populations
BLACK COMMONALITY	Index, see G1A/G2A; 1 = nothing at all in common; 8 = a lot in common
LINKED FATE-LATINO AMERICAN ID	Categorical; 1 = none; 2 = little; 3 = some; 4 = lot
MAINTAIN CULTURE	Categorical; 1 = not at all; 2 = somewhat important; 3 = very important
RANK BLACKS	Relative rank of Blacks on commonality vis-à-vis Whites, Asians, and other Latinos; 4 = rank Blacks highest; 3 = rank Blacks second; 2 = rank Blacks third; 1 = rank Blacks lowest
TIME LIVED IN US	Scale measuring percentage of life lived in U.S.; 1%–25%, 26%–50%, 51%–75%; 76%–100%

Notes

1. U.S. Census Bureau, “Table 6. Race Alone or in Combination, for States, Puerto Rico, and Places of 100,000 or More Population: 2000,” in *Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin for the United States, Regions, Divisions, States, Puerto Rico, and Places of 100,000 or More Population (PHC-T-6)*. <http://www.census.gov/population/www/cen2000/briefs/phc-t6>.
2. The McClain et al. (2006) study also confirms the role of nativity in Latinos’ attitudes toward African Americans, as approximately 93% of the sample utilized in this study is foreign-born. However, this study suggests that this trend may be a result of Latino immigrants arriving in the U.S. with negative stereotypes regarding Blacks that were formulated

in their country of origin. In fact, a sizable literature focused on discrimination and racial stereotypes in Latin America is cited to address this issue (de la Cadena 2001; Dulitzky 2005; Guimaraes 2001; Hanchard 1994; Mörner 1967; Sweet 1997; Wade 1993, 1997; Winant 1992).

3. Respondents from Maryland are not included in our interpretation of southern states.
4. For example, the question might have read, "Some have suggested that Puerto Ricans are in competition with other Latinos. After each of the next items, would you tell me if you believe there is strong competition, weak competition, or no competition at all with other Latinos?"
5. Eight countries were identified as having the highest percentage Black or Afro-Latino population based on data from the *Latin American Almanac* and the *CIA World Factbook*. While the exact "Black" population is not known due to differences in how race is measured in Latin America, the estimates for these eight countries range from a low of 10% of the total population to a high of 60%. These countries include Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Panama, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela.

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