

Importance of State and Local Variation in Black–Brown Attitudes: How Latinos View Blacks and How Blacks Affect Their Views

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Abstract: This study explores Latino perceptions of commonality and competition with African Americans across the country, focusing on the South. Using the Latino National Survey (LNS), we test the existing inter-group relation theories using an original measurement approach. With the creation of relative measures of commonality and competition of Latinos toward Blacks, we find that Latinos perceive co-ethnics as a greater source of competition than Blacks when our relative measure is used to interpret Latino perceptions of competition with African Americans. Moreover, our results suggest that Latinos in the South have similar perceptions of commonality to Blacks as Latinos more generally, across both approaches that measure perceptions of commonality. Most importantly, we find that when the relative competition measure is employed, Latinos who live in Southern states do in fact have higher perceptions of competition with Blacks than Latinos at large. These trends provide a valuable addition to the extant literature focused on inter-group relations by emphasizing that not only place and context matter, but also the way perceptions of competition and commonality are measured and operationalized.

Keywords: Latino politics, race relations, public opinion, inter-group relations, racial attitudes, competition, commonality.

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INTRODUCTION

The literature on inter-group attitudes and interactions is deep and motivated by several important theories that have organized the published research in the area. This includes the group competition theory, which posits that subordinated groups often become competitive in terms of their position in the economic hierarchy. Research referencing this theory finds that groups are likely to perceive each other as economic and political competitors (Gay 2006; Vaca 2003). This research includes work focused on economic threat specifically, noting that underlying competition for jobs can cue or heighten individual views about out-groups (Barrett and Roediger 1997; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Olzak 1990).

Inter-group research also references Blalock's (1967) social context perspective. This theory suggests that the size of an out-group living in proximity to an individual is an important predictor of perceptions of threat and competition with members of outside groups. Research utilizing social context geographical measures found evidence to support this theory (Bobo and Johnson 2000; Gay 2004; Oliver and Wong 2003), with more recent research indicating that the relationship is non-linear in nature (Barreto, Gonzalez, and Sanchez 2010; Morín, Sanchez, and Barreto 2011).

Based on the principles associated with Blalock's (1967) social context framework, researchers also ground their work in inter-group contact or social contact theory, which suggests that positive inter-group contact fosters positive views of out-groups and can motivate more collaborative behavior than the group competition theory suggests (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998). This is typically measured with geographic proximity as well but can also be captured more directly through friendships and other positive individual level interactions. Social networks theory is closely tied to social contact, as work in this vein suggests that more extended contact with out-groups in one's social network can yield positive attitudes (Wright et al. 1997).

Despite being an area of study grounded strongly in social science theory, research on inter-group attitudes has often led to contradictory findings and conclusions. We contend that this is at least partially due to a lack of research that directly tests these theories against each other. Data limitations have also led to inconclusive findings in the inter-group attitudes subject area. Although there are stronger surveys that have allowed scholars to explore these theories across wider segments of the population, much of the published work is narrowly focused on intergroup relations

between Black and White Americans. The survey data utilized by scholars in this area also can prioritize national samples, or a set of major urban areas, limiting state or regional analyses. Finally, much of the research in this area lacks the ability to explore inter-group attitudes *relative* to a benchmark of those attitudes toward one's in-group.

With these limitations in mind, we utilize the Latino National Survey (LNS) to examine Latino perceptions of commonality and competition with African Americans to test several of these theories alongside one another and within the same set of models. This will allow us to make conclusions regarding these theories for Latinos. One of the primary advantages of the LNS is its large sample size, designed to accommodate analyses within specific regions or individual states. This project capitalizes on this resource, isolating the LNS respondents from the southern states of AR, NC, GA, and FL to explore how these theories operate among Latinos in the "New South," a region of the country that research suggests to have a unique racial context (Abascal 2015; Suro and Singer 2002; Telles *et al.* 2011).

One of the most relevant contributions of this piece is the creation of a relative measure of commonality of Latinos toward Blacks, a measurement approach we contend all theories motivating intergroup relationships could apply in future research. In an analysis utilizing the LNS, Barreto, Gonzalez, and Sanchez (2010) isolated Latino perceptions of competition with African Americans, while simultaneously accounting for perceptions of overall competition. We utilize this relative measure in our models focused on Black–Brown relations in the South to build on the Barreto, Gonzalez, and Sanchez (2010) study of CA, and replicate this measurement approach to create a novel measure of relative perceptions of commonality. The new measure of commonality provides the opportunity to assess Latino perceptions of commonality with Blacks relative to perceptions of commonality with other Latinos. When combined with the perceptions of competition measure, our research design allows for a comparison of the results generated from the standard racial attitude measurement approach to our new results based on the perceptions of competition and commonality *relative* to the similar perceptions of competition and commonality to other Latinos. This multifaceted research design significantly improves our understanding of Latino attitudes toward Blacks and has implications for how scholars should approach measurement strategies in this area of work moving forward.

Our research design directly compares measures of several of the discussed dominant theories that structure the intergroup relation literature.

An advantage of our research design is the ability to test alongside each other the impacts of living in an area with more/less African Americans and having members of that community in your social network on Latino perceptions of competition and commonality with the population. This provides an opportunity to explore whether and how, if so, intergroup contact, social context, and group competition theories influence Latino attitudes toward African Americans. Our research design aligns with our view that these are distinct theories that are not interchangeable.

Results from the full LNS sample suggest that Latinos actually view co-ethnics as a greater source of competition than Blacks when our standardized measure is used to interpret Latino perceptions of competition with African Americans. Furthermore, results from the same sample suggest that Latinos in the South have similar perceptions of commonality to Blacks as Latinos more generally, across both approaches that measure perceptions of commonality. Similarly, perceptions of competition do not vary by region (South/non-South) when utilizing the standard measure, but interestingly, when employing the relative competition measure, we find that Latinos who live in southern states, in fact, have higher perceptions of competition with Blacks than Latinos more generally. These trends emphasize that place and context matter, providing a valuable addition to the extant literature focused on intergroup relations. Finally, we also find evidence supporting the notion that different types of interactions influence Latino attitudes toward Blacks. However, our results emphasize the significance of the nature of interactions that take place between groups, building on the extant literature. In other words, having intergroup friendships in a racially divided environment may reduce perceptions of group competition. Our findings reflect the relationship between having African American friends and more positive attitudes toward Blacks, particularly in the South.

SOCIAL CONTEXT AND RACIAL RELATIONS

Previous research focused on the relationship between social contexts, types of intergroup relationships, and racial attitudes, with mixed results. Some studies alluding to Blalock's (1967) social context perspective have explored whether the relative size of out-groups in a specific region is a significant predictor of perceptions of threat and competition among the members of different groups. Early and recent studies testing this theory consistently found that larger populations of minority groups

are associated with greater white racial animosity and/or prejudicial attitudes (Bobo 1988; Christensen and Kerper 2013; Frisbie and Niedert 1977; Glaser 1994; Key and Heard 1949; Taylor 1998; Wong 2007; Wong *et al.* 2012; Wright 1977).

This debate extends to research focused on the role of social context on ethno-racial attitudes toward other minority groups. Scholars find that negative attitudes toward Latinos increase with higher concentrations of Latinos in the neighborhoods in which Black respondents live and when Blacks are disadvantaged economically relative to Latinos (Barreto, Gonzalez, and Sanchez 2013; Cain, Citrin, and Wong 2000; Gay 2004; Morín, Sanchez, and Barreto 2011; Morris 2000; Tatcho, Niemann, and Rodriguez 2002).

Although Blalock (1967; 1960), the original theorist of the social context approach, specifically hypothesized a non-linear relationship between the size of a minority group and the perceptions of the majority group toward that minority group, a significant share of the work in this area assumes a linear relationship between population increases in a geographical area and attitudes (see, e.g., Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Branton and Jones 2005; Cummings and Lambert 1997; Oliver and Wong 2003). Most of these studies include a measure for the percentage or overall population of the target group within a geographical unit (city, county, neighborhood, etc.) and hypothesize that hostile or positive attitudes toward that target group will increase as its population grows.

In line with some studies that have followed Blalock's non-linearity prediction (1960; 1967), some scholars have tested the relationship between the size of minority groups and the perceptions of the majority group toward a minority group through a non-linear pattern (Filindra 2018; Gay 2004; Pedroza 2018; Reich 2018). Based on that, we question whether the impact of social context will differ across geographical areas with varying levels of Black population, with the impact of a county moving from 10 to 20% Black being much different than a 10% increase in a majority-Black area (i.e., moving from 50 to 60%). Furthermore, we predict that Latino perceptions of competition with African Americans will diminish significantly in majority and super-majority Black counties. Our prediction is based on the notion that Latinos will not see themselves as a viable challenger to the dominant African American population in areas where Blacks are the clear majority, thus, decreasing perceptions of competition. These contexts may also diminish hostility toward Latinos among Blacks, as any perceived threat from a rise in Latino population will be offset by African Americans' strength in numbers. We apply

a quadratic term to our Black population measure to test this inference. Based on that, we test the following hypothesis:

Non-Linear Hypothesis: We anticipate that the impact of Black populations on Latino attitudes toward Blacks will be non-linear, producing a curvilinear pattern where the impact of Black populations becomes less pronounced at levels beyond 50%.

INTERGROUP CONTACT AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

While studies testing the social context approach consistently found that the size of out-groups is a significant predictor of perceptions of threat and competition among members of different groups, other studies report that racial contact lessens racial antagonism (Ellison and Powers 1994; Sigelman and Welch 1993; Welch et al. 2001). Some of these studies find that intergroup contact can even lead to cooperation and support among groups under the right conditions (Allport 1954; Gaertner et al. 1994; Glasford and Calcagno 2012; Kinder and Mendleberg 1995; Pettigrew 1998; Sigelman et al. 1996; Wallsten and Nteta 2017; Wilkinson 2014; Wilkinson and Earle 2013; Wilkinson, Garand, and Dunaway 2015).

Scholars testing the intergroup contact theory find that negative attitudes and stereotypes among ethno-racial and majority–minority groups are not always the case (McClain et al. 2006; Nteta and Wallsten 2012; Wallsten and Nteta 2011; 2017). Oliver and Wong (2003), for example, find that negative stereotypes and perceptions of competition among both Blacks and Latinos decrease as their neighborhoods become more diverse, resulting in greater tolerance among ethno-racial groups. Similarly, Wilkinson and colleagues find that several factors such as skin tone, linked fate, sense of power, and quality of resources in communities are associated with Latino perceptions of commonality with Whites and Blacks (Wilkinson 2014; 2015; Wilkinson and Earle 2013; Wilkinson, Garand, and Dunaway 2015).

While studies testing the intergroup contact theory have reinvigorated the studies of race relations, the extant literature has not been able to account for the complexity of the nature of social networks among the populations under study. Specifically, while the measurement approach common in the social context perspective allows for determining whether the presumed interactions between members of different racial and ethnic groups are positive or negative, it has not been able to

distinguish those who have both positive and negative interactions with minority groups. On the one hand, previous literature found that friendships with people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds can temper more general perceptions of competition with that group, as well as increase perceptions of commonality (Alvarez and Widener 2008; Cook 1963; Ellison and Powers 1994; Jackman and Crane 1986; Sigelman and Welch 1993; Wilkinson 2014; Wilkinson and Earle 2013; Wilner *et al.* 1955). On the other hand, scholars also found that high levels of social interaction among ethno-racial groups in other contexts, including within the workplace, heightens perceptions of competition due to this type of social interaction being naturally competitive (Chen, Zhu, and Zhou 2015; Fletcher, Major, and Davis 2008). Through a qualitative analysis, Stuesse's (2009) work supports these findings in the South, where 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. These studies highlight important differences between Latino and African American relationships when it comes to friendships and professional interactions.¹

We, therefore, argue that this is a critical, yet often overlooked, point that calls for the inclusion of measures that capture both levels of affability and competitiveness when accounting for the types of contacts among different groups. We contend that scholars should treat these measures as distinct from one another and account for both of them in the same model. To provide important clarifications to our extant knowledge regarding the impact of social context and social networks on Latino attitudes toward Blacks, we test the following hypothesis:

Intergroup Contact Hypothesis: We anticipate finding a differential impact for our Black friends and Black co-workers measures, with Black friends being associated with positive attitudes and Black co-workers with greater perceptions of competition and lower levels of commonality.

GROUP COMPETITION

Literature on interracial contact and race relations, particularly as it pertains to African Americans and Latinos, emphasize the relationship between resource competition and intergroup conflicts in line with the social context perspective of Blalock (1967). A large group of scholars exploring the formation of race relations argue that group tensions

between Blacks and Latinos emerge largely due to perceptions of competition within US economic structures (Marrow 2008; 2009; McClain et al. 2006; 2007; Vaca 2003). Along the same lines, some studies argue that intergroup competition between Blacks and Latinos occurs due to their similar economic and political conditions at the bottom of the social structure, which is frequently referred to as fighting for crumbs or a zero-sum game (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Borjas 2001; Gimpel and Morris 2007). Studies find that Black and Latinos perceive each other as competitors for multiple resources including low-income housing and jobs, as well as healthcare and education; these perceptions of competition culminate in interracial tensions between African Americans and United States and foreign-born Latinos (Cravey 1997; Hackenberg and Kukulka 1995; Hamermesh and Bean 1998; Kandel and Parrado 2005; Millard and Chapa 2004).

But perceptions of intergroup competition do not come alone. Scholars found associations between perceptions of economic and resource competition, and negative attitudes and stereotypes among racial groups. In several studies, McClain and colleagues found that perceptions of interracial competition are associated with hostile attitudes between African Americans and Latinos (McClain 1993; 2006; McClain and Karnig 1990; 1998; McClain and Tauber 2001; Meier et al. 2004; 2006). Johnson, Farrell, and Guinn (1997) find that Latinos view Blacks as less intelligent and more likely to be welfare dependents than their group. Among foreign-born Latinos, these perceptions heighten as some immigrants from Latin America come to the United States with negative predispositions toward Blacks due to the racial discrimination and stereotypes in their home countries (de la Cadena 2001; Dulitzky 2005; Guimaraes 2001). Clearly, perceptions of competition affect intergroup relations and attitudes.

Our models include a measure of Black population at the county level, which matches Census regional context data with the individual LNS survey data to allow for competition and group threat theories to be modeled alongside social contact and social network theories.

EXPERIENCES WITH DISCRIMINATION AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

In addition to the group competition approach, scholars have long explored whether and how perceived racial discrimination impacts the

lives of minority groups in the United States (Williams *et al.* 1997). Scholars found significant relationships between racial discrimination and different outcomes, including group identity (McClain *et al.* 2006; 2007; Sanchez and Rodriguez Espinosa 2016), political behavior (Schildkraut 2005; Stokes 2003; Valdez 2011), coalition formation (Kaufmann 2003; Uhlaner 1991), and health outcomes (Banfield and Dovio 2013; Lewis *et al.* 2015; Williams and Mohammed 2013). While this body of literature advances our understanding of discrimination and race relations to some extent, several unanswered questions remain.

Most of the research in this area typically focuses on the discrimination experiences of African Americans (Ellison and Powers 1994; Gaertner *et al.* 1994; Kaufmann 2003; Schildkraut 2005; Uhlaner 1991). Moreover, this literature neglects the racial background of perpetrators of discrimination experiences, assuming that they belong to non-Hispanic Whites, typically the majority group (but see Brown and Chu 2012; Outten *et al.* 2010; Sanchez and Rodriguez Espinosa 2016). The scant but growing literature on the Latino experience with discrimination from other ethno-racial groups finds that discrimination from out-groups is significantly associated with higher levels of in-group linked fate and perceptions of commonality among Latinos (Sanchez and Rodriguez Espinosa 2016).

Recently, few studies have paid attention to the common experiences of discrimination and marginality among disadvantaged groups such as Latinos and African Americans. Scholars found a strong relationship between Latino group consciousness, perceived discrimination toward one's own racial group, and perceptions of commonality with African Americans (Kaufmann 2003; Craig and Richeson 2012). For example, scholars find that the combination of experienced hostility of discrimination from a majority group (Whites) and a sense of shared status and social similarities with other minority groups (e.g., Latinos and African Americans) results in intergroup closeness or commonality among minority groups (Kaufmann 2003; Nagel 1995; Sherif 1954). These feelings, at the same time, have been associated with coalition formation among Latinos and Blacks (Morín, Sanchez and Barreto 2011; Kaufmann 2003; McClain 2018). Therefore, studying the sources of discrimination, as well as perceptions of commonality, is key for our understanding of inter-group race relations.

THE NEW SOUTH AND RACE RELATIONS AMONG LATINOS AND BLACKS

The regional dynamics of the South provide a unique opportunity to examine race relations and perceptions of competition and commonality among Latinos and African Americans. Political scientists note not only the unique political culture of the South (Burden and Kimball 2002; Caughey and Warshaw 2016; Dalton and Wattenberg 2002; Frymer, Kim, and Bimes 1997; Hero and Tolbert 1996; Key and Heard 1949; Lieske 1993), but also the recent transformation of the “New South” due to an overall population growth (a 17% increase in population from 1990 to 2000) and increases in racial diversity, education levels, income, and age in recent years (Abascal 2015; Cobb 1993; Hillygus and Shields 2008; Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens 1997; Rodríguez 2012; Telles et al. 2011). Arguably the greatest demographic change in this region, however, is the explosion of Latino population. This demographic shift led Suro and Singer (2002) of the Pew Research Center to refer to many cities in the South as “New Latino Destinations.” Specifically, many locations throughout the South experienced 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 (Suro and Singer 2002). In addition, between 1980 and 2010, the overall Latino population growth in major southern cities was an increase of 931%, about 18 times more than the African American growth of 53% (Rodríguez 2012). Suro and Singer (2002) contend that “these metropolitan areas epitomize the new economy of the 1990s with rapid development in the finance, business services, and high-tech sectors,” which are responsible for a large share of this population growth.

This is an important point, as the influx of Latinos into the South is due to the region’s fairly recent economic success. In comparison with 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 sought unskilled and inexpensive labor (Torres 2000; Winders and Smith 2012). While the majority of Latinos took jobs performing services, expansion in manufacturing and construction provided additional opportunities for Latinos to migrate from other areas in the United States as well as emigrate directly to the South from Latin America (Kochhar, Suro, and Tafoya 2005; Odem and Lacy 2009; Torres 2000; Winders and Smith 2012).

Furthermore, Latinos have made rather significant inroads into white-collar occupations in this region as well, not only in professional, management and financial occupations, but also as business owners and entrepreneurs since the 1990s and early 2000s (Hoalst-Pullen *et al.* 2013; Johnson and Kasarda 2009). Clearly, the South provides job opportunities to Latinos not present elsewhere in the United States.

We consider whether the demographic changes this labor demand fuels impacts race relations within this region in line with economic threat theories. While some studies focus on the impact of Latino migration to the South on the economy of the region (Ciscel, Smith, and Mendoza 2003; Hoalst-Pullen *et al.* 2013; Johnson and Kasarda 2009; Kandel and Parrado 2004; Mohl 2003; Murphy, Blanchard, and Hill 2001; Torres 2000), limited research explores how the marked increases of Latinos influences intergroup relations in the South.

In comparison with other regions of the United States, a large number of Blacks who have a long historical residence in this region and a relatively smaller but rapidly growing Latino population populate the South. Given the rate at which Latinos are entering the region, social interaction between both groups is likely to differ from 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 historically defines the social, economic, and political life of its residents (McClain *et al.* 2006; Stuesse 2009; Rodriguez 2012; Weise 2012; Winders 2011; Winders and Smith 2012). Hence, studying race relations in the South is of crucial importance in the current political environment.

Latino newcomers to the South, however, are often unaware of these historical realities, which may directly impact their perceptions of African Americans (Rodriguez 2012; Weise 2012; Winders and Smith 2012). This lack of understanding may lead Hispanic workers in the South to have negative attitudes about their Black co-workers and neighbors. For example, Stuesse's (2009) focus group work in MS indicates that most Hispanics accept the dominant ideology that Blacks are responsible for their disadvantaged economic condition.

The structural conditions of the South influence the intergroup relations between these groups as well. For example, the economic gap between Blacks and Whites, particularly in the rural South, led to greater levels of both perceived and real competition between Latinos and Blacks in this

region (Dunn, Aragonéz, and Shivers 2005; Marrow 2009; McClain et al. 2009; Rich and Miranda 2005; Winders and Smith 2012). Previous research shows that these competitive environments can lead to greater levels of inter-group discrimination (Kasinitz et al. 2008; Marrow 2009; Winders and Smith 2012), with qualitative work suggesting that, due to perceived economic threat from immigrants, the hostility from poor Blacks is even greater (Marrow 2009; McDermott 2011; Winders and Smith 2012).

Ongoing research by Paula McClain and colleagues illustrate this dynamic well within Durham, NC, a city with a large Black and growing Latino population. The authors collected survey data indicating that Blacks in Durham feel that Latino immigration threatens both their economic and political positions (McClain et al. 2009). In a related study, McClain et al. (2006) find that the Latino stereotypes of Blacks in Durham are more negative than those of Whites, with 57% of Latinos feeling that few or almost no Blacks could be trusted, and 59% believing that few or almost no Blacks are hardworking (McClain et al. 2006, 578). Particularly when contrasted with the significantly less negative perceptions of Whites in the study, it appears as though Latinos (at least those in Durham, NC) 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 Durham. Marrow (2009) 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 such 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 NC, as well as whether Latinos in NC are unique from those living in other Southern states through the large sample sizes of the LNS.

We expect that the unique cultural dynamics associated with the South, as well as the recent Latino influx, may have heightened real and perceived competition among Latinos and African Americans. Our preceding discussion of this important region of the country motivates the following hypothesis that advances our understanding of racial competition and racial threat theory:

Resource Competition in the New South 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.

RELATIVE PERCEPTIONS OF COMPETITION AND COMMONALITY IN LATINOS TOWARD BLACKS

Finally, in addition to the ability to explore the impact of region and social interactions on Black–Brown 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 finds Latinos to have high perceptions of conflict and competition with African Americans (Barreto, Gonzalez, and Sanchez 2013; Cummings and Lambert 1997; Martinez and Rios 2011; McClain *et al.* 2006; 2007; Morín, Sanchez, and Barreto 2011; Tatcho, Niemann, and Rodriguez 2002; Telles *et al.* 2011; Welche and Sigelman 2000). While some of this research controls for general perceptions of conflict and/or competition, no study has a relative measurement that not only accounts for out-group perceptions of conflict or commonality, but also in-group perceptions of the same measure (except for Barreto, Gonzalez, and Sanchez 2010 for competition only). We contend that while it is plausible that Latinos maintain high levels of competition or commonality with Blacks, general perceptions of competition and commonality in general—including in-group perceptions may temper this trend.

Research interested in the contextual determinants of racial animosity among Whites finds that individuals faced with economic adversity tend to not only exhibit 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). Gay (2004) also finds that African Americans living in low-income neighborhoods tend to believe that racism limits their individual life chances, as well as the overall socio-economic attainment of Blacks as a group. We contend that it is likely that Latinos 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 in line with Blalock’s theory (Jones-Correa 2001). The upward concentration of wealth in the United States in the last two decades 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; Marrow 2008; Odem and Lacy 2009). Not surprisingly, foreign-born Latinos perceive greater competition with African Americans than their native-born counterparts (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Jones-Correa 2001; McClain et al. 2006; Mohl 2003).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. We, therefore, isolate competitive attitudes toward African Americans from competitive perceptions more generally.

A similar process is likely to occur in the context of perceptions of commonality. The McClain et al. (2006) study from NC found that Latinos have higher levels of perceived commonality toward Whites than they do toward African Americans. This supports work that suggests both African Americans and Latinos feel closer to Whites than to each other (Dyer, Vedlitz, and Worchel 1989), but Latinos and African Americans can feel closer to each other under certain circumstances, as previous literature suggests (Alvarez and Widener 2008; Cook 1963; Ellison and Powers 1994; Jackman and Crane 1986; Sigelman and Welch 1993; Wilkinson 2014; Wilkinson and Earle 2013; Wilner et al. 1955). Hence, we contend that similar to perceptions of competition, the seemingly low levels of perceived commonality with Blacks may be considered differently if and when compared with perceptions of commonality with co-ethnics. As a pan-ethnic population comprised of many separate national origin groups each with unique histories within the United States, it is not possible to assume that Latinos have high perceptions of commonality with co-ethnics from other national origin backgrounds. In fact, scholars found that this diversity can serve as an obstacle for collective political empowerment and incorporation (de la Garza et al. 1992; Pachon and DeSipio 1994; Portes and Rumbaut 1996). A myriad of factors comprise differences, including nativity, citizenship status, country-of-origin, length of time spent in the United States, English language proficiency, race, and experienced of discrimination (García Bedolla 2005; Lavariega-Monforti and Sanchez 2010; Ochoa 2000; 2004; Rodriguez and Nuñez 1986). These factors can present challenges to group cohesion and a sense of pan-ethnic group consciousness (Garcia 2016; Jones-Correa and Leal 1996; Masuoka 2006; McClain et al. 2009; Uhlaner, Cain, and Kiewiet 1989).

There is evidence that perceptions of Latino internal commonality yield higher levels of perceptions of commonality with Blacks (Sanchez

2008). This suggests that once Latinos are able to see common circumstances and shared experiences with individuals within their own ethnic group, it becomes much easier to develop those perceptions of commonality with an outside group. More recent research finds that under certain circumstances and environments, Latinos are more likely to have greater perceptions of commonalities with both Whites and African Americans (Alvarez and Widener 2008; Cook 1963; Ellison and Powers 1994; Jackman and Crane 1986; Sigelman and Welch 1993; Wilkinson 2014; Wilkinson and Earle 2013; Wilner *et al.* 1955).

Due to these trends identified in the extant literature, we believe that it is vital to assess Latino perceptions of competition and commonality with Blacks *relative* to those same attitudes toward co-ethnics. 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 and commonality among Latinos as well.

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

DATA AND METHODS

As previously noted, the data for this study are from the 2006 Latino National Survey (LNS). The LNS is a nationally representative telephone survey of 8,600 Latino residents of the United States which seeks a broad understanding of the qualitative nature of Latino political and social life in America. In this paper, we focus on the national data, but also on data from Southern states³ including 1,440 interviews with Latino respondents in GA, AR, NC, VA, and WA D.C. The sample of the survey consists of adult Latinos (18 years of age and older), with surveys conducted in the preferred language of the respondents (English, Spanish, or both languages). The survey is useful because it contains a large sample of foreign-born Latinos, a group previously hypothesized to be in more competition with African Americans. Overall, 6,184 foreign-born Latinos and 1,219 foreign-born Latinos in the South are in the sample.

With the ability to account for perceptions of commonality and competition across various contexts, as well as the ability to analyze 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 series 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 the perceived competition with other Latinos. Results are provided for the South/the non-South as well as for specific states of interest.

We then present results from multivariate regression models to test a host of explanatory variables on overall perceptions of Black–Brown competition nationally and also in the South. In particular, we are interested in whether Latinos who regularly interact with African Americans, as co-workers, friends, or neighbors and community members, perceive themselves in competition with Blacks.

There is also a need to explore any potential differences across this region that may influence perceptions of competition and commonality among Latinos and Blacks. NC, for example, is a very intriguing location to study Black–Brown relations, with its reputation as the premier “new destination” state resulting from posting the greatest Latino population growth rates during the 1990s (Marrow 2009). There is also evidence that this state may be more receptive institutionally to Latino immigrants than other areas in the South. For example, Marrow (2005) finds that NC may have greater resources available to better incorporate Latino migrants to the state, specifically in the realms of its education and judicial systems. One of the primary advantages of the use of LNS is the large sample of Southern residents, which allows for the inclusion of dummy variables for multiple Southern states, including NC, GA, AR, VA, and the District of Columbia. This provides the opportunity to determine if Latino attitudes vary across the region.

VARIABLE CONSTRUCTION

We think there are two important advances made in this paper. First is the in-depth analysis of the South as compared with the non-South, which improves on previous studies. Second is the construction of the dependent variable. In this study, we construct a relative measure of Black–Brown competition based on how much competition Latinos perceive with

African Americans, compared with how much competition they perceived with other Latinos. Almost every previous study of Black–Brown conflict relies on a single measure of positive or negative viewpoints toward just one group, either toward Blacks or toward Latinos. In this project, we take advantage of two series of questions within the LNS and create a relative measure of Black–Brown competition and commonality, a significant improvement in understanding race relations. These measures allow for testing whether relative perceptions of in-group members temper perceptions of out-group competition in a racially divided environment like the South.

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. . .”

- (1) in getting jobs
- (2) having access to education and quality schools
- (3) getting jobs with the city or state government
- (4) having Latino representatives in elected office

From these four questions, all of which include three ordinal categories (no competition = 0; weak competition = 1; and strong competition = 2), we created an overall index of competition with African Americans, with a Cronbach’s α inter-item covariance of .354 and a scale reliability of .793. However, this is only half of the story. Since, we are also interested in whether the perceived competition is a unique Brown–Black phenomenon, or if competition is also perceived with other Latinos, we used the exact same series of questions asked later on the survey, with respect to competition among Latinos: “Some have suggested that [insert country of ancestry⁴] 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 can arrive at an overall relative measure of Black–Brown competition.

The combined index ranges from -8 to $+8$ (Figure 1) 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 with the same value for both groups, regardless of the value, are scored as a zero

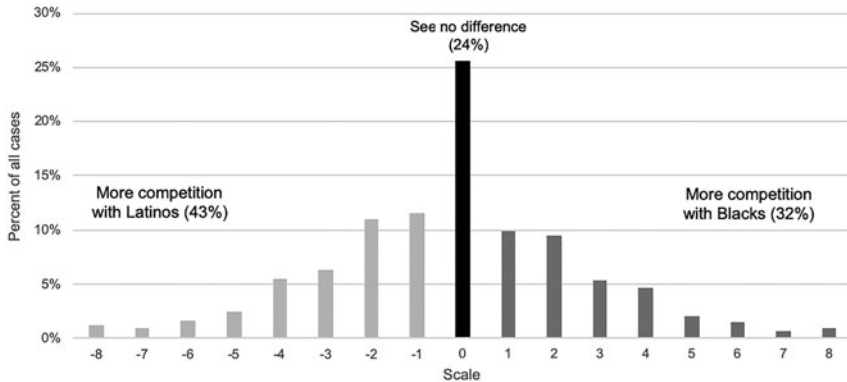


FIGURE 1. Relative Scale of Black-Brown Competition of Latinos across US States. *Source:* Authors' original variable construction using Latino National Survey 2006.

because they see no difference in the amount of competition between Blacks and Latinos. The basic frequencies of the full sample depicted in Figure 1 strongly suggest that this measure provides a clearer picture of Black–Brown competition.

In addition to perceptions of competition with African Americans, we also model perceptions of commonality. The LNS asked respondents two questions about perceived commonality with African Americans that we combine into an index. These questions were:

- (1) Thinking about issues like job opportunities, educational attainment or income, how much do Latinos have in common with other racial groups in the United States today? Would you say Latinos have a lot in common, some in common, little in common, or nothing at all in common with African Americans?
- (2) Now I'd like you to think about the *political* situation of Latinos in society. Thinking about things like government services and employment, political power and representation, how much do Latinos have in common with African Americans in the United States today? Would you say Latinos have a lot in common, some in common, little in common, or nothing at all in common with...

Similar to our approach with perceptions of competition, we combined the commonality measures into an index of perceptions of commonality with Blacks; these two items have a Cronbach's α inter-item covariance of .759 and scale reliability of .647. Although exploring perceptions of commonality with African Americans across region is a contribution to

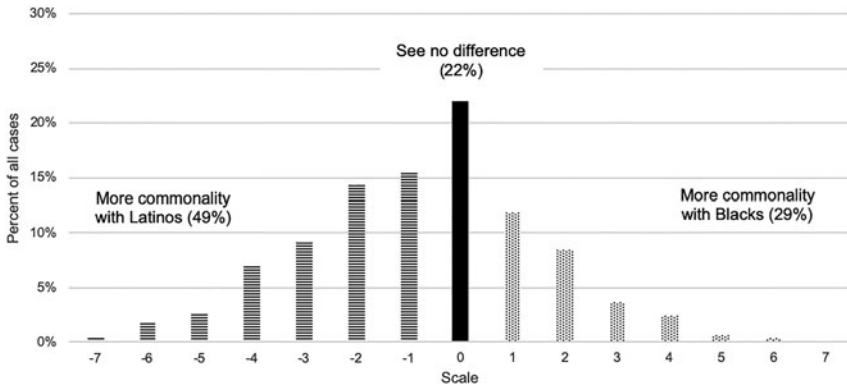


FIGURE 2. Relative Scale of Black-Brown Commonality of Latinos across US States. *Source:* Authors' original variable construction using Latino National Survey 2006.

the literature on its own, we create a relative measure of perceptions of commonality as well. The combined index ranges from -7 to $+7$ (Figure 2) where a value of -7 represents “high commonality” with Latinos and “low commonality” with Blacks. In contrast, a value of $+7$ represents “high commonality” with Blacks and “low commonality” with Latinos. Respondents with the same value for both groups, regardless of the value, are scored as a zero. As reflected in Figure 2, it is clear that Latinos believe that they have greater levels of commonality with co-ethnics overall; however, a sizable segment of the Latino population believe that they have more in common with Blacks than they do with other Latinos.

Independent Variables

We rely on a variety of well-known and some new independent variables in predicting Black–Brown competition. We include several variables related to the social interaction, contact, and association with African Americas to determine whether or not exposure to the Black community has a positive or negative impact on how Latinos view competition or commonality with Blacks. The first of these variables are two items related to social interactions. Black friends and workers are included as dichotomous variables and measure whether the respondents' friends or co-workers are mostly Black, or mixed Black and Latino, or if their 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 measures whether the respondent has been victim of a crime or has experienced discrimination by an African American; this variable is called Black discrimination. Last, we include a pre-immigration variable of exposure to Black populations in Latin America, controlling for whether or not the Latino respondent traces their 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 10% Black population.⁵

Finally, we control for region-related variables that are particularly relevant to this study. First, we include a simple dichotomous variable for whether the respondent resides in one of four southern states: GA, NC, AR, DC/A. Separately, we also include binary variables for each of these states to test whether all southern states are similar or only one or two may be driving an effect. Next, we include two measures of the percent of the population that is Black within the county where the Latino respondent resides. We include percent-Black and also percent-Black squared to assess any non-linear effects. These variables allow us to test whether population dynamics contribute to feelings of commonality or competition, and if Latinos perceive greater competition as the Black population increases. In full, we employ five variables specifically related to race.

Finally, standard demographic variables include age, education, income, gender, marital status, and homeownership. Here, we are particularly interested in class-based variables, such as income, and also evaluation of 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. See the appendix for more information on variables.

THE RESULTS

The first level of results is a comparison of mean averages for the Black–Brown commonality and competition dependent variables. Using the perceived relative commonality and competition measures, we use several different geographic subgroups of Latinos to compare means. Looking at [Table 1](#), the first column contains results for perceived commonality and ranges from a low of -7 to a high of 7 , with negative

Table 1. Mean of dependent variables by regions and specific states

	Relative commonality (−7 to 7)	Relative competition (−8 to 8)
All states	−.665	−.183
Southern	−.740	.047
GA	−.911	−.023
Carolina	−1.10	.155
AR	−.966	.129
DC metro	−.491	−.094
Non-South	−.661	−.229
CA	−.711	−.295
FL	−.806	−.080
TX	−.606	−.501
NY	−.409	−.070
IL	−.754	−.342

Source: Latino National Survey 2006.

mean values demonstrating that the group perceives more commonality with other Latinos than Blacks (i.e., low commonality with Blacks), while mean values greater than zero demonstrate that the group perceives more commonality with African Americans—as depicted in Figure 2.

Across all regional contexts, it is clear that Latinos perceive significantly greater levels of commonality with Latinos than they do with African Americans. However, only a small difference exists between southern states (−.740) and non-southern states (−.661). GA and NC appear to have somewhat lower levels of perceived commonality, while states such as NY, TX, and the D.C. Metro area have somewhat higher levels. Generally, though, huge differences do not exist according to state or region. To further illustrate the marginal difference between the South and non-South relative to perceptions of commonality, we present the frequencies of our relative commonality measure for the Southern states. As reflected in Figure 3, while Latinos are once again more likely to view similarities with co-ethnics, a rather sizable segment of the Latino population in the South has perceptions of commonality with Blacks even when compared with perceptions of commonality with other Latinos. The diagnostics of the standard perception of commonality with African Americans measure supports this, with a mean score of 4.96 across the entire LNS dataset. Therefore, although descriptive data indicate that Latinos perceive much higher levels of commonality with co-ethnics than they do with African Americans, Latinos do have pretty substantial levels of commonality with African Americans.

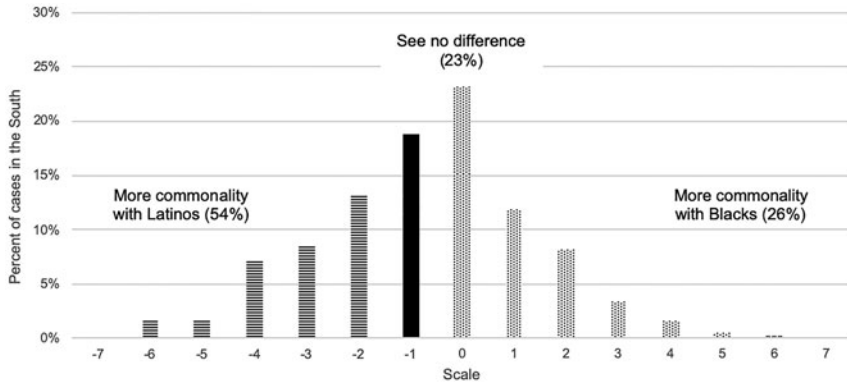


FIGURE 3. Relative Scale of Black and Brown Commonality of Latinos in the South. Source: Authors’ original variable construction using Latino National Survey 2006.

Next, we examine the relative competition measure in the second column of Table 1. A negative mean value demonstrates that the group perceives more competition with other Latinos than Blacks, while mean values greater than zero demonstrate that the group perceives more competition with African Americans—as depicted in Figure 1. The second column of Table 1 reveals more interesting patterns by region and state. Overall, for all states in the sample, Black–Brown competition is low, with an average of $-.183$. For states in the South, the overall average is positive, $.047$, suggesting perceived competition is higher in this region than the non-South, which has a mean of $-.295$. Further, the state results indicate that this is particularly strong in NC ($.155$) and AR ($.129$). Averages in GA and the DC metro are still “higher” than for the non-South, though they both register negative values. Outside of the South, states such as CA, TX, and IL appear to have the lowest levels of perceived Black–Brown 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. As depicted in Figure 4, and consistent with the trends in Table 1, Latinos in the South are more likely to view African Americans (38%) as competitors relative to other Latinos (36%). Although the gap here is rather limited when compared with the frequencies of the full sample and the comparison of means in Table 1, it is clear that Latinos’ attitudes toward African Americans are distinct in the South.

Building on the descriptive statistics, we next move to multivariate regression analyses in which we test our hypotheses through more rigorous

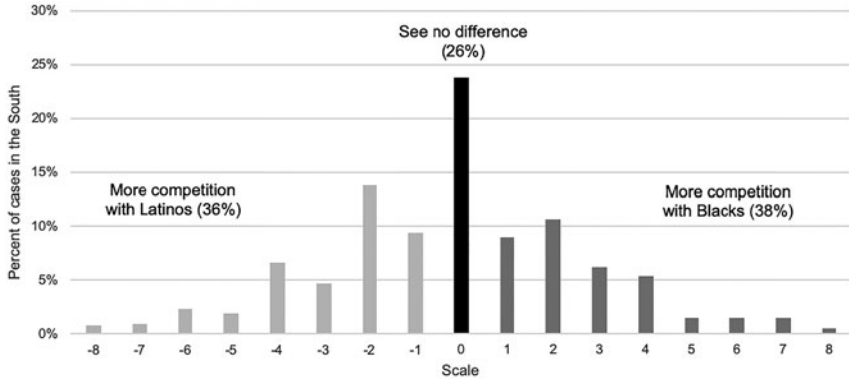


FIGURE 4. Relative Scale of Black-Brown Competition of all Latinos in the South. *Source:* Authors' original variable construction using Latino National Survey 2006.

sets of models. Here, we isolate data from southern states to look for statistically significant results related to contributors of inter-group attitudes that may be driven by region and the Black social context variables. We conclude the analysis with a direct test of the *non-linear 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 effect among Latinos in the South, we are also interested in identifying the key covariates related to Black–Latino interactions in the South. Thus, we turn to split sample analyses of only data from Southern states to assess these relationships in Tables 2 and 3. Consistent with the *social interaction hypothesis*, we find that Latinos who have Black friends are statistically more likely to perceive commonality with African Americans, while being less likely to view competition with Blacks. This finding suggests that the nature of social interaction between Latinos and Blacks matters, with friendships having positive effects on attitudes toward Blacks. We are also interested in whether the effects for Black–Latino friendship are more pronounced in Southern states. Hence, we directly compare the substantive impact of having Black friends in the South versus the non-South. Figure 5 depicts this pattern. The bars on the left represent the degree of perceived competition between Latinos and Blacks among non-Southern states, separated by whether the respondent reports having Black friends. Here, the presence of Black friends reduces perceptions of competition by -0.30 . In contrast, the bars on the

Table 2. Predictors of perceptions of commonality and competition in the South

	Commonality		Relative competition	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Black friends	.373	.216	−.693	.373
Black co-workers	.200	.228	.152	.361
Black discrimination	.010	.184	.084	.286
Black ancestry	−.038	.157	.285	.247
Latino-linked fate	.179	.055***	.063	.085
Identify as Latino	.141	.072*	−.092	.112
Identify as American	.107	.055*	−.162	.087*
Maintain Latino culture	.372	.110***	.079	.172
Age	−.002	.005	−.004	.008
Education	.001	.015	.031	.023
Income	-4.5×10^{-6}	3.8×10^{-6}	-1.9×10^{-6}	5.9×10^{-6}
Personal finances better	.032	.073	.143	.115
Female	−.208	.106*	−.015	.165
Married	.135	.110	−.149	.172
Homeowner	−.001	.126	.311	.197
Years at address	.018	.012	.045	.020*
Catholic	−.062	.118	.021	.185
Born again	.231	.107*	.182	.167
Generation	.126	.079	.128	.125
Spanish ability	−.234	.061***	−.038	.095
Political interest	.245	.071***	−.047	.111
Party 7-pt	−.075	.033*	−.061	.052
Constant	3.868	.255***	−.004	1.006
N	1,101		1,130	
Adj. R^2	.104		.090	

Source: Latino National Survey 2006.

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$.

right side are for Latinos living in the South, and overall Black friends reduce perceived competition by $-.80$. More interesting, 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 degree of competition altogether.

In addition to the measures directly related to our hypotheses, the ethnic-specific variables offer some interesting patterns. Table 2 presents the predictors of perceptions of commonality and competition in the

Table 3. Predictors of competition—Black county population models

	Full LNS dataset		Southern states only	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Black friends	-.194	.166	-.652	.362
Southern state	.293	.160		
% County Black	.017	.006***	.035	.017*
% County Black— squared	-1.8×10^{-4}	1.0×10^{-4} *	-5.5×10^{-4}	2.8×10^{-4} *
Latino-linked fate	-.054	.037	.065	.085
Identify as Latino	-.087	.048	-.090	.112
Identify as American	-.080	.038*	-.148	.086*
Maintain Latino culture	.103	.070	.098	.172
Age	.004	.003	-.001	.007
Education	-.018	.010	.036	.022
Income	5.9×10^{-6}	2.3×10^{-6} **	-1.4×10^{-6}	5.9×10^{-6}
Personal finances better	.072	.049	.142	.115
Female	.059	.070	-.011	.164
Married	-.156	.073*	-.161	.172
Homeowner	-.027	.080	.325	.196
Years at address	.002	.004	.044	.019*
Catholic	.135	.078	.023	.185
Born again	-.058	.070	.177	.166
Generation	-.017	.042	.137	.124
Spanish ability	-.152	.037***	-.046	.094
Political interest	.085	.046	-.043	.110
Party 7-pt	-.010	.020	-.059	.052
Constant	.159	.412	-.555	1.030
N	6,675		909	
Adj. R ²	.115		.099	

Source: Latino National Survey 2006.

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$.

South. Latinos with a heightened sense of linked fate with other Latinos have higher perceptions of commonality with African Americans. 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 ascribe to the label “Latino or Hispanic” and also identify more as “American.” It could be that these variables, taken together, point to the acceptance of being part of an American minority group being more closely aligned with African Americans and distinct from

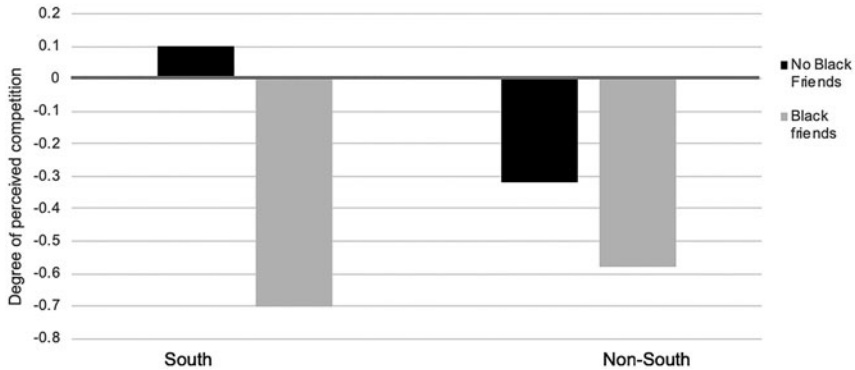


FIGURE 5. Perceived competition with Blacks among Latinos with Black friends. Results by region: South versus non-South.

Source: Authors' analysis of original variable construction using Latino National Survey 2006.

the dominant White population. With 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. See further results in Table 2.

Next, we examine how the demographic contexts where Latinos live affect their perceptions of competition with Blacks. Previous work 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 living in proximity to African Americans may influence attitudes. However, we include both a direct continuous variable, as well as a squared (quadratic) version of the population variable. Regression results presented in Table 3 show the surrounding Black population impacts Latinos,—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 perceive more competition. Nonetheless, the effect for the squared term is negative, suggesting that this pattern changes and Latinos perceive less competition in high density Black counties. Figure 6 displays this, which illustrates the trends associated with black population from the full and Southern samples. The black, solid line is an almost perfect n-curve pattern that emerges at the aggregate level whereby Latinos who live in counties with almost

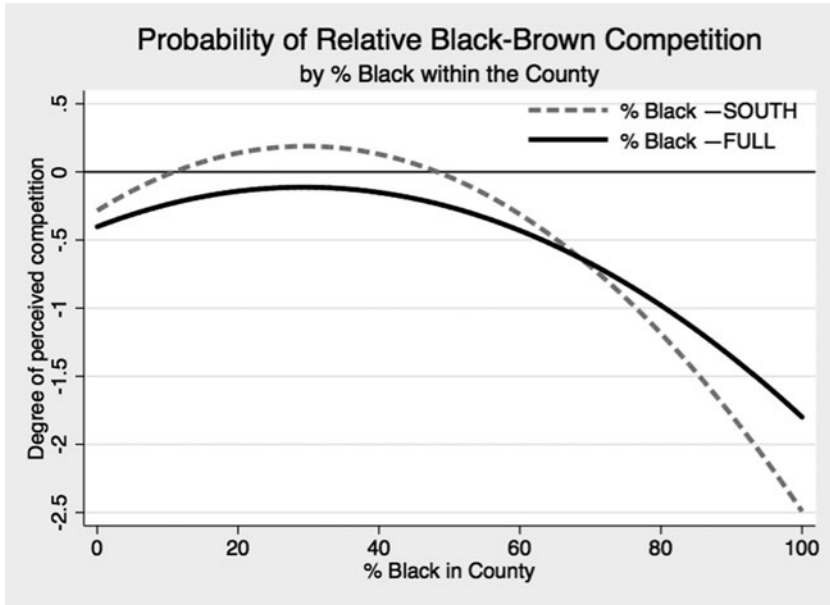


FIGURE 6. Probability of relative Black–Brown competition, full and South data—by % Black within the county.

Source: Authors' original variable construction using Latino National Survey 2006.

no Blacks view very low levels of Black–Brown competition, yet this steadily rises in medium-density Black counties, only to begin dropping again as the Black population increases. As depicted in the dashed line of Figure 6, the results for the Southern states are once again more robust than 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.

Last, to better understand the role that regional context plays among Latinos in perceptions of competition with African Americans, we conducted a regression with interactions on the main independent variables (black friends \times black population). We also conducted the regression as a split sample analysis for Southern and non-Southern states. As Table 4 shows, the interaction between black friends \times black population produces different results by region. Such interaction is only significant in Southern states, but it is insignificant for all states combined as well

Table 4. Predictors of competition with interaction Black friends and Black population², by region

Variables	(1) All states	(2) South	(3) Non-South
Southern state	.145 (.186)	–	–
Black friends × Black population ²	3.41×10^{-5} (.000172)	.00227* (.00134)	-5.95×10^{-6} (.000174)
Latino-linked fate	–.0606* (.0365)	–.0973 (.180)	–.0577 (.0373)
Identify as American	.0676 (.0959)	–.477 (.524)	.0853 (.0977)
Maintain Latino culture	.0832 (.0694)	–.276 (.358)	.101 (.0708)
Age	.00223 (.00273)	–.00305 (.0153)	.00275 (.00277)
Education	–.0106 (.00966)	–.0301 (.0587)	–.00876 (.00982)
Income	7.49×10^{-6} *** (2.30×10^{-6})	2.67×10^{-5} ** (1.18×10^{-5})	6.58×10^{-6} *** (2.35×10^{-6})
Personal finances better	.0496 (.0492)	.0634 (.264)	.0461 (.0501)
Female	.0193 (.0703)	–.0481 (.371)	.0233 (.0717)
Married	–.201*** (.0740)	–.288 (.402)	–.189** (.0754)
Homeowner	–.0274 (.0817)	.148 (.420)	–.0326 (.0835)
Years at address	.00428 (.00447)	.0526* (.0294)	.00308 (.00453)
Catholic	.112 (.0778)	–.278 (.410)	.123 (.0793)
Born again	.00348 (.0498)	–.236 (.287)	.00935 (.0507)
Generation	.0339 (.0351)	.190 (.283)	.0330 (.0355)
Spanish ability	.0132 (.0376)	–.00601 (.177)	.0134 (.0385)
Political interest	.0708 (.0467)	–.0791 (.250)	.0707 (.0476)
Party 7-pt	–.0150 (.0206)	.112 (.107)	–.0195 (.0210)
Constant	–.930*** (.349)	.446 (1.878)	–.992*** (.355)
Observations	6,790	249	6,540
R ²	.007	.092	.006

Source: Latino National Survey 2006.

Standard errors are given in parentheses.

*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$.

as non-Southern states. This finding supports one of the main arguments of the paper, which is that regional context matters when understanding race relations between Latinos and African Americans, particularly in Southern states.

CONCLUSION

In this study, we identified several new perspectives to the study of Black–Brown relations. First, region of residence matters, as the results of our analyses suggest that perceptions of competition with Blacks are higher while perceptions of commonality are lower in the South compared with the rest of the country. The significant rise of Latino population in the South provides a very interesting context 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. This issue is highly relevant in today's political environment not only because of the unique socio-political history of the Southern United States but also because of the relatively new arrivals of the Latino community to that specific region. This area of research allows us to understand intergroup relations from a more holistic approach.

Second, our study puts forward for consideration that distinguishing the different types of social interactions among ethno-racial groups is particularly important when understanding race relations between Latinos and African Americans. Our study provides new insights regarding Latino perceptions of African Americans. For example, we find that while Black population concentration impacts Latinos views toward African Americans, there is no linear impact on perceptions of competition. Further, the nature of social interactions also matters here; while working alongside African Americans does not seem to influence Latino attitudes toward Blacks, having Black friends is associated with lower levels of competition and higher rates of perceived commonality. Therefore, we urge scholars to incorporate multiple types of social interactions to better understand the complexity of inter-group relationships.

Finally, it is important to note that this paper only examines the viewpoints of Latinos toward Blacks. As Latinos now represent the largest minority group in America, surpassing African Americans in 30 states, future research should explore whether Blacks have greater perceptions of competition and commonality with Latinos than Latinos do with Blacks. While reliable data for this investigation are an obstacle,

understanding the perceptions of both groups simultaneously is pivotal not only because it would allow us to fully understand the dynamics of Black–Latino relations, but also because the findings may have important implications for coalition building across communities of color with overlapping political needs and struggles.

NOTES

1. We acknowledge that there may be endogeneity associated with the Black friends measure given that it is possible that having higher perceptions of commonality with Blacks can yield greater likelihood of having African American friends.

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 United States with negative stereotypes regarding Blacks formulated in their country of origin. In fact, 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; 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. We identified eight countries 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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APPENDIX

Descriptive summary statistics

	Min	Max	All states		Non-Southern states		Southern states	
			Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation
Age	18.0	98	42.25	15.88	42.53	15.97	36.59	12.90
Education	.0	18	11.42	4.38	11.45	4.36	10.86	4.70
Income	2,877.9	70,000	34,752.69	19,279.72	34,824.57	19,230.34	33,351.78	20,192.76
Unemployment	0	1	.08	.27	.08	.26	.08	.28
Female	0	1	.52	.50	.52	.50	.45	.50
Married	0	1	.54	.50	.54	.50	.54	.50
Home owner	0	1	.52	.50	.53	.50	.45	.50
Catholic	0	1	.71	.45	.71	.45	.70	.46
Generation	0	4	1.16	1.21	1.19	1.22	.62	.94
Spanish (scale)	1	7	4.73	1.51	4.71	1.51	5.15	1.39
Spanish services	0	3	2.37	.95	2.39	.94	2.09	1.06
Black skin	0	5	1.66	1.34	1.65	1.33	1.77	1.43
Black friends	0	1	.05	.21	.04	.21	.06	.24
Black coworkers	0	1	.04	.19	.04	.18	.06	.23
Black crime	0	1	.03	.17	.03	.18	.03	.16
Black discrimination	0	1	.03	.16	.02	.15	.06	.23
Black ancestry	0	1	.18	.38	.18	.38	.17	.37
Black commonality	1	8	5.06	1.85	5.07	1.85	4.81	1.87
Linked fate— Latino	1	4	3.18	.98	3.18	.97	3.16	1.00
Maintain culture	1	3	2.75	.51	2.75	.51	2.76	.50
Party ID	1	7	3.26	1.72	3.24	1.73	3.66	1.55
Black ancestry	0	1	.01	.09	.01	.09	.01	.08
Relative competition	−8	8	−.28	2.85	−.29	2.86	.02	2.69
Relative commonality	0	4	2.41	1.26	2.41	1.26	2.31	1.29
Southern state	0	1	.05	.22	−	−	−	−
N			8634		7194		1440	

Source: Latino National Survey 2006.