
CHAPTER 3

PERCEPTIONS OF COMPETITION BETWEEN LATINOS AND BLACKS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A RELATIVE MEASURE OF INTER-GROUP COMPETITION

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Introduction

The demographics of the United States are undergoing significant changes, largely based on the rapid growth and dispersion of the Latino population.¹ Between 1990 and 2000, for example, the Latino population grew from approximately 22 million to 35 million, an increase of 57.9 percent (Guzman, 2001). Today, the number of Latinos living in the U.S. is estimated at nearly 45 million, and in the coming years, an additional 67 million are expected to emigrate from Latin America (Passel and Cohn, 2008). Subsequently, demographers project the Latino population to approximate 438 million by 2050 (Passel and Cohn, 2008). It is not just the well noted growth of the Latino population that has captured the interests of many academics and pundits, but also the movement of Latino populations, particularly immigrants, into regions of the country previously not associated with Latinos or Hispanics. In 1990 Hispanics were less than 2% of the population in 22 states, with this number dropping to 11 by 2000 (Garcia and Sanchez, 2008). Today, at least 1,000 Hispanics live in each of the 50 states. This demographic shift has been most pronounced in the Southern United States, as Latinos have almost doubled in that region—from 6.8 million to almost 12 million (Guzman, 2001). In fact, according to the Pew Hispanic Center, “the Hispanic population is growing faster in much of the South than anywhere else in the United States” (Kochhar, Suro, and Tafoya, 2005).

In this chapter we investigate how this demographic transformation has impacted the relationship between the two largest racial and ethnic populations in the United States, Latinos and African Americans. Our analysis intends to shed some new light on this subject by investigating Latinos’ perceptions of competition with African Americans. Our focus in this analysis is multifaceted. We intend to explore Latinos’ attitudes toward African Americans across several dimensions within the Latino population utilizing the most recent and comprehensive data available to measure Latino public opinion, the Latino National Survey (LNS). We contend that when attempting to measure Latinos attitudes toward African Americans it is necessary to take into account the propensity of Latinos to view other groups as competitors as well – including co-ethnics. In their analysis utilizing the LNS, Barreto and Sanchez

¹ We use the terms Latino and Hispanic interchangeably throughout the chapter.

(2008) identified that a key advantage of the LNS data is that it provides the opportunity to isolate Latino perceptions of competition with African Americans, while accounting for perceptions of overall competition. We build on the Barreto and Sanchez (2008) working paper and illustrate the depth of the LNS by examining Latinos' perceptions of competition with Blacks *relative* to perceptions of competition with other Latinos across two specific segments of the Latino population: Latino immigrants and those living in the South. Focusing on the impact of region on Latinos' attitudes toward African Americans provides a nice compliment to the McClain chapter of this volume, which also focuses on the South.

Results from the full LNS sample suggest that Latinos actually view co-ethnics as a greater source of competition than Blacks when a standardized measure is used to interpret Latinos perceptions of competition with African Americans relative to other Latinos. We expand on this initial finding by isolating Latino immigrants and Latinos who live in the Southern region of the United States in the LNS sample and find that while immigrants are more likely to perceive competition with co-ethnics, Latinos living in the South are more likely to see African Americans as competitors. This multidimensional approach adds significantly to the discussion of Latinos' attitudes toward African Americans by exploring how these attitudes vary across the diverse Latino population, and how perceptions of competition toward Blacks compare to those of co-ethnic competition.

The Role of Nativity and Latinos' Perceptions of Competition with Blacks and Co-ethnics

Scholars have examined inter-group attitudes for some time, often questioning whether the views between Latinos and African Americans are obstacles to coalition formation between the nation's two largest minority groups. For example, studies utilizing public opinion data to examine inter-group attitudes have found that a large segment of African Americans have feelings of distrust and/or competition towards Latinos (Bobo and Massagli, 2001; Bobo et al., 1994; Dyer, Vedlitz, and Worchel, 1989; Miniola, Neimann, and Rodriguez, 2002; Kaufmann, 2005; Oliver and Wong, 2003), and that these feelings and attitudes are being equally reciprocated from Latinos (Bobo and Hutching, 1996; Johnson Farrell, and Gurrin, 1997; Oliver and Johnson, 1984; Johnson and Oliver, 1989). Although most of the

extant literature in this area focuses on Blacks' attitudes toward Latinos, an emerging literature is developing that focuses on Latinos' attitudes toward African Americans.

Among this scholarship, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) found that Latinos are surpassed only by African Americans in their propensity to view other racial/ethnic groups as competitors. In addition to perceptions of competition, scholarship in this area has also suggested that Latinos tend to maintain negative stereotypes of African Americans. For instance, Johnson, Farrell, and Guinn (1997) find that a majority of Asian Americans and a large percentage of Latinos view Blacks as less intelligent and more welfare dependent than their own groups. More recently, the McClain et al. (2006) study of Latinos in North Carolina found that the stereotypes of Blacks by Latinos are more negative than those of whites. 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 hard working (McClain et al., 2006, 578). Particularly when contrasted with the more positive perceptions of whites in the study, it appears as though Latinos (at least those in N.C.) do not have strong feelings of commonality with Blacks. This supports earlier work that suggests both African Americans and Latinos feel closer to Whites than to each other (Dyer, Vedlitz, and Worchel, 1989).

Negative stereotypes and perceptions of competition among Latinos towards Blacks seem to be even more intensified by the foreign-born population, as demographic trends and pre-existing attitudes regarding race may heighten perceptions of competition among Latino immigrants. During the 1980's 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 last 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). Moreover, scholars have argued that due to the prevalence of racial discrimination and stereotypes in Latin America some immigrants may enter the United States with pre-existing attitudes towards Blacks (de la Cadena, 2001; Dulitzky, 2005; Guimaraes, 2001; Hanchard, 1994; Morner, 1967; Sweet, 1997;

Wade, 1993, 1997; Winant, 1992). Consequently, foreign-born Latinos have been found to perceive greater competition with African Americans than their native born counterparts (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; Rodrigues, Alvez, and Segura., 2004; Jones-Correa, 2001; McClain et al., 2006). These trends among the foreign-born population motivate our decision to isolate this segment of the Latino community in our analysis.

Although the extant literature seems to indicate that Latinos have anti-black attitudes, this research has not been able to control for more general perceptions of conflict and/or competition. We contend that while it is plausible that Latino immigrants have high levels of perceived 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 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) 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 socio-economic attainment of Blacks as a group. We contend that it is likely that Latinos, primarily the foreign-born, may have similar worldviews marked with perceptions of competition with multiple groups, including other Latinos. Thus, there is reason to believe that Latinos’ perceptions of internal competition will be similar to perceptions of competition toward African Americans.

Our contention that Latino immigrants’ perceptions of internal competition temper perceptions of competition with African Americans is supported by social contact theory. The social interaction explanation of group competition reasons that perceptions of zero-sum competition are conditions associated with the geographic and social proximity of two or more groups (Alozie and Ramirez, 1999; Kerr, Miller, and Reid, 2000; Betancur and Gills, 2000). Although there is debate regarding whether greater interaction leads to more conflict among groups, there is clearly evidence that greater interaction

among groups influences inter-group attitudes (Frisbie and Niedert, 1977; Glaser, 1994; Taylor, 1998; Wright, 1977; Sigelman and Welch, 1993; Welch et al., 2001; Powers and Ellison, 1995). We approach this analysis from the standpoint that the level of interaction between Latinos and African Americans is significantly lower than that among co-ethnics, particularly within settings that lend themselves to competition. Being new to the United States causes the foreign-born population in particular to seek out co-ethnics for social connections (Keefe & Padilla, 1987), with English language ability serving as a critical factor because it sets social and formal parameters of interaction.

Previous research has suggested that perceptions of internal competition may be high within the Latino community, a trend that our measure of relative competition is well designed to capture. For example, Gutiérrez (1995) states: “Despite the cultural affinities Mexican Americans may have felt toward immigrants of Mexico, as their numbers grew, many Mexican Americans began to worry that the recent arrivals were depressing wages, competing with them for scarce jobs and housing, and undercutting their efforts to achieve better working conditions” (59). This was reinforced by the work of Rodriguez and Nuñez (1986) whose survey indicated that U.S.-born Chicanos often viewed Mexican immigrants as rate busters who would take harder, more dangerous, and dirtier jobs than Chicanos, and who also perceived that Mexican immigrants received preferential treatment in consideration of social services.

By isolating the foreign-born population in the LNS data we will be able to determine any potential sources of perceived competition with Blacks among this important demographic group. We do not deny that the economic conditions facing both groups can and often do lead to competition for scarce resources, and consequently perceptions of competition. At the same time, we believe that the extant literature may overstate the extent of these issues by not accounting for more general perceptions of competition among these groups. We contend in the next section that when considered in the context of relative competition with other Latinos, any observed competition with African Americans among Latino immigrants will be tempered significantly. This theoretical discussion motivates the following formal hypotheses:

Relative Competition Hypotheses: Among Latino immigrants, we anticipate finding that perceptions of competition with Blacks will become significantly tempered when perceptions of competition with other groups are taken into account.

Latino Immigrant Competition Hypotheses: Given higher rates of interaction with other Latinos, we anticipate that Latino immigrants will have particularly high rates of perceived internal competition and consequently lower levels of perceived competition with Blacks than perceptions.

The Role of Region and Perceptions of Competition

We also examine the importance of regional dynamics and its influence on perceptions of competition among Latinos. There has been a rapid increase in the Latino immigrant population throughout the Southern United States, where race has defined the political, economic, and social context of the region. According to the Pew Hispanic Center, “the Hispanic population is growing faster in much of the South than anywhere else in the United States” (Kochhar, Suro, and Tafoya, 2005). Between 1990 and 2000, for example, the Latino population grew by an average of 308 percent in Arkansas, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Alabama (Kochhar, Suro, and Tafoya, 2005). Consequently, due to the demographic trends associated with the Latino population, the cultural context of the South is beginning to change as the area incorporates a new ethnic group into the racial paradigm historically defined by a black and white paradigm.

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 percent - 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 after 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 and immigrate (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). Creating over 400,000 new jobs for Latinos in the areas of manufacturing, construction, and services, the South provided job opportunities not present elsewhere in the United States (Kochhar, Suro, and Tafoya, 2005).

The regional dynamics of the South provides a unique opportunity to examine perceptions of competition among Latinos and African Americans. In comparison to other regions of the United States, the South is a region populated by a large number of Blacks and few Latinos. Given the rate at which Latinos are entering into the region, social interaction between both groups is likely to be higher than in areas with more traditional Latino neighborhoods. More importantly, the South is a region where race has historically defined social, economic, and political life (McClain et al., 2006). 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 Latinos’ perceptions of competition across several Southern states, with large enough samples to account for important factors such as nativity in our multivariate analysis. We therefore isolate this segment of the Latino community to explore the following hypotheses:

Southern Hypothesis: We anticipate that Latinos living in the South will have higher perceptions of competition with African Americans than Latinos living outside of the South.

Social Contact in the South Hypothesis: We furthermore anticipate that social contact with African Americans in the South will increase perceptions of competition with African Americans.

Data and Methods

The data for this study are from the 2006 Latino National Survey (LNS). The LNS is a “national” telephone survey of 8,600 Latino residents of the United States that seeks a broad understanding of the qualitative nature of Latino political and social life in America. With the ability to account for perceptions of 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 wide range of statistical analyses in order to provide a comprehensive investigation of Latino immigrants' perceptions of social and political competition. The universe of the LNS is all adult Latinos (18 years of age and older), with surveys conducted in the preferred language of the respondent (English, Spanish, or both languages). The sample design was stratified to create stand-alone samples in 15 states and the DC metro area allowing for statistically sound analysis in each context. In this paper, the majority of our analyses utilize the national data instead of state-by-state data. Therefore, the weight of the sample is nationally proportionate to the Latino population. However, for the South-specific analysis we utilize un-weighted data, as we are not working with individual states or the national sample of the LNS.

The first stage of the analysis consists of a series of descriptive statistics to determine the degree to which Latinos perceive African Americans to be competitors for economic and political resources relative to the perceived competition with other Latinos across the full LNS sample. We then explore perceived competition across the sub-samples of Latino immigrants and Latinos living in the South. We specifically define the South in our study as Latinos residing in the following states available for analysis in the LNS: Arkansas, Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina.² Because of the large overall sample size in the LNS, we are able to observe statistically significant relationships between subgroups even with descriptive analysis. Afterwards, we present results from two sets of multivariate regression models: one focused on identifying factors that contribute to perceptions of competition among Latino immigrants, and the other focused on the same phenomenon among Latinos in the South. In both cases we present two sets of results. While the first set of results utilizes a dependent variable isolating perceptions of competition with Blacks alone, the second set uses our new measure of relative competition, where perceptions of competition with co-ethnics is used as a benchmark. This variable is described in more detail below. *Dependent Variable Construction: Our Relative Measure of Perceived Competition*

² Although Florida could arguably be included among other Southern states in our analysis, we decided to remove this state due to the high concentration of the LNS Florida sample coming from the Miami metropolitan area. We believe that the demographic and historical realities of this area do not lend themselves to a test of Southern regional dynamics.

One of the most important contributions of this chapter is the construction of the dependent variable. Most studies cited in this study rely on a single measure or an index of Black-Brown conflict that focuses on how Latinos perceive Blacks or how Blacks perceive Latinos. However, understanding one group's perceptions of another are meaningless without also having a group for comparison.. In this study, we add to the literature by constructing a relative scale of Black-Brown competition that measures Latinos' relative perceptions of competition with African Americans and other Latinos.. For example, if the dependent variable was social trust, and on a 0 – 10 scale a respondent assigned trust in Blacks a value of 3, on its face that would appear to be very low, and may appear to represent an “anti-Black” attitude. However, if we asked the same respondent, how much they trust other Latinos, and they also reported a value of 3, the full context illustrates that the attitudes are not anti-Black, but rather the person has low levels of trust in general, for both their own in-group and an out-group. In this project, we take advantage of two series of questions on the LNS and create a relative measure of Black-Brown competition, a significant improvement in understanding race relations.

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, we created an overall index of perceived competition with African Americans. However, this is only half of the story. We are interested in knowing whether the perceived competition is a unique Brown vs. Black phenomenon or if competition is also perceived with other Latinos. Thus, we used the exact same series of questions for Latinos : “Some have suggested that [insert country of ancestry³] are in competition with other Latinos. After each of the next items, would

³ 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....

you tell me if you believe there is strong competition, weak competition, or no competition at all with other Latinos....” and 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-Brown 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-utilized, and some new independent variables in predicting Black-Brown competition. Our variables all intend to gauge the extent and nature of social interaction between Latinos and Blacks are *Black Population*, *Black Friends*, *Black Workers*, *Black Crime*, and *Black Discrimination*. We include these variables to determine whether or not exposure to the Black community has a positive or negative impact on how Latinos view competition with Blacks. To account for contextual factors that account for perceptions of competition, we also control for the Black Population of a respondent’s county. *Black Population* is the percentage of the African Americans living within the surrounding county taken from the US Census. *Black Friends* and *Black Workers* are dichotomous variables and measure whether the respondent’s friends or co-workers are mostly Black or mixed Black and Latino. In contrast to these two social interaction variables, two additional variables relate to self-reported negative experiences with African Americans, whether the respondent has been “Victim of a Crime” or “Experienced Discrimination” by an African American.

Our next cluster of variables measure how much Latinos feel they have in common with African Americans. *Black Commonality* measures how much Latinos feel they have in common with Blacks. *Rank Blacks* is an ordinal measure, ranging from 1-8, which takes into account Latinos’ perception of commonality with African Americans relative to other racial and ethnic groups. For instance, if a Latino respondent had 5 out of 8 in common with Blacks, but had 4 of 8 for Asians, 3 of 8 for Whites, and 6 of 8

for other Latinos, Blacks would be “ranked” second in terms of commonality. In full, we employ eight variables specifically related to race. Finally, we include a new measure that controls for the respondent’s self-identified phenotype –an interesting question rarely included on surveys of Latinos (Sawyer, 2004). *Black Skin* is a dummy variable that measures whether or not a Latino respondent described themselves as having very dark or dark skin.

In addition to measures of social interaction and group commonality, we also include many standard variables employed in racial and ethnic politics to test cultural-based hypotheses, which include religion (*Catholic*), *Immigrant Generation*, *Immigrant Neighborhood*, *Spanish Usage*, *Latino Linked Fate*, importance of *Maintaining Latino Culture*, and *Identification as American*. With respect to political variables, we include *Interest in Politics*, *Political Knowledge Index*, and *Party Identification*. Standard demographic and resource variables, such as *Age*, *Education*, *Income*, *Gender*, *Marital Status* and *Home Owner* status are included in our models. Here, we are particularly interested in class-based variables such as income, and also evaluation of *Personal Financial Situation*, and *Employment Status*. Additionally, we include for Latinos’ national origin to account for differences among the major nationalities represented in the LNS sample. Specifically, we control for *Mexican*, *Cuban*, and *Puerto Rican*. Finally, we control for state-level variables in the South-only model to capture variation in immigrants’ perceptions of African Americans and other Latinos. Utilizing North Carolina as a baseline for comparison, we control for *Arkansas*, *Georgia*, and *Virginia* (Complete coding instructions for all independent variables can be found in the Appendix).

Descriptive Results: Relative Measure of Perceived Competition Trends

We begin our investigation of Latinos’ perceptions of competition with African Americans by examining the descriptive frequencies of our Relative Black-Brown Competition measure for Latino immigrants and Latinos. Figure 1 strongly suggests that the relative competition measure provides a clearer picture of Black-Brown competition than those used previously. For example, a greater segment of the immigrant population views other Latinos as a source of competition (43%) than they do African

Americans (32%), with a quarter of the sample seeing no difference between the two. When analyzing perceptions of competition across generational status, as depicted in Figure 2, we find a clear linear pattern whereby foreign-born non-citizens perceive the least amount of competition with Blacks. As Latinos become more assimilated and move away from the immigrant experience, however, perceptions of competition towards African Americans begin to increase, with Fourth Generation Latinos perceiving the most amount of competition with Blacks. This preliminary finding contradicts several extant theories cited in our literature which contend that Latino immigrants tend to have more negative attitudes toward Blacks than their native-born counterparts.

(Insert Figures 1 and 2 About Here)

Providing preliminary support for our *Relative Competition and Immigrant Competition Hypotheses*, and supporting the trends from Figures 1 and 2, comparisons of means based on nativity show differences between foreign and native born Latinos as well. Utilizing the non-relative measure, the average response for native and foreign-born Latinos is 7.7 and 7.4, respectively, suggesting that competition with African Americans is moderately high across both groups. However, once in-group competition is taken into consideration with respect to competition with African Americans, Latinos' perceptions with African Americans become significantly tempered. In fact, the results demonstrate that immigrants are more likely to perceive competition with other Latinos than with African Americans. Overall, these initial findings from the LNS data-set strongly support our relative competition and immigration hypotheses, both based on our contention that when viewed in comparison with co-ethnic competition Latinos' attitudes toward African Americans are tempered significantly.

Multivariate Results: Perceived Competition Among Latino Immigrants

Based upon the above findings, the next stage of our analysis is focused on explaining immigrants' perceptions of competition, a segment of the Latino population that the literature suggests to have more stereotypical views toward African Americans. Appendix 1 contains results for two OLS regression models. The first regression in Column 1 uses the non-relative measure of competition—that is,

only perceived competition with Blacks, without taking perceived competition with Latinos into account. The second regression in column 2 is of primary interest, as it uses the relative measure of competition that ranges from -8 to +8.

The models comparing the two measures of competition among Latino immigrants reveal some notable differences. In the relative model of Black-Brown competition (column 2), *Black Worker* is significant and positive. Latino immigrants with greater numbers of Black co-workers are more likely to perceive competition with African Americans. Highlighting this relationship, for example, Figure 3, shows that the probability of having greater perceptions of competition towards African Americans is about 65 percent higher for Latino immigrants who work with African Americans than foreign-born Latinos who do not. While the social interactions of a shared work environment between Blacks and Latinos promote competitiveness between racial groups, we contend that this does not necessarily lead to negative stereotypes or conflict. In fact, it makes intuitive sense that Latino immigrants who work in labor markets alongside African Americans are going to be more likely to view African Americans as a source of competition, just as lawyers are likely to see other lawyers as competitors.

This finding is reinforced by the relationship between perceived commonality and perceptions of competition. For example, *Black Commonality* is significant and positive (Columns 1 and 2). Latino immigrants who say that they have a great deal in common with Blacks in the areas of jobs, education, income and politics, are more likely to perceive competition with African Americans. This finding is further supported by Figure 4, which demonstrates a strong progression in the predicted probability between immigrants' perceptions of commonality with African Americans and our relative competition measure. Specifically, as perceptions of commonality with African Americans increases, the predicted probability moves from -.80 to .06, suggesting that the probability of perceiving competition with African Americans is much greater for immigrants who say they have "A Lot in Common" with other African Americans than those who say they have "Some," "Little," or "None at All." *Rank Black* is also significant in both models. In the non-relative competition model, Latino immigrants who feel they are closer to African Americans relative to other racial and ethnic groups are more likely to perceive

competition with African Americans. We speak more about the implications of these findings in our concluding remarks. The relative model of competition, however, demonstrates that perceptions of competition towards African Americans become significantly tempered once competition with other Latinos is taken into account. In fact, perceptions of “closeness” with African Americans decrease perceptions of competition with other African Americans.

(Insert Figures 3 and 4 About Here)

Cultural variables also highlight the importance of including a relative measure of competition as well. For example, *Linked Fate* is significant in both models, but has differing effects in each. Latinos with a strong sense of linked fate have high perceptions of competition with Blacks when competition with Blacks is isolated. In the relative competition model however, *Linked fate* becomes negative, suggesting Latinos with a strong sense of link fate are less likely to view competition with African Americans relative to perceived competition with other Latinos. This finding directly confirms our *Relative Competition Hypothesis* and our more general argument that the relative perceived competition measure adds significantly to our working understanding of inter-group attitudes among Latinos and African Americans. Similarly, the sign of the coefficient for our *American identification* measure switches as well from model 1 to model 2. In the first regression model, Latino immigrants with a high sense of American identity are more likely to view competition with Blacks. However, in the relative competition model, identifying primarily as American results in less perceived competition with Blacks vis a vis Latinos. Although insignificant in the non-relative model, *Catholic* is significant and positive once in-group competition is taken into consideration. Latinos who identify themselves as “Catholic” are more likely to maintain heightened perceptions of competition with African Americans than Latinos. Finally, a number of cultural variables are significant in the non-relative model (column 1) but fail to achieve significance in the relative competition model. For instance, *Maintain Culture* is significant and positive, suggesting that Latino immigrants who believe it is important to maintain the Spanish culture are more likely to hold perceptions of competition with other Latinos. Likewise, Immigrants who are more affluent in the *Spanish Language* and Latinos who have more *Spanish Services* in their communities are

more likely to perceive heightened levels of competition with African Americans. These last findings suggest that when multiple groups are taken into consideration, perceptions of competition with African Americans are not as strong held as originally thought.

In addition to cultural factors, Appendix 1 reveals that, with the exception of *Party ID* in the non-relative model of competition, none of the political factors are significantly correlated with perceptions of competition in either context. Still, *Party ID* presents an interesting outcome, as those who identify more strongly with the Democratic Party are more likely to perceive a sense of competition with African Americans. The finding makes intuitive sense, as well over 80 percent of African Americans identify themselves as being affiliated with the Democratic Party. Similar to common economic circumstances, individuals who share political interests and goals are likely to see each other as competitors for scarce resources.

The model also shows support for the *Southern Hypothesis*, which states that the unique demography and racialized history of the Southern region will heighten perceptions of completion for Latinos in those states. Confirming McClain et al.'s (2006) study of immigrants in North Carolina, the relative model of competition reveals a significant relationship for the *South* variable, indicating that Latino immigrants in this region are more likely to maintain perceptions of competition with Blacks. Illustrating this finding in further detail, Figure 5, shows that perceptions of competition towards African Americans much (.33) higher for Latino immigrants living in the South than immigrants living across other regions of the U.S. Not only do these results fall in line with McClain et al.'s (2006) major findings, but the relative measure of group competition provides a more exhaustive test for understanding group dynamics in the South.

(Insert Figure 5 About Here)

Lastly, we examine the impact of resource variables on the perceptions of competition among Latino immigrants. In the non-relative competition model (Column 1), *Age* is significant and positive. Therefore, among Latino immigrants' perceptions of competition with African Americans across our four contextual areas contained in the competition scale is greater among older Latinos. *Married* is also

significant, but the sign of the coefficient is negative, suggesting that perceptions of competition with African Americans are less among those who are married. Important differences occur however when we include perceptions of competition with co-ethnics in our relative competition model depicted in Column 2. Although *Age* and *Married* are found to be insignificant, the results from the relative competition model also indicate that several resource variables that were not significantly correlated with Latino immigrant's perceptions of competition when African Americans were isolated are now meaningful. For example, *Education* is significant and negative, suggesting that Latinos with higher levels of education are more likely to view fellow Latinos as competitors, and conversely, perceptions of competition with African Americans are more likely among Latinos with low levels of educational attainment. The relative competition model also shows that *Financial Situation* is significant and positive. Therefore, Latino immigrants who indicate that their financial situation has improved recently are more likely to perceive competition with African Americans than with other Latinos.

Finally, important differences occur between national-origin sub-groups. In both models of competition *Mexican* is significant and negative, indicating that this group is less likely to view Blacks as a source of competition than Latinos from other backgrounds. In fact, once in-group competition is taken into account (model 2), the results show that Mexicans are more likely to perceive competition with other Latinos relative to competition with Blacks. These findings may make intuitive sense given the proximity of the Mexican border to regions of the United States where fewer African Americans reside. *Cuban* is also significant in both models of competition. In the non-relative model, Cubans are less likely to perceive competition with African Americans relative to other Latinos. In the non-relative competition model, however, the positive coefficient suggests that Cubans are more likely to perceive competition with African Americans relative to other Latinos.

Latino Perceptions of Competition in the South

In the next stage of the analysis, we turn our attention to Latinos' perceptions of competition with African Americans relative to other Latinos in the South – a region experiencing a rapid growth in the Latino population. The descriptive analysis discussed to this point has indicated that Latino immigrants

are more likely to view co-ethnics as a source of competition rather than Blacks. However, Figure 6 reveals that perceptions of competition among Latinos differ in the South, as Latinos in this region are more likely to view African Americans as competitors relative to other Latinos. Specifically, 38 percent of Southern Latinos perceive more competition with African Americans while 36 percent perceive more competition with other Latinos, with the remaining 26 percent of seeing no difference in the amount of competition between both groups. Utilizing both measures of competition, Table 1 compares the average perceptions of competition among Latinos in the South with Latinos living elsewhere in the United States. In line with the *Southern Hypothesis* and the results of the immigrant model, the results indicate significant differences based on region, as Latinos living in the Southern states are more likely to view African Americans as competitors. Perceptions of competition also vary in important ways by individual state. In comparison to others states across the U.S., Latinos living in Arkansas and North Carolina are more likely to view African Americans as competitors. The discussion of socio-political histories for both states in the McClain et al. chapter of this volume are particularly helpful in understanding the context behind the trends we find here.

(Insert Figure 6 and Table 1 About Here)

Appendix 2 contains results for OLS regressions for all Latinos living in the South. The first regression in Colum 1 again uses the non-relative measure of competition that focuses only on perceived competition with Blacks. The second regression in Column 2 is of primary interest, and uses the relative measure of competition which takes into account perceptions of competition with other Latinos, as well as with African Americans. When moving from the model isolating perceptions of competition among Blacks (Column 1) to the relative measure of competition (Column 2), several interesting trends emerge.

The non-relative competition model shows that *Black Workers* and *Black Crime* is significant and positive, suggesting that Latinos who work predominately with Blacks or who are victims of a crime committed by an African American are more likely to perceive competition with Blacks. Once competition with other Latinos is taken into account, however, these indicators of social interaction are no longer statistically significant. The relative competition model further demonstrates that perceptions of

competition are dependent upon the quality or type of social interaction. Interestingly, *Black Friends* has a significant and negative relationship with perceptions of competition (model 2). While *Black Workers* and *Black Crime* are associated with more negative experiences with Blacks, friendly interactions with African Americans significantly temper negative attitudes and heighten perceptions of competition with other Latinos. As Figure 7 illustrates, friendships with African Americans can have a significant and important effect on perceptions of competition with African Americans and Latinos in the South. While the probability of holding perceptions of competition with African Americans is .19, the probability for other Latinos is .59 -about a 40 percent difference in the predicted probability. The results also demonstrate that perceptions of commonality with African Americans also matter, but lose their effect once perceptions of competition with Latinos are taken into consideration. In the non-relative competition model *Black Commonality* is significant and positive. Latinos who feel they have more in common with African Americans are more likely to perceive competition with other African Americans. Likewise, the finding is supporting by the significant and positive association between *Rank Blacks* and perceived competition, as Latinos who feel closer to African Americans relative to other racial and ethnic groups are more likely to perceive competition with Blacks.

(Insert Figure 7 About Here)

In addition to indicators of social interaction with African Americans, cultural variables also matter, but vary according to which measure of competition is being utilized. For instance, *Latino Linked Fate* is significant and positive in the non-relative competition model but fails to achieve statistical significance once in-group competition is taken into account. Thus, Latinos who feel that doing well is dependent on other Latinos doing well are more likely to view more competition with African Americans. *American ID* is also significant, but only in the relative competition model, which considers competition with both Latinos and African Americans. The negative coefficient suggests that Latinos who identify strongly as being American are more likely to perceive competition with Latinos.

Resource variables also matter, but once again vary according to which measure of competition is being utilized. In the non-relative model of competition, *Married* is significant and negative, suggesting

that Latinos who identify themselves as being married are more likely to perceive competition with African Americans. *Years Address* is also significant, but only after competition with other Latinos is taken into consideration. Capturing financial stability, the positive coefficient suggests that perceptions of competition with African Americans are more likely to increase the longer Latinos live at their home. Among national origin variables, *Mexican* and *Cuban* are significant and negative in the non-relative competition model. Thus, Latinos who identify themselves as being Mexican or Cuban in the South are less likely to maintain perceptions competition with African Americans. In the relative competition model only *Mexican* remains significant. Thus, similar to our “foreign only sample,” Latinos who identify themselves as Mexican are more likely to hold perceptions of competition with other Latinos.

Finally, we control for differences between states within the Southern region of the United States. Given McClain et al.’s (2006) findings in North Carolina, as well as our descriptive statistics which show Latinos in North Carolina to have the highest perceptions of competition across the South, we decided to utilize North Carolina as a baseline for comparison. The purpose of this comparison is to examine whether perceptions of competition in North Carolina are representative of other states in the South. In the non-relative competition model, all state-related variables are insignificant and in the relative competition model, Latinos’ perceptions of competition in Arkansas and Georgia do not significantly differ from Latinos’ attitudes North Carolina. However, *Virginia* is significant and negative, presenting itself as a unique case. Despite having a large African American population, the results from the South-only model demonstrate that Latinos in *Virginia* are more likely than Latinos living in North Carolina to hold perceptions of competition towards other Latinos than African Americans. These trends point out that it is not only imperative for scholars to control for region when exploring inter-group relations, it is also necessary to account for individual states whenever possible.

Conclusion and Discussion

The relationships between Latinos and African Americans have become more critical as changing demographics have increased interactions among the nation’s two largest minority groups. The 2008

presidential election highlighted the impact that Black-Brown attitudes can have on political outcomes. At the outset of the contest, misguided observers speculated that Latinos would not vote for a Black candidate due to simmering tensions and competition between the two minority groups. Although the primary election results helped to fuel this rhetoric among political pundits with Barack Obama losing by large numbers in several states with high Latino populations. In the end, this sense of Black-Brown competition proved to be both fabricated and exaggerated, as Latino voters preferred Hillary Clinton due to her high name recognition, extensive Latino outreach, and prominent endorsements from Latino officials (Barreto and Ramírez 2008; Barreto et. al 2008). Indeed, when the final votes were cast, the headlines proclaimed that Hispanic voters were a crucial component of the Obama coalition, delivering a 70% vote share to the Democratic candidate, noticeably higher than the two previous White Democrats who ran for President. In this article, we argue that claims of mounting competition over public policy, elected office, jobs and education are far overstated. Using the most comprehensive dataset of Latino adults to date – the Latino National Survey – we demonstrate that traditional measures of Black-Brown competition are flawed because they lack a base of comparison.

In our view the most significant contribution from this analysis is the implementation of the relative competition measure. Our results strongly suggest that observed competitive attitudes toward Blacks among Latinos are muted significantly when Latinos perceptions of competition toward African Americans are viewed in light of perceptions of internal competition. Frequencies of our relative competition dependent variable for the Latino immigrant sample indicate that Latinos see co-ethnics as a greater source of competition than African Americans. Trends from our multivariate models also indicate that the relative measure of competition provides a more clear interpretation of factors that contribute to inter-group attitudes. Several variables that appear to lead to greater perceptions of competition with Blacks when a comparison group is not included either become insignificant or switch direction when perceptions of competition with other Latinos are accounted for. This we believe adds significantly to our working knowledge of Black-Brown relations by strongly suggesting that Latinos' attitudes toward African Americans are not as hostile as once thought.

While it is clear that Latinos do view some competition with African Americans, they also view a good deal of shared commonality with Blacks. Furthermore, there is a positive relationship between these two attitudes, as Latinos who see more commonality between Latinos and African Americans are also more likely to perceive competition with Blacks. We believe that this is evidence that perceived competition is not racially motivated or necessarily negative in nature, but rather realistic observations of an individual's political and social environments. Thus, we believe that perceptions of competition should not be viewed as an inherently negative attitude, but as a somewhat natural outcome of increased interaction and shared disadvantaged status. The success of the Obama campaign, and specifically successful Latino outreach, highlighted the possibility of a broad minority coalition based on these shared interests and circumstances.

Relying on the rich sample sizes and depth of the LNS, our analysis reveals some interesting trends that contribute to our knowledge of Black-Brown relations. For example, we find that Latino immigrants are actually more likely to perceive high levels of competition with other Latinos than with African Americans. This we believe helps to clarify the relationship between nativity and racial attitudes often discussed in the literature. Finally, it appears as though Black-Brown relations in the South are distinct from other regions of the United States. Our results from the LNS therefore tend to support the work being done by Paula McClain and others interested in the demographic changes taking place in the South, as we find that Latinos in Southern states view Blacks as a greater source of competition than other Latinos. However, results from our South only model suggest that these perceptions of competition can be overcome with positive social interactions, such as having Black friends. Given the changing demographics and historical racial paradigm in that region, scholars interested in Black-Brown relations should continue to explore these dynamics in the South.

Finally, while we believe our new measure has tremendous implications on future work exploring inter-group relations, it is important to note that this article has focused largely on sub-groups of the Latino population, specifically the foreign-born and immigrant segments. More importantly, we have only examined the viewpoints of Latinos towards Blacks. As Latinos now represent the largest minority group

in America, surpassing African Americans in 30 states, it may be that Blacks actually view more competition with Latinos, than Latinos do with Blacks. Further, as the racial and ethnic demography of the United States continues to evolve it will be critical to include other populations, including Asians in these discussions. While reliable data are an obstacle, future studies should use measures similar to that which we introduce here to provide a frame of reference for inter-group attitudes whenever possible, as well as to examine multiple groups simultaneously to fully understand the dynamics of race relations in the ever evolving United States.

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Tables and Figures

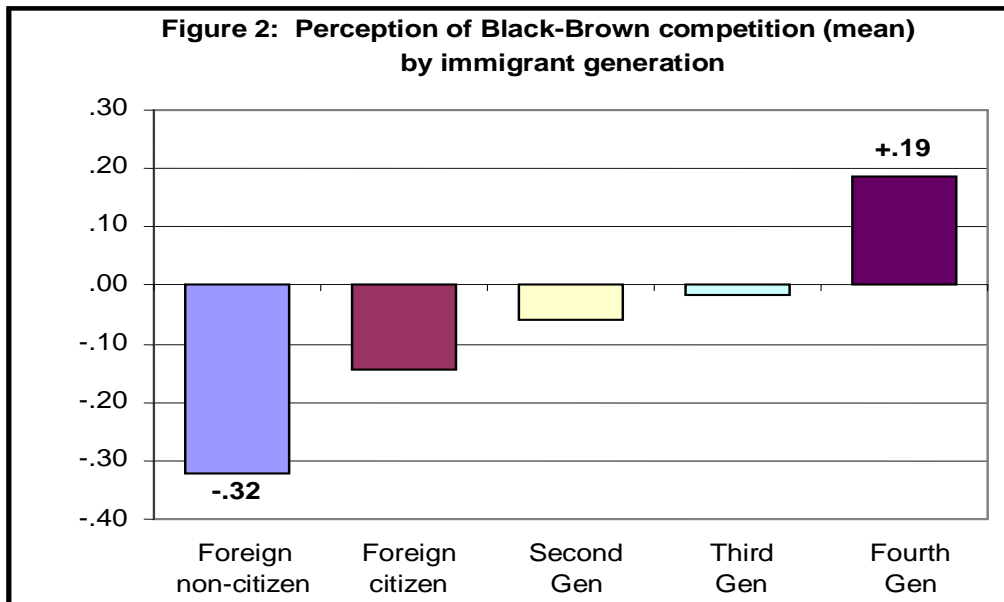
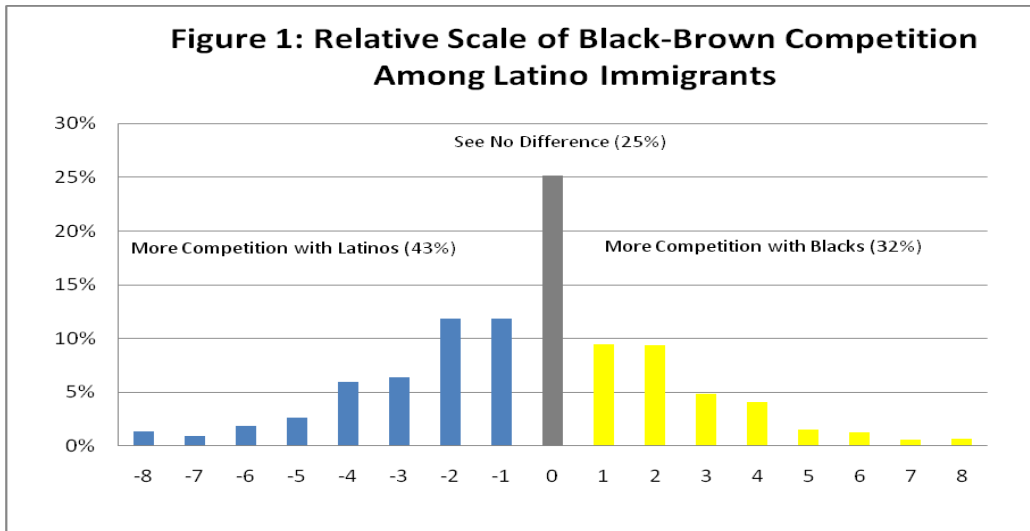


Figure 3: Probability Of Black-Brown Competition Among Immigrants, By Black Co-Workers

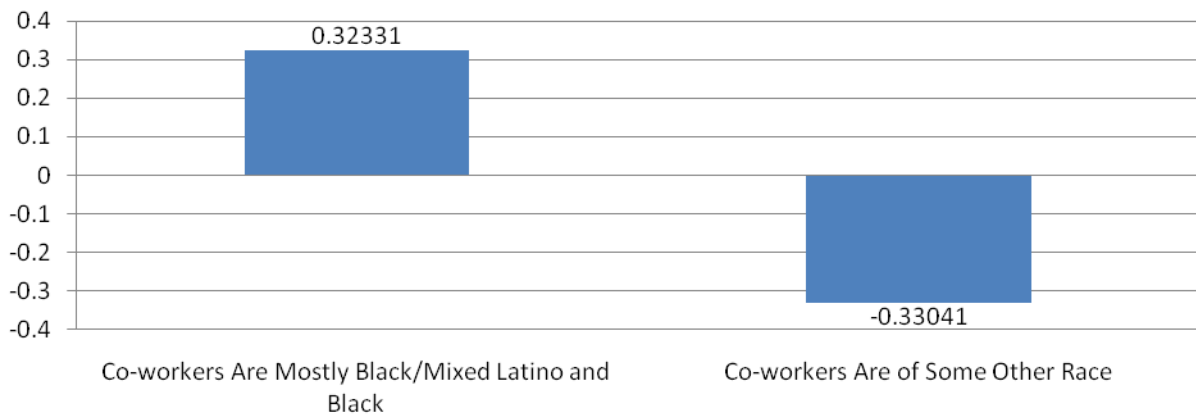


Figure 4: Probability Of Black-Brown Competition Among Immigrants, By Perceptions Of Commonality With African Americans

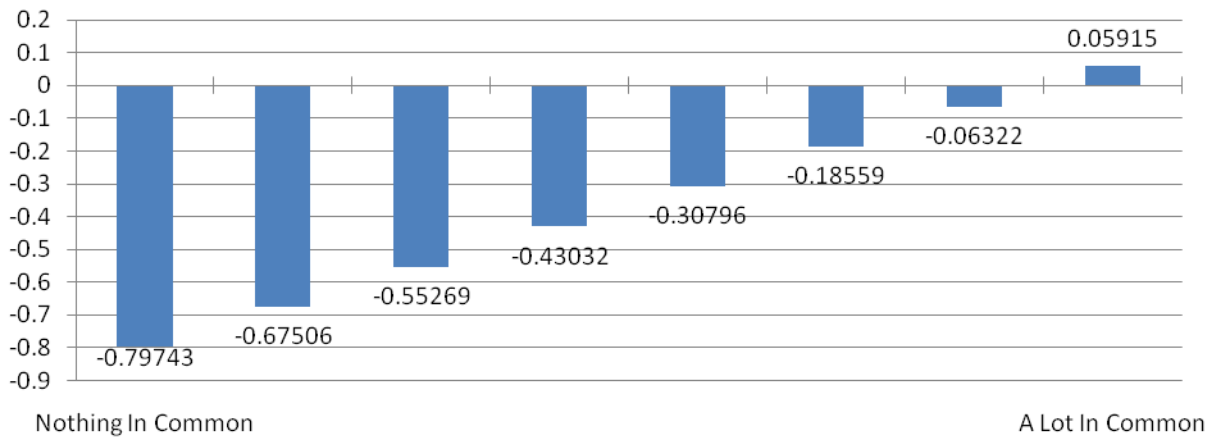


Figure 5: Probability Of Black-Brown Competition Among Immigrants, By Region

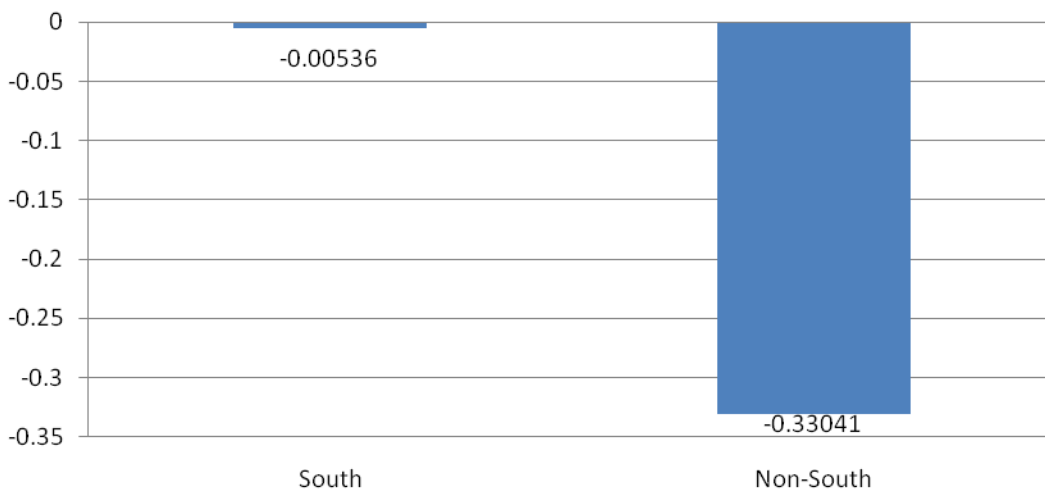


Figure 6: Relative Scale of Black-Brown Competition Among Latino Immigrants in the South

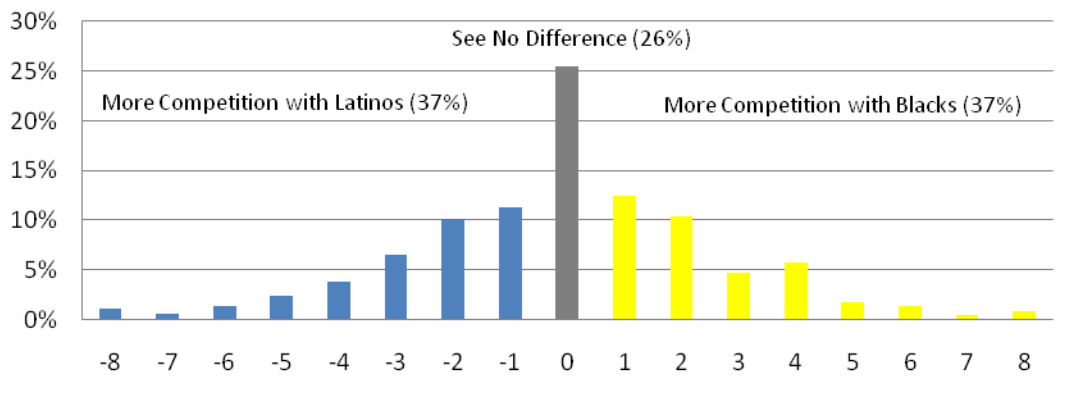


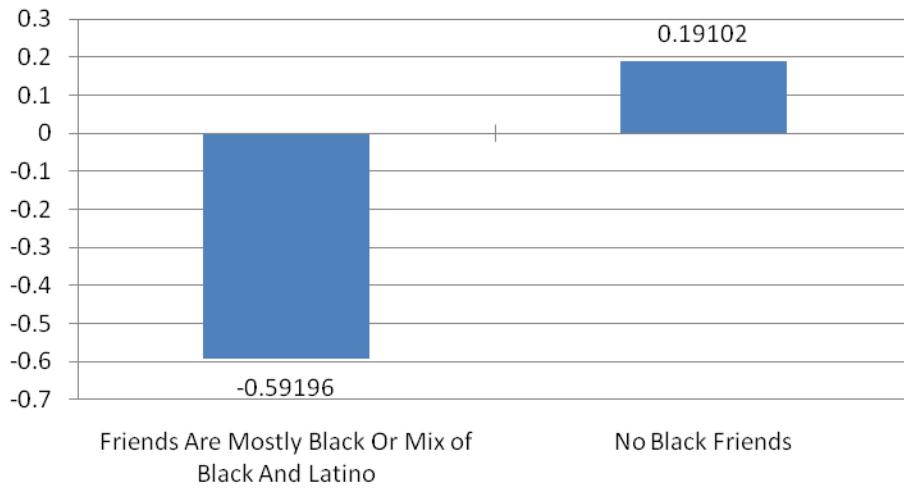
Table 1: Perception of Black Brown Competition (mean) by Region

All South	0.0537***
Arkansas	0.1296***
Georgia	-0.0225
North Carolina	0.1546**
Virginia	-0.1761
Non-South	-0.2279***
Arizona	-0.5800***
California	-0.2948
District of Columbia	-0.1129
Florida	-0.0800
New York	-0.07
Texas	-0.5006***

Note: We test for significance differences between the South and Non-South as well as differences between each state.

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Figure 7: Probability Of Black-Brown Competition Among Latinos In The South, By Black Friends



Independent Variables	Appendix: Independent Variable Construction
Age	Continuous; 18 – 98
Education	Categorical; 0=none; 4.5=less 8 th ; 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 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 non-citizen; 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 L23; 0=no Spanish services available in community; 1=1 of 3 services in Spanish; 2=2 of 3 services in Spanish; 3=3 of 3 services in Spanish
Pol Interest	Categorical; Interested in politics; 1=Low; 4=High
Pol Knowledge	Index, see J10, J11, J12; 0=0 of 3 correct; 1=1 of 3 correct; 2=2 of 3 correct; 3=3 of 3 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 Population	Measure of Black population percentage within the County of each respondent
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 Commonality	Index, see G1A / G2A; 1=Nothing at all in common; 8=A lot in common
Linked fate – Latino	Categorical; 1=None; 2=Little; 3=Some; 4=Lot
American ID	Categorical; 1=Not at all; 2=Not strong; 3=Somewhat Strong; 4=Very strong
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
National Origin	Dummy; 1=Mexican ; Dummy; 1=Cuban ; Dummy; 1= Puerto Rican
State Within South	Dummy; 1=Lives in Arkansas Dummy; 1=Lives in Georgia Dummy; 1=Lives in Virginia

Appendix 1: Predictors of Black-Brown Competition among Immigrants				
	Competition with Blacks (Model 1)		Relative Competition (Model 2)	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
Black Population	0.6277	0.4017	0.0679	0.4242
Black Friends	0.1366	0.2127	-0.1582	0.2246
Black Workers	0.1020	0.2173	0.7641***	0.2295
Black Crime	-0.1145	0.2567	-0.0387	0.2712
Black Discrimination	0.0179	0.2274	-0.3697	0.2402
Black Commonality	0.2052***	0.0244	0.1218***	0.0257
Black Skin	0.0910	0.1308	-0.0786	0.1382
Rank Blacks	0.0811*	0.0484	-0.0850*	0.0512
Generational Status	0.1299	0.1016	0.0644	0.1074
Spanish (scale)	0.0810*	0.0471	-0.0679	0.0497
Spanish Services	0.0991**	0.0426	-0.0243	0.0450
Linked Fate -Latino	0.1648***	0.0444	-0.1350***	0.0469
Maintain Culture	0.3393***	0.0835	-0.0684	0.0881
American ID	0.1674***	0.0403	-0.1308***	0.0426
Political Interest	0.0373	0.0551	-0.0088	0.0582
Political Knowledge	0.0175	0.0436	0.0345	0.0460
Party (7 point)	-0.0588**	0.0250	-0.0069	0.0264
Age	0.0100**	0.0035	-0.0004	0.0037
Education	-0.0021	0.0105	-0.0287***	0.0110
Income	-4.36e-06	2.86e-06	1.88e-06	3.02e-06
Finances Better	0.0032	0.0562	0.1546***	0.0594
Unemployed	0.0951	0.1419	-0.00585	0.1498
Female	-0.0310	0.0829	0.09797	0.0875
Married	-0.1977**	0.0844	-0.05807	0.0892
Home owner	-0.0632	0.0930	-0.0327	0.0983
Years address	-0.0081	0.0062	-0.0091	0.0065
Catholic	0.0535	0.0922	0.2121***	0.0974
Born again	-0.0365	0.0802	-0.1282	0.0847
Mexican	-0.4598***	0.1073	-0.3901***	0.1134
Puerto Rican	-0.2815	0.1770	0.0242	0.1869
Cuban	-0.8270***	0.2046	0.3690*	0.2161
South	-0.0556	0.1739	0.3631**	0.1837
Constant	4.0987***	0.5343	0.7939	0.5643
N	4421		4421	
Adj R-sqr	0.0513		0.0210	

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Appendix 2 Predictors of Black-Brown Competition among Latinos in the South

	Competition with Blacks		Relative Competition	
	Coef.	Std. Err.	Coef.	Std. Err.
Black Population	0.7588	0.6161	0.3989	0.6704
Black Friends	-0.1577	0.3909	-0.7829*	0.4254
Black Workers	0.6236*	0.3674	0.2442	0.3997
Black Crime	0.9367*	0.5547	0.3747	0.6036
Black Discrimination	0.3557	0.3403	0.1938	0.3703
Black Commonality	-0.2737***	0.0518	0.0263	0.0564
Black Skin	-0.0492	0.2432	0.3069	0.2646
Rank Blacks	0.3423***	0.1052	0.0118	0.1145
Generational Status	-0.0100	0.1140	0.1400	0.1240
Spanish (scale)	0.0091	0.0860	0.0614	0.0935
Spanish Services	-0.0967	0.0746	-0.0548	0.0812
Linked Fate -Latino	0.2399***	0.0840	0.1219	0.0914
Maintain Culture	0.1130	0.1644	0.1033	0.1789
American ID	0.0215	0.0839	-0.1529*	0.0912
Political Interest	-0.0288	0.1136	-0.0627	0.1236
Political Knowledge	0.1213	0.0866	0.2008**	0.0942
Party (7 point)	0.0199	0.0517	-0.0141	0.0563
Age	0.0019	0.0076	-0.0094	0.0083
Education	-0.0249	0.0218	0.0104	0.0238
Income	4.43e-06	5.99e-06	1.74e-06	6.52e-06
Finances Better	-0.0103	0.1131	0.0829	0.1231
Unemployed	0.0431	0.2864	-0.2305	0.3117
Female	-0.1691	0.1632	0.1450	0.1776
Married	-0.5666***	0.1703	0.0159	0.1853
Home owner	0.2799	0.1880	0.0742	0.2045
Years address	0.0044	0.0181	0.0469**	0.0198
Catholic	0.1663	0.1819	0.1901	0.1980
Born again	0.1595	0.1616	0.0561	0.1759
Mexican	-0.5551**	0.2378	-0.4613*	0.2587
Puerto Rican	-0.5779	0.3774	0.2319	0.4107
Cuban	-0.9866*	0.5471	0.0967	0.5953
Virginia	-0.0837	0.3113	-0.8286**	0.3388
Georgia	0.2880	0.2070	-0.0917	0.2253
Arkansas	-0.2850	0.2217	-0.0614	0.2412
Constant	4.4930***	1.0582	-0.7902	1.1514
N	1002		1002	
Adj R-sqr	0.0658		0.0066	

* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$