

REINVIGORATING THE CONTACT HYPOTHESIS

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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This work is inspired by Lipsitz (1998) and Allport (1954) because both authors connect micro level processes to social macro level patterns. Allport's *Nature of Prejudice* sought to understand patterns of anti-Semitism as connected to a larger social context. From this work, Allport developed the contact hypothesis which is premised on the idea that diversity helps alleviate racial tensions. Lipsitz' *Possessive Investment in Whiteness* connects White racial privilege to a history of racial social inequality. In conintuum, I develop the nuances on prejudice formation as it leads to the denial of racial privilege or to the conflation of privileges as oppression. While I focus on White racial privilege, the theoretical contribution of my research develops the framework for individual privilege formation. I then draw upon Bonilla-Silva's (2013) racial colorblind theory to emphasize the connection between privilege and larger patterns of racial attitudes. The macro level contribution of this dissertation focuses on patterns of overt and colorblind attitudes as affected by racial segregation, social inequality, and respondent characteristics. Data was gathered from the 2000 General Social Survey, 2010 GSS, and U.S. Census county data and applied to a hierarchical linear model. Due to sample selection, this research focuses on racial Whites' attitudes about the racial Black population. I use measures of racial segregation as proxies for racial contact. I find patterns of racial tolerance through a

'separate but equal' storyline among White-Black segregation. When using, social demographics with all minorities included, I find that Whites' attitudes about racial Blacks are attenuated. This finding supports the literature that non-Black racial minorities act as buffers for White-Black racial relations. Racial diversity is one element in helping alleviate negative racial sentiments, but patterns of segregation and social inequality impact the benefits of this racial diversity.

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CHAPTER I

THEORY: REVISITING ALLPORT'S *THE NATURE OF PREJUDICE*

EXPLAINING CONTACT THEORY THROUGH ITS FUNDAMENTALS:

PREJUDICES AND EMOTIONS

Introduction

Gordon Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954) explores anti-Semitism and racism through the formation of prejudiced attitudes. He identifies three social contextual theories related to prejudices: social structure and cultural patterns, scapegoats, and contact. As a psychologist, he acknowledges societal impact on individual prejudices and argues that people will be more prejudiced when there are barriers to communication, when minority groups are large or increasing, when realistic threats exist, when there are customs favoring bigotry, ethnocentrism, and competition, and when exploitation sustains important interest for a community. Allport describes scapegoats as psychological minorities that results from displaced aggression. Scapegoats (also informing the group threat theory) results from highly prejudiced areas. The effect of contact is then used to understand how prejudices may be minimized. Allport recognizes both these theories—scapegoat and contact—as reactionary responses resulting from prejudice formation. For this chapter, I will address the creation of individual level prejudices that explain the contact and scapegoat hypothesis. I focus on the social structural explanations in chapters three and four.

The Dynamics of Prejudices

Understanding prejudices requires three overarching components: (1) the individual (perceptions, reactions to stimuli, interpretations, and explanations), (2) the immediate situation (the individual's interaction in a given situation complicated by stimulus and people), and (3) the social historical context (includes history and personal history). I will develop this chapter from the cognitive function of prejudices and connect this to individual patterns of prejudices (component#1). I will then conclude with individual dynamics of prejudices as they relate to privilege and racism.

A prejudice and bias both describe subjective inclinations towards an idea or people(s). Allport describes prejudices as inaccurate assessments:

"Prejudgments become prejudices only if they are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge. A prejudice, unlike a simple misconception, is actively resistant to all evidence that would unseat it. Thus the difference between ordinary prejudgments and prejudice is that one can discuss and rectify a prejudgment without emotional resistance" (1954: 9-10).

According to Allport, prejudgments are misconceptions that are corrected whereas prejudices are a stubborn belief system. In other words, regardless of an argument's strength, prejudice supports our preconceived ideas (what is now known as a confirmation bias). Today, prejudice transformed to be reflective of what Allport termed a prejudgment. *"Prejudice is a preconceived judgment or opinion, usually based on limited information" (Tatum 1997: 5).* According to Tatum, we haven't necessarily confirmed or disconfirmed the idea, but we maintain a perspective on the issue i.e. if we are asked about an idea, we have a starting point for discussion. The more current application of prejudice is malleable when new information is

attained. If a prejudice is not affected by factual information, it is seen as a confirmation bias.

Cognition

As humans, we cognitively resort to reductionist thinking. Allport describes our need to over simplify ideas as the rule of less work. It is easier to group ideas and focus on monolithic perceptions. This area of social cognition argues that schemas set the framework for processing information while attention, memory, and social inference help shape schemas (Howard and Hollander 1997). Schemas can be thought of as a sand sifter: they catch the larger objects and the fined grained details tend to fall through the sifter. Schemas provide the frame of reference for which we compare newly acquired information to our social expectations. Through this continual cognitive process, we gradually shape our schemas.

Attention describes what features become salient to us in a given scenario. In other words, of all the details surrounding us, what catches our attention? Memory tends to draw upon the familiar moments. Memory recalls our preconceptions—including images and sensory based memories—that fit into our schemas. We try to make sense of new ideas by placing them in categories that already resonate with us. We rely on personal familiarity to make sense of differences and similarities. We use our memory to process, *“How does this relate to what we know?”* Social inference evaluates this information and allows us to create attributions, predictions, and judgments. Social inference allows us to deduce the process, *“Given the information as overlapping with memory details, I think [this] of what grabbed my attention.”*

In turn, our judgments depend upon the aforementioned cognitive coding mechanism. Because we always draw upon our schemas, our objective explanations are always preceded by subjective implications. This indicates that even our neutral assessments are dependent on a social and cultural context (Srull and Wyer 1989). Henceforth, covert biases and declarative knowledge work together in shaping our decisions: *"[...the] complex process of nonconscious signaling [...] reflects access to records of previous individual experience—specifically, of records shaped by reward, punishment, and the emotional state that attends them"* (Bechara et al. 1997: 1294). The positive and negative experiences in our lives shape even our most objective approaches because our brain requires a reference point from which to compare and contrast.

When a schema is defied, we are more prone to extract invariance. For example, if you circle an asymmetrical object you are constantly seeing different angles of the object, but when one describes the object, you describe its overall shape (Gilbert 2010). This attribution indicates how we grasp reality based on descriptive characteristics. Invariance indicates how our mind reconstitutes the social world. If something stands out to us, it's because the details do not fit our schemas. If we encounter this difference a lot and normalize it for ourselves, then we develop a new schema. Perceptions appear spontaneous and passive, but processing the information is quite complex.

Because we process so much information, we detail only ideas of personal interest and simplify tangential ideas. Memory then depends upon distortion, forgetting, and recollection. Schacter's (1999) work elaborates on the complications

of memory recall and labels the seven 'sins' of memory under the following three categories: (1) omission (transience, absent-mindedness, and blocking), (2) distortions (misattribution, suggestibility, bias), and (3) intrusive recollections (persistence). These seven 'sins' should not be viewed as a weakness of the brain, but rather as an adaptive feature of memory. The author suggest that it is often necessary to forget unneeded information and therefore retaining the most needed information for our environment best suits our recall capabilities.

Tolerance

We have been *taught* how to group in specific way i.e. due to the racial ideology that permeates the United States, all U.S. inhabitants are affected by a white supremacy ideology. We are taught to group in an unhealthy manner. Individually, we actively have to address the homogenization of groups as expressed through racism and replace the grouping with a more egalitarian approach. In order to address racial logical fallacies, we must change inaccurate stereotypes to accurate generalizations: stereotypes are based on a reifying racist ideology and accurate generalizations are based on statistical and contextualized historical trends. We begin to question and change our stereotype schemas when we meet others who are different from ourselves.

Allport describes six types of contact that impact prejudices: (1) casual contact, (2) acquaintances, (3) residential, (4) occupational status, (5) pursuit of common objectives, and (6) goodwill contact. These six scenarios acknowledge that contact can increase or decrease prejudices.

Casual contact (#1) is the recognition the superficial contact does little to minimize prejudices. In the pursuit of a common objectives (#5), people have to work together to accomplish a goal that affects everyone. Inversely, scenario number six (#6) argues that goodwill contact without concrete goals accomplishes minimal effects in reducing prejudices. Interactions with acquaintances (#2) demonstrate that positive experiences with equal or high status individuals to oneself evokes acceptance of the individual. Likewise, occupational status (#4) demonstrates that working with a person of equal or higher status is more likely to lessen prejudice. Residential contact (#3) argues that integrated housing and closer proximity to others is also likely to lower prejudices.

One benefit of the contact hypothesis is that it can help develop tolerance for others. Whether we are tolerant or intolerant, we must still be able to recognize when we develop prejudices. There are two examples Allport (1954) uses to demonstrate prejudices among conservative and liberal individuals:

“A student in Massachusetts, an avowed apostle of tolerance—so he thought—wrote, “The [Black] question will never be solved until those dumb Southerners get something through their ivory skulls” (25).

Allport then cites an old White lady from the South: *“Of course I have no prejudice. I had a dear old [...] mammy for a nurse. Having grown up in the South and having lived here all my life I understand the problem. The [Blacks] are much happier if they are just allowed to stay in their place. Northern troublemakers just don’t understand [Blacks]” (25-26).*

Allport adds, *“This lady in her speech was (psychologically speaking) defending her own privileges, her position, and her cosy way of life. It was not that she disliked [Blacks] or northerners, but she loved the status quo” (26).*

At this sole point in the book, we do see recognition of privilege by Allport! With these quotes Allport is demonstrating that we become defensive when our value

systems are threatened. Both quotes demonstrate a confirmation bias. There are two overlooked distinctions by Allport. The first quote depicts a racial stereotype that is not related to privilege. The student in an attempt to disavow racism actually instills a stereotype image of White southerners by homogenizing Southern whites as ignorant. The second quote demonstrates how overt racism is defined by passive aggressive remarks. The White lady sees the Black caretaker as a friend because they are in their “place” (the racist ideology that Blacks were meant for servile positions) and views her racial relations as healthy and positive. By ignoring race and the power dynamic, the woman sees an amicable friendship.

Allport (1954: 327) argues that if you have a positive experience in a racialized situation, one embraces a tolerant attitude. Also, if the person expresses empathy because they can relate to the situation, then the person will also be more tolerant e.g. this terrible experience happened to me and I don’t want it to happen to anyone else. This tolerance is created through personal experiences.

As in colorblind racism (Bonilla-Silva 2014), a false sense of tolerance is conflated with moral values. For example, the following statement can be used when a person makes assumptions about their own character, *“If I was in that situation, I would never do that, or one could/should at least do this [action]”*. As Zimbardo (2004) demonstrates through the prison experiments, we truly do not know ourselves until we have been placed in those extraneous circumstances—our predicted actions do not match the actual outcomes. This is especially true when we have no basis for our predictions aside from morals. Privilege allows for entitled judgments disguised as knowledge or disguised as a false sense of experience. The appearance of privilege

as morality creates a false sense of empathy. This same mentality is seen in this idea, *“If things went so great for me or if I overcame this problem, then something must be wrong with [them].”* One wishes to be tolerant, but instills unrealistic expectations and rationales for what they see. When one is trying to understand another’s experience of oppression, it is associated with their experiences, *“I went through [that experience] and it wasn’t that hard.”* As with privilege, it is difficult to convince someone of an experience that they cannot relate. When ignoring race through privilege, it becomes an issue about effort and not about race. Inadvertently, race is then explained away as a non-imperative factor. Experiences from oppressed groups are merely seen as complaints when in-groups reinforce merit based misconceptions.

From an individualized perspective, this helps explain the power of privilege: privilege translates into a cognitive benefit. Our interpretations of rewards punishment as emotions dictate how we arrive at our conclusions. This is why the *process* of privilege is so difficult to conceptualize—we can state that we are aware of our privileges, but we cannot grasp a true empathetic state. If we are always being rewarded and have positive associations with an experience, it becomes difficult to fathom why another would have difficulties. In other words, when this translates into one explaining oppressions to another who has experienced privilege in the same area, the immediate (and at times unintended) schema is to dismiss the oppressors experience as erroneous because it does not fit one’s personal schema of rewards and positive experiences. To address these challenges ensued by our cognitive processes, the process of empathy requires awareness, education, *and*

effort. Empathy is not simply a feeling nor does it only require education. If one is adequately addressing their privilege, then one must challenge themselves at embracing true empathy.

Privileged Prejudices

For any individual, it's important to understand to what degree we each internalize or externalize circumstances ascribed to our privileges and oppressions. We could attribute these ideas to the comparison between introvert and extrovert individuals (Cain 2012) which is an accurate depiction on *one* identity. Hill Collins' (1990) *matrix of domination* (an extension of intersectionality) argues that social location impacts how privilege and oppression shape identity. Everyone experiences race, yet, it is easy to de-racialize a situation such as through an explanation of introverts and extroverts. There is a misconception that only an oppressed group experiences these thoughts, but more importantly, it is about how *often* one encounters these experiences from a privileged position.

The manifestation of privilege through language is riddled with hidden dichotomies; they are covert statements that are indicative of privilege. It's a privilege to ask, "*Tell me what it means.*" Aside from being a declarative statement, it implies that there is definite known answer i.e. "*I don't know so somebody will tell me or at least there's a concrete answer out there*" (Sullivan and Tuana 2007). The assumption tells much of one's social location: one lives in a world where asking these questions is respected. When one encounters systematic inequalities, one understands that concrete and definite answers do not exist—it is understood that things don't always work in your favor. Similarly, the idea, "*Tell me what to do and*

I'll do it," reflects the assumption that if you do something right, everything will be okay. When we are not in our privileged position, one knows that doing something right doesn't always work out in one's favor. Here is where the internalization of difference comes into play: one rather says *"I'll try again, I'll figure it out on my own, why try, and if I don't understand something, it's my fault,"* as opposed to *"If I don't understand something, then somebody needs to explain this to me correctly."* Given the neutral quotes provided, we can understand these ideas as issues of confidence or assertiveness, but then it ignores the history of encountering services and institutions that create ordinary trauma.

The matrix of domination allows us to understand how we individually embrace our privileges and to what degree that privilege is modified by our socially disadvantaged positions. Understanding these interlocking elements is difficult because it constantly requires an interpretative lens. One's privilege can carry more weight in certain context while having minimum consequences in another. Most people have one identity that can be identified as oppression. A challenge with this interpretative lens is understanding that an oppression does not erase your privilege.

Lorde (1984)—ahead of her time addressed colorblind racism, sexism, classism, and aspects of queerism—underscored the importance of recognizing differences amongst each other. Lorde argued that acknowledging difference requires one to be aware of inequalities and shines light on one's privilege. This is why it is more comfortable to ignore difference because the conversation about structural inequality as it relates to privilege can be avoided. As Lorde described three decades

ago, there is still the challenge of comprehending social location. In continuum, we are seeing the appropriation of difference—using the language of the oppress to protect privilege¹. This refers to individuals whose majority social identity is experienced in a privileged social context. The consequence happens when a person has a superficial understanding of their privilege and uses it to vocalize their oppression while at the same using their privilege to quiet others. In other words, power is used to shut down needed conversations. Ultimately, this reflects the limitations of first wave feminism—the distinction being that there is an acknowledgement of difference, but limited in that oppression is communicated by reinforcing privilege.

Emotions

Referring back to Bechara's et al. (1997) quote on page two, an important but underscoring aspect of objectivity is emotions. Emotions were interpreted as irrational judgments because they were seen as inhibiting objective decisions. Just as the idea of objectivity has been transformed (i.e. objectivity is not free of subjectivity) so too has research on emotions.

Referring back to Allport's definition of prejudice on page one, Allport describes prejudgments as lacking emotional resistance. Defense mechanisms are an emotional response when we are not willing to modify a schema. There is an

¹ The example is not to be confused with the idea that communities of color are victims of white supremacy and are complicit in it as well (Smith 2006)—I addressed this under the section *internalization of white supremacy*. Nor should this example be confused with allies whom developed a positive identity of their privilege.

emotional willingness when we do agree with ideas e.g. when we learn to modify our schemas. While Allport does not develop the idea of emotions in this chapter, he does refer to emotions of guilt, frustration, and anger in relation to prejudices in other chapters.

Work in human development and neuroscience has demonstrated that emotion is closely intertwined with reason. For example, Damasio (1994) demonstrates that emotions are controlled by the brain. At times we want to think that emotions are their own separate entity and have no affiliation with our cognitive abilities. Culturally, we tend to identify problems with the body as involuntary while problems of the mind are seen as voluntary. In a classic neurological case study, damage to Phineas Gage's prefrontal cortices demonstrated that the brain did have control over emotions. Gage was a functional being but lacked emotion, lacked ability to plan for the future, and lacked conduct for social norms. Analyzing several case studies with neurological brain damage, Damasio (1994) argues that emotions impact our rationality and without emotions, our cognitive decision making is impaired.

In support of this stance, Zajonc's (1980) research indicates that feelings are their own form of instinctive reasoning. Because affective reactions are more easily retrieved, they impact our cognitive reasoning. In other words, our emotions coincide with our rationalizations. Emotions are their own form of rationalization, but since they are more intuitive, we cannot always detect their subjective influence. A combination of recalling trait concepts and our spontaneous interpretation of a person affects how we cognitively code their behavior (Srull and Wyer 1989). For

example, when subjects were asked to distinguish between old or new stimuli, subjects were more confident when they used affect (e.g. liking and disliking) as a recognition response rather than using descriptive words (e.g. old and new) as a recognition response . This research demonstrates that our emotions are extremely pronounced in our judgments. Further, recent research also demonstrates that emotion is powerful cognitive rational that supersedes our ability to modify our judgment even when contradictory facts are presented (Ioanide 2015).

Generally speaking, in the U.S., we are taught to disregard emotion as subjective and irrational. We are taught that happiness is the only emotion to embrace. When in reality, it is more important to process all of our emotions. Negative emotions such as anger, fear, sadness are seen as impediments to judgment. Moreover, visual manifestations of these feelings can be uncomfortable and require people to confront uneasy situations. Whereas complacency is welcomed even though it can be a form of suppression; ironically suppression, is a negative emotion to embrace. We need to pay attention to our emotions because they are important indicators about our perception.

Scapegoats

“The term scapegoat originated in the famous ritual of the Hebrews, described in the book of Leviticus (16:20-22). On the Day of Atonement a live goat was chosen by lot. The high priest, robed in linen garments, laid both his hands on the goat’s head, and confessed over it the iniquities of the children of Israel. The sins of the people thus symbolically transferred to the beast, it was taken out into the wilderness and let go. The people purged, and for the time being, guiltless” (Allport 1954: 236).

The purpose of scapegoat is to blame a group for societal problems due to the fact that knowledge of the true causation is lacking. Scapegoats are targets for

misplaced frustration and relieve the aggressor of guilt. Frustration reflects restriction upon one's emotional expression e.g. when a person doesn't feel heard, when communication is stalled, or when the person doesn't understand what's being communicated. For example Allport (1954: 327) draws upon this situation: A strong student was highly criticized by their parent. Because the student did not receive the same grades, the parent saw their child as not trying hard enough so the child's effort was constantly belittled. While the student did very well in college, the student created lies as a coping mechanism for these insecure feelings. The student's emotions of insecurity and frustration were expressed by using anti-Semite remarks. The rationale for their low grade was that Jews were over-achievers and only people cheating scored higher grades than the individual. In this example, scapegoating created an emotional false sense of control through displaced anger. (It is important to note that responses to frustration do not always lead to scapegoating).

Legitimized Anger

Scapegoating is not an adequate outlet for anger, but there are expressions of legitimized anger. There is difference between misplaced anger and anger that arises from experienced injustices (Lugones 1995). For example, Lorde (1984) addresses anger as a response to the racism women of color experience. Yet when addressing racism, Lorde's arguments are challenged because her emotions are not seen as acceptable; it is implied that an appropriate (and privileged) response is to remain calm and respectful. When we are in a privileged state and do not feel cheated, we are unencumbered by structural frustrations; at this point anger seems

like an odd response to those who are privileged. The burden of passivity then lies with those whom are the victims of racism. Furthermore, it is more realistic to show frustration especially when one feels cheated, yet this is not seen as an acceptable emotional response. Anger is seen as an acceptable response when it appears obvious: someone is clearly wronged. Though when we see it as a response to racism, it is shut down faster because racism is not easily identified, but it is easily denied. As a result, emotion is used as a means to ignore the experience of racism. In the following example, the positive association with patience is used to create a colorblind remark allowing an individual to ignore institutional racism.

“Things are getting better all the time, we must be patient.” Allport goes on to state, “While there may be truth in the argument of such “gradualists,” the point is that gradualism may itself be a compromise mode of handling conflict” (1954: 320).

The everyday experiences of colonialism and racism is described as an ordinary trauma (Klopetek et al. 2008) which results in an emotional burden. Instead of seeing anger as inevitable, people of color are taught that it is wrong to express your anger. The appearance of positive responses such as perseverance is embraced and contradictorily, the negative response of suppression is also embraced.

We must recognize that there are ego defenses that can develop into desirable or undesirable traits when adapting to a white supremacy society. Although we tend to be surprised or shocked when we see undesirable traits develop.

“Ego-defensive traits are likely to be found wherever an individual’s self-esteem is threatened, and some such traits will be disagreeable. They should be regarded as the consequence of, rather than a justification for, discriminative treatment” (Allport 1954: 154).

Because an out-group has their own prejudices, it is then used to deny their experience of racism and worse, it then helps reinforce discrimination. Hence, a

'bad' trait adopted by an out-group as a response mechanism to white supremacy is then used by the in-group to deny white supremacy and becomes a tautological idea for why racism is non-existent. We see this same logic for rationalizing misplaced anger, "*Scapegoats need not be lily-white in their innocence, but they always attract more blame, more animosity more stereotyped judgment than can be rationally justified*" (Allport 1954: 238). Violations of civil and human rights are justified when they are seen as violations of moral standards.

Internalization of White Supremacy

Even if one disagrees with the repetitive messages of stereotypes, one cannot block or resist the permanence of this racial ideology. An ideology's power lies in that after all these years, racism still permeates in the U.S. While there has always been resistance in combating this ideology, white supremacy as an ideology continues to be pervasive through centuries (Zinn 1999).

Inner Conflict for racialized Whites

Allport alludes to the idea that addressing racism for White's involves an emotional psychological conflict. One response is repression: the individual denies that the problem exists, "There's no racism here." In this response, contradictions are more common for the individual. It becomes essential to explain one's beliefs as aligned with each other. This form of denial is accompanied by another defense mechanism: selective perception (confirmation bias). In order to preserve prejudices from conflicting with personal values, one uses selective perception to provide anecdotal evidence for their beliefs. One can then create false evidence through this attribution process e.g. using stereotypes as evidence as opposed to

using facts. If the individual feels this is the dominant view (whether true or imagined) then it resonates as factual. Through homogenization and essentialism, the individual can maintain contradictions while feeling validated.

This is why groups are the object of hate instead of individuals; it is easier to abstract a group and depersonalize a situation. While it may seem ironic, it is actually common to have frustration towards a group and befriend someone from the same group. This example is more emblematic of prejudices that cannot change i.e. when minimal or superficial contact is not enough to reduce prejudices (contact #1).

“This sympathizing tendency seems to explain a phenomenon we have frequently noted: people who hate groups in the abstract will, in actual conduct, often act fairly and even kindly toward individual members of the group. There is another reason why it is easier to hate groups than individuals. We do not need to test our unfavorable stereotype of a group against reality. In fact, we can hold it all the more easily if we make ‘exceptions’ for the individual members we know” (Allport 1954: 341).

This defense mechanisms for selective perception is common for individuals who are also conflicted by racism. They can demonstrate anti-racist attitudes alternating with pro-racism attitudes (Allport 1954: 310). *“Some of my best friends are Jews, but...”* (Allport 1954: 318) or *“I have no quarrel with Jews as an individual but only with what [the] race represents in the mass”* (Allport 1954: 319). Again, racist ideas are held about the group, but the individual is seen as the exception. Our internal contradictions are difficult to recognize. Allport (1954) argues that our multiple roles can act in contradictory ways, but we compromise with ourselves so these roles do not confront one another.

Whites who feel wronged by people of color also have a difficult time understanding privilege. When Whites are minorities in an area, they can

experience being bullied, teased, or even physically attacked. These experiences can then be used to deny racism. The logic being, *“If racism did exist, then my privileges would always be protected—including individual experiences.”* With this logic, there is a lack of understanding of how privileges are connected to structural inequality. Moreover, racial privilege does not imply a simple carefree lifestyle, racial privilege means that the system of rewards is skewed to favor Whites. The previous quote overlooks the fact that problems exist within and among every race. From an individual perspective, life always has challenges and problems are inevitable. Privilege dictates how fast and what resources are more easily disposable at overcoming these problems. Whites can be incorrectly ousted by people of color, but it does not erase the racism that people of color experience.

Despite these challenges, it is possible to attain a positive White identity in which one understands individual, cultural, and institutional racism (Carter 1997, Sue 1998, White and Henderson 2008). According to these authors, embracing a positive White identity comes after an individual understands that racism also harms Whites, they do not deny their White racial experiences, and addressing race is not seen as a psychological threat. Drawing upon Helm’s (1995) White Racial Identity Development Model, this emotional process addresses how Whites come to terms with their racial privilege. Allport argues that integration is true resolution for White individuals. This is similar to attaining a positive White identity by overcoming guilt (Helm 1995, Lorde 1984).

Inner Conflict for racialized Minorities

Everyone internalizes ideas of white supremacy regardless of race. The difference in response to these internalizations is delineated through racial privilege. For people of color, they are psychologically oppressed through this ideology. Even minorities are taught to scapegoat other races as well, this is not new. Giving into whiteness as a cultural practice is persuasive and coercive because whiteness is rewarded through privileges—this includes white peoples and people of color (Lipsitz 2009, Zinn 1999).

I address inner conflict common to people of color because when minorities are seen to have prejudices it is used to dismiss racism. This then minimizes meaningful contact because the arguments for understanding race are emblematic of colorblind racism and meritocracy (Bonilla-Silva 2014). While Allport describes the following emotional reactions as traits due to victimization, he is describing this more from a perspective of in-groups and out-groups(1954: 138). I adapt these findings to address the racial implications. I address eight defense mechanisms directed at minority experiences.

Avoidance is the first defense mechanism. Interestingly, Allport alludes to the problems of colorblind racism in his discussion of avoidance: being tolerant is embraced with a passion for equality by claiming that everyone is human as opposed to seeing them as racial beings. Colorblind racism can be adopted by both Whites and People of Color.

Second, being vigilant and untrusting is a form of physical and psychological self protection. This response mechanism is more of a, "*It is better to be safe than sorry*"

mentality. Take one example, when someone constantly says “*That’s racist,*” it is better if it is misidentified than to be mistaken. The statement makes anyone on guard and prevents a situation that can become problematic. Even when a claim is accurate it is not always easily believed or received. Misinterpreting a situation is better than allowing unaddressed racists micro-aggressions (Sue 2010) from continuing. In reality, it’s a defense mechanism to protect oneself from future experiences, even though one cannot always avoid them. For example, when one does let their guard down and are then affected by racism, one tends to blame oneself. The shame becomes the victim’s not the assailant’s.

A third response is denial of membership one’s racial group and identification with the dominant group. An individual adopts white supremacy ideology, hates others of their same racial group, and/or hates themselves. The person believes the stereotypes about their racial group and sees them as truths. Allport sees every step toward assimilation, whether consciously or subconsciously, as a step towards denial of one own’s race. During the Holocaust, there were Jewish people that identified with Nazis soldiers. When their ego defenses failed (mental surrendering) these individuals turned against prisoners and adopted anti-Semitism views. When protective psychological mechanisms fail, it becomes easier to mentally surrender.

In the fourth mechanism, Allport identifies passing as a denial whereas today it is also understood as a privilege. If a person can pass as White, racial privileges become slightly accessible (Omi and Winant 1986, Waters1996). For multi-ethnic individuals identifying at least as White, there is an intersectional element of addressing and negotiating “*Where you belong*” and understanding the mediating

grounds of one's privileges and oppressions. In addition, inter-racial and multi-ethnic individuals have the added challenges of people not associating them with their family, having their visible racial identities being picked for them, and only being seen as one race. Interracial individuals may not have a secure feeling of belonging to either group because one is not viewed as a "100%" of either race. Minority adoptees also have to navigate the space between privilege and oppression. The assimilation process challenges peoples' sense of belonging.

A fifth defensive mechanism is withdrawal and passivity. Because rebellion and aggression lead to punishment, assimilation is a physically safe (imposed) response. Generally, if you are passive, you can gain protection or go under the radar. Someone who is verbal or socially active who is more likely to be reprimanded. Passivity as a "desirable trait" is rewarded and vocal or social resistance is viewed as a moral violation. For example, the idea of a person working well with others is a desirable trait. This neutral language can be used against a person who has not assimilated to the desired extent of the in-group. The privilege of the in-group protects them from having to accommodate others' learning styles or from having to address contradictions or limitations within their own space. In other words, neutral language is used to protect privilege. When one constantly has the space to speak and is heard, it is a privilege, but when one has to speak-up, it is a challenge. For people of color, especially women, passivity and *not* speaking up are instilled as a means of survival and are taught as a mannerism; empowerment through vocalization takes time to learn for one also has to un-do former life lessons (hooks 2015).

A sixth response is forming strong bonds with individuals who are in a similar situation. This in turn helps build confidence and a space for self-respect. This response is also seen as a general group formation analysis. It becomes racialized when we think of street gangs, but we don't think of elite networks that foster the same mentality legally and illegally. Hence, the privilege and racialization lies among whom is more likely to be punished. We do not blame whites for cohesiveness.

The seventh response is protecting your ego by telling yourself that you are better than someone else. This also offers one simple explanation for why interracial conflicts happen and can be incorporated with the third response mechanism of internalized racism.

The eighth response mechanism is what Allport terms enhanced striving, but he does not include the limitations of this response. Enhanced striving embraces the model minority myth and the bootstrap myth. Rare exceptions in economic success become the norm for explaining social trends among minorities. While this is a response to oppression, it is not possible for the entire racial group. It also embraces the false representation that the person is psychologically resilient to racism. The false idea, "*If you are smart and industrious, then you can make it out,*" reifies the model minority myth. Tokenism is when a minority is used to create a false sense of diversity e.g. only representational diversity in a workplace. People of color who adopt a white supremacy ideology are rewarded for not addressing controversial issues or imbalanced power dynamics.

Conclusion

Meaningful contact with others is helpful because it builds tolerance for individuals different from oneself. Whether we are willing to accept differences or whether we are resistant to change, we all have developed prejudices reflecting a certain degree of the contact theory. Our personal history of how our emotions have developed helps us understand what we resist and what we embrace. Our emotions help us decipher our hidden responses to privilege. Rather than simply stating our privileges, we need to understand how they are psychologically created. We may at times articulate our privileges, but we don't always prevent them or stop them in action. Because our prejudices are shaped by the positive and negative experiences in our lives, our emotions can trigger our attachment to privilege. We conflate the experiences of privilege with positive emotions. Therefore, learning to adequately identify our responses to privilege can help us explore our misinterpreted strength. Correcting misperceptions of tolerance leads us closer to experiencing the benefits of meaningful contact.

CHAPTER II

DATA, MEASURES, AND METHODS:

HIERARCHICAL LINEAR MODELING, SEGREGATION MEASURES,

AND SCALE CONSTRUCTION

Introduction

I will address my research questions using the University of Chicago National Opinion Research Center's General Social Survey (GSS) and U.S. Census data. The appropriate method for analyzing the data is a hierarchical linear model since it accounts for nested data (e.g. individuals nested in counties). The model will allow me to test individuals' racial attitudes within the county geographic area.

Methodologically, the strength of a hierarchical linear model demonstrates the partitioned effect between the individual and the social context. The outcome variable accounts for characteristics of both individuals and of their location. In addition, I obtained the General Social Survey sensitive data which allows me to partition segregation measures to their appropriate geographic level.

The GSS is national survey sample¹ collected every other year since 1972. In order to pair the survey with census data, I used the GSS data centered on a decade. The 2000 Census is paired with the 1998, 2000, and 2002 GSS, and the 2010 Census

¹ See GSS' codebook Appendix A—Sampling Design and Weighting— for further detail on data collection:

Smith, Tom W, Peter Marsden, Michael Hout, and Jibum Kim. *General Social Surveys, 1972-2012: Cumulative Codebook* / Principal Investigator, Tom W. Smith; Co-Principal Investigator, Peter V. Marsden; Co-Principal Investigator, Michael Hout. -- Chicago: NORC at the University of Chicago, 2015. 3,567p., 28cm. -- (National Data Program for the Social Sciences Series, No. 22).

is paired with the 2008, 2010, and 2012 GSS. I pooled the GSS data so I could attain a larger sample size for the data analysis. It is not recommend to do time series analysis with GSS² since the same respondents are not sampled again between these two time frames. For this study, there are two central models of interest: 2000 and 2010.

Method: Random Intercept Hierarchical Linear Model

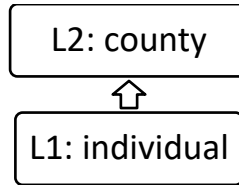
In hierarchical linear models, subscript i represents the individual characteristic at level one, and subscript j represents the group level characteristic at level two. First level controls pertain to characteristics about the individual: age, mobility, income, and education. Second level controls pertain to characteristics about the county: segregation, social demographic, and social inequality indicators. Utilizing the 2010 U.S. Census definition, a county is defined as place where at least “[...] at least 50 percent of the population resides within urban areas of 10,000 or more [...], or that contain at least 5,000 people residing within a single urban area of 10,000 or more [...]” (US Census Bureau)³.

An HLM model helps distinguish between two or three levels of analysis. In this research, I am applying two level of analysis: how does the relationship between x and y differ between counties? Counties are the primary sampling unit. The residuals in a random intercept model is composed of the individual level residuals and the county level residuals. HLM models can be decomposed into a micro and

² Same as footnote

³ <http://www.census.gov/population/metro/about/>

macro model. The micro model, level one, represents the within county part of the model i.e. what is the relationship for individual level variables in a county. The macro model specifies the relationship between counties.



To simplify, the following is a basic micro and macro model with the outcome as racial attitudes nested in counties and segregation is a fixed effect predictor. The Betas are fixed and the error terms are the random components.

Table 1
Basic Random Intercept Model

<p>Micro $y_{ij} = \beta_{0j}(x_{0j}) + \beta_1(x_{1ij}) + e_{0ij}$</p> <p>Macro $\beta_{0j} = \beta_0 + \mu_{0j}$</p> <p>Combined $y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1(x_{1ij}) + \mu_{0j} + e_{0ij}$</p> <p>L2: $[\mu_{0j}] \sim N(0, \sigma_{\mu_0}^2)$</p> <p>L1: $[e_{0ij}] \sim N(0, \sigma_{e_0}^2)$</p>	<p>Micro $racial\ attitude_{ij} = \beta_{0j}(x_{0j}) + \beta_1(seg_{1ij}) + e_{0ij}$</p> <p>Macro $\beta_{0j} = \beta_0 + \mu_{0j}$</p> <p>Combined $racial\ attitude_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1(seg_{1ij}) + \mu_{0j} + e_{0ij}$</p> <p>L2: $[\mu_{0j}] \sim N(0, \sigma_{\mu_0}^2)$</p> <p>L1: $[e_{0ij}] \sim N(0, \sigma_{e_0}^2)$</p>
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Assumptions with all else held constant:

- β_{0j} Average racial attitude in county j
- β_0 Average racial attitude across all counties
- β_{ij} Racial attitude score for individual i in county j
- β_1 Additional change in racial attitude for every unit increase in segregation

SEG_{1ij} average segregation for individual i in county j

μ_{0j} Residual differential of racial attitude between the overall average [grand mean] racial attitude score (for average segregation) *and* average [expected] racial attitude score (for those with average segregation within county j)
 $\beta_0 - \beta_{0j}$

e_{0ij} Residual differential of racial attitude for individual i in county j

$\sigma_{\mu 0}^2$ between-county variance of racial attitude

$\sigma_{e 0}^2$ within-county (i.e. individual) racial attitude variance

$$\rho = \frac{\sigma_{\mu 0}^2}{(\sigma_{\mu 0}^2 + \sigma_{e 0}^2)}$$

Rho is used to calculate the variance attributed at each level. The above equation depicts the variation at level two divided by the total variation. In the random intercept model, rho is also the same as the interclass correlation coefficient (ICC). The ICC represents the correlation between two random individuals from the same county with the same fixed effects covariates. If rho equals zero, then all the variation is between individuals, there is no clustering between the second unit, and there is no need for a HLM. If rho equals one, then all the variation is between the second unit, there is no variation between individuals, and the individual's grouping predicts the outcome.

Dependent Variable: Scale Construction

My dependent variable is an attitude scale created through factor analysis which allows grouping of related attitudes. Following Treiman's (2009) scale construction method, I create a scale for my dependent variable. Due to a set of core questions

replicated in the GSS, I create the *racial tolerance* scale⁴ for the 2000 and 2010 data. For consistency purposes, I used the same questions for 2000 and 2010 scale. For all scales, the items were factor analyzed using iterated principle factoring followed by varimax rotation. Principle factor analysis allows me to test the validity among the survey questions, i.e. the respondents answer a set of questions in a similar pattern that allows me to group them together. The items were recoded with high values indicating tolerance and a low values indicating intolerance. *Don't know (.d)* and *no answer (.n)* were recoded with the median value of the index in order to help preserve cases. Respondents who are not asked to answer a specific question are coded as *inapplicable (i)*.

The items with high factor loadings were then inspected using cronbach's alpha. The final items for the index were kept if they met an eigen value of at least one and a cronbach's alpha of at least .65. Once the most reliable scale was determined, I then standardized and averaged the items. Standardizing each item prevents the question with the highest variance from biasing the index. Finally, the index was transformed into an interpretable continuous range from 0-1 so that each coefficient in the regression model reflects a percent increase in the outcome.

⁴ See table 1 for the items that constitute the scale

Table 2			
Racial Tolerance Scale 2000 & 2010			
	General Social Survey Code	Question	original range (before items were standardized and recoded)
1	wrkwayup	Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following statement: Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favors.	1=agree strongly 5=disagree strongly
2	racdif3	On the average (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are because most (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) don't have the chance for education that it takes to rise out of poverty?	1=yes 2=no
3	racdif4	On the average (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are because most (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) just don't have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty?	1=yes 2=no
4	racdif1	On the average (Negroes/Blacks/African-Americans) have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are mainly due to discrimination?	1=yes 2=no
5	marblk	How about having a close relative or family member marry a black person? Would you be very in favor of it happening, somewhat in favor, neither in favor nor opposed to it happening, somewhat opposed, or very opposed to it happening?	1=strongly favor 5= strongly oppose
6	liveblks	Living in a neighborhood where half of your neighbors were blacks?	1=strongly favor 5=strongly oppose

Table 2			
Racial Tolerance Scale 2000 & 2010			
	General Social Survey Code	Question	original range (before items were standardized and recoded)
7	closeblk	How close do you feel to Blacks?	1=not close at all 9=very close
8	affrmact	Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it discriminates against whites. What about your opinion -- are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks? IF FAVORS: A. Do you favor preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly? IF OPPOSES: B. Do you oppose preference in hiring and promotion strongly or not strongly?	1=strongly support 4=strongly oppose
9	discaff	What do you think the chances are these days that a white person won't get a job or promotion while an equally or less qualified black person gets one instead? Is this very likely, somewhat likely, or not very likely to happen these days?	1=likely 3=not likely
	*	All questions were first recoded into likert scale from 1-3	1=racial intolerance 2=neither agree nor disagree & don't know 3=racial tolerance
	*	When standardizing the scale, the range was then recoded from 0-1	0=racial intolerance 1=racial tolerance
	2010	eigen value	1.77
	2010	cronbach's alpha	0.66
	2000	eigen value	2.03
	2000	cronbach's alpha	0.70

Segregation Measures

For my research, I test four empirical segregation measures as proxies for contact: isolation, dissimilarity, exposure, and the entropy index. The indexes are best used as proxies of empirical segregation. There are two limitations of importance to note. First, these measures alone cannot explore the *process* of segregation. Even if a measure indicates complete integration, this may not be true even in the physical sense. For example, if a block is compiled of apartment complexes, and non-Whites resided in alleyways (rear portion of the structure) and all Whites resided in the street (front portion of the structures), an index could not reveal this level of segregation (Duncan & Duncan 1955). Second, segregation measures are not aggregate representations i.e. regional segregation does not neatly decompose into its metropolitan segregation measure (Wong HUD)⁵.

Residential segregation indices are algebraic values calculated from tract level data; the values typically range from zero (no segregation) to one (complete segregation) (Morgan & Norbury 1981). Residential Segregation measures can be thought of as a deviation from complete desegregation (Winship 1977). There are at least five geographic categories which are used for residential segregation: (1)

⁵ Wong, D. Year N/A. "Changing Local Segregation of Selected U.S. Metropolitan Areas Between 1980 and 2000." Funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). <<http://gesg.gmu.edu/seg/>>

region (2) metropolitan area (3) center city—suburb division (4) municipality/places & (5) tract/neighborhood block (Massey & Denton 1989).

Johnston et al (2007) found that ethnic residential segregation in the U.S. is best measured by two dimensions: separation and location. Previous research (Massey and Denton 1989, Wilkes and Iceland 2004) utilized a hypersegregation indicator to encompass five dimensions of segregation (evenness, exposure, concentration, centralization, & clustering). This approach is meant to capture the many forms in which segregation could be measured, especially since one can be highly segregated on one level and not on others.

According Massey and Denton (1989) these measures are defined as follows: *Evenness* measures the differential distribution of groups across neighborhoods. *Exposure* measures the potential interaction between groups. *Concentration* measures the relative amount of physical space occupied by a group (e.g. when a group lives in a geographically compact area). *Centralization* measures the degree to which a group is located near the center of an urban area. *Clustering* is defined as the degree to which group members live disproportionately in contiguous areas (e.g. a contiguous ghetto).

Each of these five measure can be individually measured by several distinct indexes—i.e. there is more than one index which can measure evenness. Furthermore, the compilation of these five measures creates the hyper-segregation classification (Massey and Denton 1989). To determine if a metropolitan area is hyper-segregated, the areas must have four levels of high segregation out of the five previously listed measures.

Johnston's et al (2007) found a parsimonious approach to the hyper-segregation model. *Separation* term encompasses unevenness, isolation, and clustering and *location* encompasses centralization and concentration. Clustering and isolation measures covaried as did the centralization and concentration measures (2007: 489). Since weighting did not eliminate the random noise in places with small populations, the authors only examined metropolitan areas with at least 25,000 individuals.

For my research, separation (specifically unevenness and exposure/isolation) is best suited to answer my question since I am focusing on measures that are proxies for individual contact.

Isolation Index

First, isolation index is as a proxy for an aspatial empirical test of contact. I use US census tract level data to calculate the index scores at the county level. The isolation index indicates the probability of living with someone of the same race (Fischer et al. 2004). This calculates the likelihood of whites living amongst themselves. A score of zero represents complete empirical balance and a score of one means that Whites are completely isolated (that the group is only living amongst each other). Because greater diversity does not lead to greater residential integration (Iceland 2004), the isolation index helps distinguish between diversity and integration. For example, the White population could be 50% of the racial composition, but the geographic area could still receive an isolation score of one if

all Whites lived in the same neighborhoods⁶. The isolation index is the identity of the interaction indices. Rather than having white interaction to every minority group separately, this reflects the inverse of those measures into one easily interpretable measure.

Isolation is calculated using the following equation: $I = \sum (w_i / W) \times (w_i / t_i)$, where W equals total white population in the county, w_i equals White population at the tract level, and t_i equals total population at the tract level. The table two represents ten tracts in one county with a total county population of $T = 1,085$ and a total county White population of $W=705$. The White population at the tract level is represented by w_i and the total population at the tract level is represented by t_i . In this county, Whites are 65% of the population (705/1085). Whites have an isolation score of .76 meaning that 76% of the White population in the county live with people racially similar to themselves.

Table 3: Example for calculating White Isolation Index of Residential Segregation

$$I = \sum (w_i / W) \times (w_i / t_i)$$

County Z			
Tract #	w_i	t_i	$w_i / W * w_i / t_i$
1	90	100	0.12
2	100	150	0.10
3	30	50	0.03
4	45	45	0.06
5	40	60	0.04
6	60	80	0.06
7	170	190	0.22
8	130	200	0.12

⁶ Farley, Reynolds. Population Studies University of Michigan. *Racial Residential Segregation Measurement Project* <<http://enceladus.isr.umich.edu/race/calculate.html>>

9	20	100	0.01
10	20	110	0.01
Σ	705	1085	0.76

Dissimilarity Index

Second, the dissimilarity index, a common measure for residential segregation, reflects how balanced the population distribution is between two groups. The measure is based on achieving a balance between two groups per tract level. It is *not* based on achieving a 50-50 ratio per tract and will not indicate which group needs to move. The dissimilarity index reflects the proportion of the composite population that needs to redistribute so that the groups are evenly distributed across tracts (Fisher et al. 2004). A score of zero represents complete empirical balance and a score of one means that the tracts are highly uneven within each group. Keep in mind that counties with one tract can attain a dissimilarity score of zero because it is homogenous and no groups need to be shifted.

Dissimilarity is calculated using the following equation:

$$D = \left(\frac{1}{2}\right) \Sigma(|w_i / W - m_i / M|)$$

The total population at the tract level is represented by t_i , the White population at the tract level is represented by w_i , W represents the entire White population in the given county, M represents the entire minority population in the given county, and m_i represents the Minority population at the tract level. Table 4 represents fourteen tracts in one county with a total county population of $T = 64,405$, a total county White population of $W = 54,261$, and a total county Minority population of $M = 10,157$. In this county, Whites are 84% of the population ($54,261/64,405$) and Minorities are 16% of the population ($10,157/64,405$). This county has a high dissimilarity score of 0.93 meaning that the tract level distribution between the two groups is highly uneven. In other words, 94% of the county population needs to be redistributed to balance the tracts.

Table 4: Example for calculating Dissimilarity Index of Residential Segregation

$$D = \left(\frac{1}{2}\right) \sum (|w_i / W - m_i / M|)$$

Tract #	Total	White	Minority	w_i / W	m_i / M	absolute difference	Previous column multiplied by (.5)
1	1718	1707	0	0.03	0.00	0.03	0.02
2	10335	712	9616	0.01	0.95	0.93	0.47
3	1551	1530	49	0.03	0.00	0.02	0.01
4	2225	2219	4	0.04	0.00	0.04	0.02
5	2768	2751	3	0.05	0.00	0.05	0.03
6	3112	3095	16	0.06	0.00	0.06	0.03
7	5006	4988	23	0.09	0.00	0.09	0.04
8	2677	2618	58	0.05	0.01	0.04	0.02
9	3994	3979	0	0.07	0.00	0.07	0.04
10	5013	5000	8	0.09	0.00	0.09	0.05
11	6211	6117	95	0.11	0.01	0.10	0.05
12	5857	5708	151	0.11	0.01	0.09	0.05
13	10410	10366	79	0.19	0.01	0.18	0.09

14	3528	3471	55	0.06	0.01	0.06	0.03
Σ	64,405	54,261	10,157				0.93

*There are rounding errors in the table simply because the values are written to the tenth place for visualization purposes.

Using the same data from Table 3, the dissimilarity score for that data is .40 (see Table 4a).

Table 4a: Dissimilarity Example

Tract #	Total	White	Minority	w_i / W	m_i / M	absolute difference	Previous column multiplied by (.5)
1	100	10	90	0.03	0.13	0.10	0.05
2	150	50	100	0.13	0.14	0.01	0.01
3	50	20	30	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.01
4	45	0	45	0.00	0.06	0.06	0.03
5	60	20	40	0.05	0.06	0.00	0.00
6	80	20	60	0.05	0.09	0.03	0.02
7	190	20	170	0.05	0.24	0.19	0.09
8	200	70	130	0.18	0.18	0.00	0.00
9	100	80	20	0.21	0.03	0.18	0.09
10	110	90	20	0.24	0.03	0.21	0.10
Σ	1085	380	705				0.40

In this last example for calculating dissimilarity, the minority population is the majority of the population in the county (65%). The county has a dissimilarity score of zero because both groups are evenly balanced across the counties tract (Table 4b). 0% of the population needs to be redistributed since the tracts are already balanced based on the given population.

Table 4b: Dissimilarity Example

Tract #	Total	White	Minority	w_i / W	m_i / M	absolute difference	Previous column multiplied by (.5)
1	108	38	70	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00
2	108	38	70	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00
3	108	38	70	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00
4	108	38	70	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00
5	108	38	70	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00
6	108	38	70	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00
7	108	38	70	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00
8	108	38	70	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00
9	108	38	70	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00
10	108	38	70	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00
Σ	1080	380	700				0.00

Exposure (Interaction) Index

Third, the exposure index (also known as the interaction index) measures the percent your reference group will be exposed to a second group. For this research, in an average White tract for a given county, what is the average percent Black in a given White tract i.e. what is the White-Black exposure? For the exposure index it is important to specify the reference group. For example, our reference group can also be racial Blacks and this would then be a Black-White exposure index.

Exposure is calculated using the following equation: $E_{wb} = \Sigma (w_i / W) \times (b_i / t_i)$ where W =total white population in the county, w_i =white population at the tract level, b_i = total Black population at the tract level, t_i =the population at the tract level.

Table 5: Example for calculating the White-Black Interaction Index of Residential Segregation

$$E_{wb} = \sum (w_i / W) \times (b_i / t_i)$$

Tract #	Total	White	Black	All other Minority	Minority total	w_i / W	b_i / t_i	$(w_i / W) \times (b_i / t_i)$
1	100	10	10	80	90	0.03	0.10	0.00
2	150	50	20	80	100	0.13	0.13	0.02
3	50	20	30	0	30	0.05	0.60	0.03
4	45	0	40	5	45	0.00	0.89	0.00
5	60	20	40	0	40	0.05	0.67	0.04
6	80	20	30	30	60	0.05	0.38	0.02
7	190	20	20	150	170	0.05	0.11	0.01
8	200	70	10	120	130	0.18	0.05	0.01
9	100	80	5	15	20	0.21	0.05	0.01
10	110	90	5	15	20	0.24	0.05	0.01
Σ	1085	380	210	495	705			0.14
	100%	35%	19%	46%	65%			

Carrying over the data from Table 4a to Table 5 and adding detail to the minority population distribution, we can interpret Table 5 to read: the White-Black exposure score is .14. In other words, in an average White tract, Blacks are, on average, 14% of the population. In the example in Table 5a, the Black population is evenly distributed across tracts, but it is still the same percent composition of the total population. In Table 5a, the White-Black exposure is now 0.19. This can be interpreted as follows: in an average White (tract) neighborhood, Blacks are, on average, 19% of the (tract) neighborhood population. Now, the interaction index coincides with the percent of the given Black population: in the majority minority county example, the Black population is also 19% of the total population.

Table 5a: Interaction Example

Tract #	Total	White	Black	All other Minority	Minority total	w_i / W	b_i / t_i	$(w_i / W) \times (b_i / t_i)$
1	100	10	21	69	90	0.03	0.21	0.01
2	150	50	21	79	100	0.13	0.14	0.02
3	50	20	21	9	30	0.05	0.42	0.02
4	45	0	21	24	45	0.00	0.47	0.00
5	60	20	21	19	40	0.05	0.35	0.02
6	80	20	21	39	60	0.05	0.26	0.01
7	190	20	22	148	170	0.05	0.12	0.01
8	200	70	22	108	130	0.18	0.11	0.02
9	100	80	20	0	20	0.21	0.20	0.04
10	110	90	20	0	20	0.24	0.18	0.04
	1085	380	210	495	705			0.19
	100%	35%	19%	46%	65%			

Entropy

Fourth, I calculate an entropy score for the county. Similar to the dissimilarity index, the entropy measures the evenness across groups. Rather than being limited to two groups, the entropy score can account for as many groups as needed (Iceland 2004B). A higher value indicates that all groups have equal representation and the highest value for entropy with eight groups is .903, which reflects the value of the $\log_8 8$. Likewise $100/8=12.5$ so each group should comprise about 12.5% of the population. This measure is more indicative of diversity and not integration.

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Entropy} = & \Sigma ((\% \text{ White} * \log_8(\% \text{ White})) + (\% \text{ Black} * \log_8(\% \text{ Black})) + \\
 & (\% \text{ American Indian or Alaskan Native} * \\
 & \log_8(\% \text{ American Indian or Alaskan Native})) + (\% \text{ Asian} * \log_8(\% \text{ Asian})) + \\
 & (\% \text{ Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander} * \\
 & \log_8(\% \text{ Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander})) + (\% \text{ Other} * \\
 & \log_8(\% \text{ Other})) + (\% \text{ Two or More Races} * \log_8(\% \text{ Two or More Races})) + \\
 & (\% \text{ Latino} * \log_8(\% \text{ Latino})))
 \end{aligned}$$

Table 6: Example for calculating an Entropy Index of Residential Segregation

Group	Racial Category	Population	(A) Percent of Population	(B) log of A	A*B
1	Black	10	0.125	-0.903	-0.113
2	Native American Native Alaskan	10	0.125	-0.903	-0.113
3	Asian	10	0.125	-0.903	-0.113
4	Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander	10	0.125	-0.903	-0.113
5	Other	10	0.125	-0.903	-0.113
6	Two or More Races	10	0.125	-0.903	-0.113
7	Latino	10	0.125	-0.903	-0.113
8	White	10	0.125	-0.903	-0.113
	Σ	80			-0.903

Table 6 uses the eight single US census racial categories. All groups, except for Latino, are not of Latino or Hispanic ethnicity. When the population is evenly distributed across each racial category, the entropy value is -.903 (Table 6).

Table 6a: Entropy Example

Group	Racial Category	Population	(A) Percent of Population	(B) log of A	A*B
1	Black	0.001	3.3E-05	-4.477	0.000
2	Native American Native Alaskan	0.001	3.3E-05	-4.477	0.000
3	Asian	0.001	3.3E-05	-4.477	0.000
4	Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander	0.001	3.3E-05	-4.477	0.000
5	Other	0.001	3.3E-05	-4.477	0.000
6	Two or More Races	0.001	3.3E-05	-4.477	0.000
7	Latino	0.001	3.3E-05	-4.477	0.000
8	White	30	1.000	0.000	0.000
	SUM	30.007			-0.001

In the example in table 6a, when the racial groups are uneven and there is only one racial group present in the county, the entropy value is 0. Because you cannot log 0, a value of .0001 was added to racial groups with a value of 0.

Segregation Coding Interpretation

Entropy was the only segregation measure not coded 0-1. As entropy is closer to 0, this means that the population is more uneven. As entropy is closer to -1, this means the population is closer to balance: all racial groups have an equal proportion in the population. The entropy measure is based on a basic demographic composition as opposed to Theil's H.

The White isolation measure is coded as 0=even and 1=uneven (Whites are more likely to live amongst themselves). The White-Black dissimilarity measure is coded as 0=even and 1=uneven (most of the population needs to move in order to balance each tract). The White-Black interaction index is coded as 0=White majority in a tract (there is a no Black population in the average White neighborhood) and 1=Black majority in an average White tract.

Social Inequality Indicators

My social inequality indicators are gathered from the US census⁷ using Social Explorer. I utilize the county household gini index, a poverty ratio of Whites to Minorities, the percent of households without spending capital, and the percent unemployment. The level two predictors capture proxies of the social context which

⁷ The 2000 data was gathered using the decennial census. Due to the changed method in which the census was gathered from 2010, I used the 2008-2012 American community survey. Data for the 2010 census is now prone to large errors.

can be overlooked by our perception of social inequality. Rather than providing structural explanations during periods of economic difficulties, it is more common to individualized societal problems by blaming a group (Hogan et. al. 2005). (Tables 3 and 4 provide summary statistics for the data.) These predictors are expected to have a negative outcome on racial tolerance: the greater the inequality, the lower the racial tolerance in an area.

One indicator of social inequality is the gini index. The gini index reflects the income distribution among the poorest and richest households. The household gini index ranges from 0-1 with zero representing that each class quintile has an equal share of the (e.g.) nation's income. One represents high unequal income distribution in the given geographic area where one household or one quintile has the entire nation's income. The gini index helps assess (unequal) income distribution in a county; this helps addresses an overlooked economic context that is not always visible to individuals.

The poverty ratio is calculated by dividing the percent of minorities in poverty to that of whites in poverty. The value is then logged so a positive number represents a larger proportion of minorities in poverty as compared to whites and a negative number represents that more whites are in poverty as compared to minorities. This predictor reflects the group threat theory which, in part, is premised on a visible explanation for inequality (i.e .blaming minorities for the economic problems in an area) by reinforcing racial stereotypes.

The percent of households with no savings or dividends is a wealth indicator. Wealth is a difficult measure to acquire and is known to provide more accurate depiction of inequality as opposed to income (Piketty 2014).

Moments of racial strife are exacerbated when there is high unemployment (Sugrue 1996). For counties with a higher number of people unemployed, it is predicted that racial tolerance will be lower.

Respondents' Characteristics

I utilize characteristics that are commonly reported to be more indicative of individual tolerance. Mobility accounts for whether a respondent lived in a different city or state after the age of sixteen. Mobility indicates that if a person moved around then they have experiences for acclimating to new people and new environments. In addition, mobility allows an individual to compare and contrast their personal lives with past and current experiences (Bell and Braun 2010). Mobility is coded as a binary variable: one represents that the person stayed in the same city and two represents that the person either moved to different city or state. In 2000, 60% of respondents were mobile and in 2010, 63% of the population was mobile.

Education is also coded into an ordinal range from 1-4: one represents only primary education, two represents high school, three represents some college and college, four represents post graduate education. The more educated a person, the more likely a person is racially tolerant. In 2000, 54% of the population had some college education or more, and in 2010, 57% had some higher education or more.

The higher an individual's family income, the more conservative their racial attitudes will become. This predictor is based on the idea that people with high income tend to adopt a meritocracy ideology. A respondent's family income was coded into an ordinal range from 1-3: one represents poor or working income family with \$34,000 or less, two represents middle income family from \$35k-\$74k, and three represents high income family from \$75k-\$150k or more.

Age reflects the idea that older adults usually hold more conservative racial sentiments. Age range ranges from 18-89 with mean age of 46 for 2000 and mean age of 50 in 2010. Age is coded into a categorical variable to represent a ten year change in age with the exception of age 0, e.g. age 0 indicates ages 18-19, age one represents ages 20-29, and age two represents 30-39.

Social Demographic Indicators

According to Wirth (1938), population density, population size, and diversity within urban areas provide a context for promoting tolerant attitudes. I control for the urban context by including population per square mile, percent urban, and the logged total population. Instead, I include the county change in the White population over a twenty year period. I calculate the log of the population in the latest year over the population in the earlier year: a positive number represents an increase in the White population and a negative number represents a decrease. Similar to individual mobility, the rate of change in the population helps assess if the county is experiencing population growth as a result of more Whites moving into an area. I include the percent foreign which includes both naturalized and non-citizens.

Percent foreign-born can have a positive effect on white racial attitudes (Berg 2009).

Conclusion

Chapter three includes the general model organization description. In addition, all variables tested did not have significant results, but were important in testing traditional measures of inequality and demographic descriptors that account for diversity and contact. Insignificant variables tested were dropped in the parsimonious models, but did not shift direction or significance of the variables in the final models. The name of the variables were kept to show transparency in the model building, although they did not offer predictive strength for this particular study.

As noted from the variable selection, this research does not address class distinctions among racial Whites nor other intersectional identities for the racial White population via quantitative analysis. Future research should also consider minority racial attitudes as impacted by segregation and social inequality. Ideally, stronger proxies for contact would also be used such as workplace racial composition, primary or secondary school racial composition, and other institutions' racial composition were interaction is repeated.

CHAPTER III

SUBSTANTATIVE APPLICATION I:

REINVIGORATING THE CONTACT HYPOTHESIS:

WHITE RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES ON RACE

Introduction

There is the colloquial argument that if one lives in a large, diverse city, then one is more likely to be open-minded. In part, this is based on the idea that one can encounter individuals racially different from oneself. The purpose of diversity is to challenge one's own prejudices and begin re-shaping them. Then again, individuals living in a city can still be isolated from others due to social class, de facto spatial segregation, and homophily. Even in diverse cities, structural inequalities can impair the positive aspects of diversity and reinforce negative stereotypes. While experiencing diversity can alleviate prejudices, structural inequalities can instill prejudices.

Continuing this perspective, integration is not always associated with social cohesion; rather, integration can present constant struggles. DuBois (1903) opposed integration because its premises on assimilation meant that African Americans would not gain legal rights equal to those of Whites. Following this theory, during the desegregation movement of the 1950s, not all African Americans supported integration. As Cheney (2011) demonstrates, integration where school resources were readily available harmed employment opportunities for Black teachers. Hence,

there is an importance of racial and ethnic space as a means to battle discriminatory practices. The authors are not advocating segregation—which was a legal means of discrimination. The authors argue that integration without structural equality and means of self-determination were not an adequate solution against segregation.

We can also lose the benefits of integration if we fail to understand our own prejudices. In a case study, Fine (1979) examined the Dubois county located in southern Indiana that had a considerable history of overt racism. There was a settlement where Black individuals resided near the city of Ferdinand, a city which did not have the conservative characteristics of other cities in Indiana. In their qualitative study, the author found that the appearance of tolerance was actually superficial tolerance. Blacks were accepted only if they assimilated to the norms of Whites. The author also found that the further White individuals lived from Ferdinand, the more visceral were the racial comments in the editorials. Fine (1979) supports the contact hypothesis in that it demonstrates how prejudices are reduced relative to geographic distance. Nonetheless, this did not necessarily entail inter-group cohesion due to preference for assimilated African-Americans. In order to benefit from integration, there must be an individual and systematic comprehension of race.

For this chapter, my assumption is that proximity to different racial groups increases chances for meaningful and multiple interactions with other racial groups. Just as importantly, social context promotes or inhibits the benefits of contact. I test the contact theory using residential segregation indices. I include county

characteristics to capture the social context that underscores group-threat theory. My research seeks to test the intergroup contact theory and the group-threat theory since both discuss how racial composition affects racial attitudes. The paper tests the theories by exploring the relationship between individual-level racial attitudes and their geographic context. This analysis is guided by the following question: What is the relationship between individual-level racial attitudes and the geographic context in which people live?

Intergroup Contact, Group Threat, & Cultural Theory

In Social Psychology, there are three dominant theories explaining how integration and segregation affect racial attitudes: intergroup contact hypothesis, group-threat theory, cultural theory. Contact theory argues that encounters with minorities decreases racist attitudes for Whites (Allport 1954). Group-threat theory argues that the visibility of large minority populations increases racist attitudes (Blalock 1967). Cultural theory argues that contact alone cannot alleviate racist attitudes due to the embedded racial ideology in the United States (Sears 1988).

Interestingly, contact, group-threat, and cultural theory are not competing theories. *All* theories recognize that contact alone cannot alleviate prejudices. The intergroup contact theory recognizes that *positive* interactions (dependent on status and context) increase racial tolerance (Allport 1954) while negative interactions reinforce stereotypes. Group-threat theory is premised on reinforced stereotypes that minorities drain the social welfare system and thus a large percentage of minorities in an area are viewed as a threat to economic stability (Blumer 1958). In

turn, a small presence represents no threat resulting in racial tolerance via absence of the minority population. If a small minority presence does feel threatening, then we also see support for cultural theory. Group-threat theory and cultural theory together purport evidence of traditional racist sentiments.

There is also the possibility for both contact theory and cultural theory to simultaneously exist. One can have willing contact with individuals of different races, but not support measures for structural equality. For example, one can use their interracial friendships as anecdotal evidence of a racial tolerance, but can also have strong anti-affirmative action sentiments or strong sentiments for conservative economic policy. One possibility of the group-threat hypothesis—in tandem to cultural theory—demonstrates that a negative context creates a negative interaction for contact.

There are theories closely related to contact and group threat that are centered more within urban sociology and demography. Wirth (1938) argues that urban settings with diverse populations minimize prejudices because they present increased opportunities for meaningful friendships. We could then argue that a large presence of minorities minimizes prejudices.

Aligned with group-threat theory, the tipping point demonstrates that as long as the percentage of Blacks in an area is *below* 50%, Whites are not threatened by the minority population so we would not see patterns of White-flight below this point (Schelling 1971). The literature on residential segregation patterns explores the impact of income on racial residential segregation, barriers and choices of

residential mobility, and segregation by status e.g. educational attainment.¹ Here we see an overlap in the literature between racial attitudes and minority concentration in relation to residential segregation patterns. Evidently, all three theories are more orthogonal than they are in opposition to each other.

General Social Survey, Whites' Racial Attitudes, and Geography

Research utilizing questions on racial perspectives tend to examine White respondents' racial attitudes. When contact theory or geographic effects on attitudes are explored within the General Social Survey (GSS) data, it is typically a dichotomous variable such as msa/non-msa, urban/non-urban, or South/non-South. When assessing racial tolerance in urbanism and region, Tuch (1987) and Schuman et al. (1997) are commonly cited for their GSS racial indexes (Carter et al. 2005, Carter 2010, Taylor 1995, Taylor 1998). Within this research, explorations of racial tolerance have been divided into principle and implementation questions. Principle questions mirror individual-level explanations of racial inequalities whereas implementation questions are on race based and racially tinged social policies. Nonetheless, the literature demonstrates support for all three theories.

Research using the General Social Survey 1970s data supports the contact hypothesis and finds that it does play an influential role in predicting racial attitudes: the further a racially White individual lived from a racially Black individual, the greater the likelihood the White individual held negative attitudes

¹ see Bruch (2014) and Charles (2003) for an overview on residential segregation literature

about Blacks (Robinson 1980). Likewise, if a White individual lived close to a Black individual, then there was a greater likelihood of social contact e.g. having a racially Black person over for dinner. Thus, geographic distance was a predictor of racial tolerance.

Carter et al. (2005) and Carter (2010) explore attitude trends alongside region (south/non-south) and urban (urban/non-urban) geographies. The author explores an index which is mainly comprised of principle questions. The findings reveal that the regional effect is significant, but does not diminish over time; there is also no distinction between urban and non-urban residents. The author finds that Southerners use individual-level reasoning (traditionally identified as principle questions) when explaining racial disparities. This research supports cultural theory as U.S. Southern history has a lasting effect on racial views and corroborated similar research conducted by Carter et al. (2005). In addition, Bobo and Kluegel (1993) focus on 1990 attitudes towards policy, and test if opposition to policy is based on race or based on general lack of support for the policy. They find that there are no regional differences among policies only framed as targeting the economically disadvantaged. The authors do find that regional differences are prevalent with racially targeted policies. Thus regionally, the South always opposes policies explicitly incorporating race.

In regards to exploring data across two-levels of analysis addressing racial attitudes, there are two articles that specifically address racial attitudes using a hierarchical linear model. Taylor (1998) finds support for the group threat

hypothesis: as the proportion of the Black population increases White individuals feel they will lose out on job opportunities to Black individuals. In contrast, these findings did not hold at all for Latinos and Asians. Years of education were significant in minimizing overall negative prejudices for Latinos and Asians. This research also supports cultural theory: the South has a significant effect on increasing negative stereotypes (more so for Latinos but not as much for Asians). In addition, both Taylor (1998) and Bobo and Kluegel (1993) find region was also significant when examining traditional anti-Black (prejudice based on attributing characteristics to race and whites' perception on the prevalence of Blacks' housing and job discrimination).

Dixon and Rosenbaum's (2004) research supports the group-threat and cultural theory hypothesis in that the proportion of Black population increases anti-Black prejudices especially in the South. Interestingly, there was also partial support for the contact hypothesis: anti-Black stereotypes were reduced through school and workplace contact and anti-Latino stereotypes were reduced through community contact. In addition, increase in years of education reduces negative stereotypes of both Blacks and Latinos. While Taylor (1998) found a regional effect for Latinos, Dixon and Rosenbaum's (2004) failed to find this effect because they explored the West as the referenced region for Latinos, not the South.

Research applying a hierarchical linear model and racial attitudes from the GSS use proportions of the minority population and region as their second level contextual predictors (Dixon and Rosenbaum 2004, Taylor1998). I continue this

research by incorporating county segregation and social inequality measures into the second level contextual predictors.

See chapter two regarding methods and data.

Results

The models use racially White respondent data. For the 2000 combined GSS data, there were a total of 6,642 respondents, 79% identified as racially White. For the 2010 combined GSS data, there were a total of 6,041 respondents, 76% identified as racially White. Normally only white Latinos are dropped, but I also dropped the following ethnic categories from the study: China, Japan, Mexico, Philippines, Puerto Rico, India, West Indies, India, Arabic, other Asian. In addition, individuals who did not have a dependent variable were also dropped from the data. This left a total of 5,357 White respondents for 2000 grouped into a total of 201 counties. There were 4,273 white respondents for 2010 in 324 counties. For these models, gender did not have an effect and was not included. Racial Tolerance averaged a value of .5 and in 2010, it averaged a value of .53 with a similar standards deviation. In both decades, the average scores for racial tolerance were not drastic in either direction.

Final Model 2000

$$\text{racial tolerance}_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (\text{edu}_{1ij}) + \beta_2 (\text{age}_{2ij}) + \beta_3 (\text{fam. inc}_{3ij}) + \beta_4 (\text{segregation index}_{4ij}) + \beta_5 (\text{nosavings}_{5ij}) + \beta_6 (\% \text{ racial population}_{6ij}) + \mu_{0j} + e_{0ij}$$

$$\text{L2: } [\mu_{0j}] \sim N(0, \sigma_{\mu_0}^2)$$

$$\text{L1: } [e_{0ij}] \sim N(0, \sigma_{e_0}^2)$$

Final Model 2010

$$\begin{aligned} \text{racial tolerance}_{ij} = & \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{mobility}_{1ij}) + \beta_2(\text{edu}_{2ij}) + \beta_3(\text{age}_{3ij}) + \\ & \beta_4(\text{fam.inc}_{4ij}) + \\ & \beta_5(\text{segregation index}_{5ij}) + \beta_6(\text{nosavings}_{6ij}) + \\ & \beta_7 (\% \text{ racial population}_{7ij}) + \mu_{0j} + e_{0ij} \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{L2: } [\mu_{0j}] \sim N(0, \sigma_{\mu_0}^2)$$

$$\text{L1: } [e_{0ij}] \sim N(0, \sigma_{e_0}^2)$$

Model Organization

The parameters of interest are the beta coefficients and the segregation measure coefficients are of particular interest. If the segregation coefficients are significant, then residential segregation contributes to individual perceptions of race. The null models demonstrate the effect of each segregation measure. The final models have two segregation measures: one to account for exposure and one to account for evenness of the population. For the data, I also begin with the null models to assess the initial variation at the county level. The results table incorporates the segregation measures to assess the general relation between my main predictor of interest and the variation it explains at the county level. The results' tables begin with the racial percent of Blacks and Whites. Model three incorporates isolation and population White as the main predictors of interest. This demonstrates the effect of one segregation predictor. Models four through six capture the effect of at least one exposure index and one evenness index in the models. All listed social inequality and social demographic indicators were tested. Only the variables with consistent results are shown in the results tables.

Findings

For these models, the inter class coefficient (ICC) and the variance parameter coefficient (VPC) have the same value since we are interested in the county level variance parameters. The VPC indicates what percent of the total variation is attributable to county level variation. For 2000, the null model VPC ranges from 3.8% to 4.1% and in 2010 the null model VPC ranges from 2.8% to 3.2%. The variation attributed at the county level is higher in 2000 compared to 2010.

Level One: Respondent Characteristics

In both periods, about 60% of the population had lived in a different city or different state after they were 16 years old (61% in 2000 and 62% in 2010). Surprisingly, mobility only had a positive effect in 2010 and not in 2000; mobility increases racial tolerance by about 1%.

As individuals increase their educational attainment, their racial tolerance increases. Education was in the expected direction, but only post-graduate education had a significant and positive effect; post graduate education increases racial tolerance by about 9% in both decades.

In 2010, age also demonstrated to decrease racial tolerance by about 10% for every 10 year increase in age. Between ages 40-80 racial tolerance decreases by about 12% to 13% per every decade change in age. For 80-89 years old, racial tolerance decreases by 15%. Interestingly, in 2000 age has a negative, significant effect after the age of 60 where racial tolerance decreases from 8% to 10% per

every 10 year increase in age. In 2000 the effect of age is less and not consistent per every 10 year increase in age as compared to 2010 where every increase has a negative significant effect.

Increases in income range also decreases racial tolerance, but this effect was slightly larger in 2010 than in 2000. In 2010, racial tolerance decreases by about 3% per every increase in the income range. In 2000, racial tolerance decreases by 1% and 2% per the same income range. The effects are small, but overall increases income ranges slightly decrease racial tolerance.

Level Two: Predictors

If we look at the null models, isolation has the expected negative (significant) effect on racial tolerance, but the other significant measure, Entropy, has the opposite expected effect. For Entropy, we would expect that as the numbers become more even i.e. as each group has the same number of individuals, then composition balance would increase racial tolerance. Dissimilarity and interaction do not have a significant effect in the null models.

Looking at models one and two from the results table, as the percent White increases, racial tolerance decreases by 10% and 8% respectively. In model two, the percent Black does not have a significant effect. These basic models counter Taylor's (1990) findings which support the idea that larger percent Black demonstrates support for the group-threat hypothesis. In contrast, in these models, percent White

is a stronger demographic predictor. In turn, the models align with Taylor's findings in that racial composition is a stronger predictor than racial segregation.

In models 3 of the results tables, isolation is not a strong predictor of racial attitudes. First, I would expect that isolation would decrease racial tolerance, but in all models isolation has a positive effect on racial tolerance. When controlling for racial population, percent White is a stronger predictor than the segregation measure. Models 3 and models 4 demonstrate that racial composition irrespective of segregation is more telling of racial tolerance.

In 2000, final models 5-7, demonstrate that segregation does have an effect on racial tolerance, but the expected direction of the measures is opposite of the contact theory's prediction.

In 2000, model 5, White isolation has a positive effect on racial tolerance and dissimilarity between White and Blacks has a negative effect on racial tolerance. Isolation increases racial tolerance by 28% and dissimilarity decreases racial tolerance by 10%. In 2010, model 5, we see the same effect for isolation, but not for dissimilarity (non-significant). In both periods, percent White also held a negative effect in model five.

In 2000, model 6, both dissimilarity and White-Black interaction have a negative effect on racial tolerance. Interaction decreases racial tolerance by 42% and dissimilarity decreases racial tolerance by 11%. In 2010, interaction decreases racial tolerance by 49%, but dissimilarity is non-significant. In both periods, percent Black also held a positive effect in model six.

In 2000 and 2010, model 7 had similar results, again contrary to expectation. White-Black interaction decreased racial tolerance by 31% and 43% and Entropy decreased racial tolerance by 6% and 4% in 2000 and 2010 respectively. In 2010, percent Black also held a positive effect, but not in 2000.

Surprisingly, most of the social demographic indicators did not correlate with the segregation measures for either decade, except for racial population percent. The common demographic county predictors that we associate with diversity did not correlate with the racial tolerance measure. For example, previous studies show that we usually expect to find urban significant. Specific to this study, the results demonstrate that the concept of urbanicity is better explained by racial composition, segregation, and social inequality indicators. This study helps add an additional dimensions to the idea of urbanicity: when necessary, what is associated with urban may be better explained by detailing its context.

The social inequality indicator that was consistent in 2000 and 2010 was the percent of households with no savings or dividends. County areas with low percent of no wealth had lower racial tolerance for both periods. Used as a proxy for lack of wealth, this effect indicates that social inequality can inhibit racial tolerance. This finding also confirms that wealth and not income is a stronger proxy of inequality. Accordingly, the gini index, also based on income, was not significant in either decade. The income gap between the poorest and richest households is not a strong predictor for racial tolerance. Second, while a respondent's family income is

significant, wealth has a significantly larger negative effect on attitudes. The county cumulative effect in lack of wealth is a strong predictor for low racial tolerance.

Conclusion

In both time periods, the findings demonstrate support for the group threat hypothesis and for the contact theory. I predicted that counties which were integrated (high contact meaning low segregation) and areas that had low social inequality, would have high racial tolerance. Correspondingly, we find that in the strongest models (model 6 in 2000 and model7 in 2010), it is the percent Black and measures of evenness (dissimilarity and entropy) that support the contact. The percent Black, usually used to support the group threat hypothesis, had a positive effect on Whites' racial attitudes.

Likewise, as the percent White increases, racial tolerance decreases. In other words as the racial minority population increases in a county, racial tolerance will also increase. We can conceptualize percent White as a juxtaposition to a diversity measure, not to be interpreted as a natural characteristic of Whites. In addition, segregation as measured among the dissimilarity between the White-Black population also had the predicted effect: as segregation (dissimilarity) increased, racial tolerance decreased.

Moreover, the entropy measure (in model 7, both years), which accounted for all racial groups in the county, demonstrated that racial tolerance decreased as entropy also decreased (as a county became less racially balanced).

Contrary to prediction, segregation measures of exposure (interaction) had a negative effect on Whites' racial attitudes.

The strongest model in 2000, model 6, demonstrates an interesting story between the dissimilarity and interaction index. . (In 2010, model 6 also had similar results, but the Black-White dissimilarity segregation measure was non-significant). Using a positive interpretation, the conditions demonstrate that a large Black population, with a population distribution between Blacks and Whites that are approaching evenness, yet with low levels of racial Black individuals living amongst racial White individuals, and low levels of wealth inequality, then we will see high levels of racial tolerance.

The strongest model in 2010 is model 7. (In 2000, model 7 also had similar results, but the population Black was non-significant). Using a positive interpretation, the conditions demonstrate that a large Black population, with low levels of racially Black individuals living amongst racially White individuals, with even population distribution among all eight racial groups, and low levels of wealth inequality, then we will see high levels of racial tolerance.

The strong models demonstrate that population composition and segregation patterns affect racial attitudes. Large minority populations attenuate racial attitudes; in this regard, we do see support for the contact hypothesis. Diversity matters, but it does not align with physical integration. As a result, the exposure (interaction) segregation measures in the strong models counters the contact-hypothesis and demonstrates support for the group-threat hypothesis.

2000 Summary Statistics							
Table 7							
	N	mean	sd	min	max	coding	
Level2: County Level Measures							
<i>Segregation Measures</i>							
Isolation (White)	5,357	0.81	0.12	0.45	0.98		
Dissimilarity (White:Black)	5,357	0.50	0.16	0.10	0.86		
Interaction (White:Black)	5,357	0.07	0.07	0.00	0.45		
Entropy (8 racial groups)	5,357	-0.74	0.33	-1.54	-0.14		
<i>Social Demographic Indicators</i>							
population density per square mile	5,357	1,548	5,159	5	66,940		
percent urban	5,357	75%	26%	0%	100%		
percent foreign	5,357	9%	9%	0%	46%		
percent Black	5,357	10%	12%	0%	67%		
percent White	5,357	75%	18%	15%	98%		
20 year change in White population	5,357	0.09	0.24	-0.72	1.06		
2000 total population (logged)	5,357	12.45	1.53	8.87	16.07		
<i>Social Inequality Indicators</i>							
household gini index	5,357	0.44	0.03	0.36	0.59		
ratio of Black Poverty to White Poverty	5,357	0.88	1.20	-7.03	1.97		
percent with no savings or dividends	5,357	63%	8%	30%	84%		
percent unemployed	5,357	6%	2%	2%	14%		
Level 1: Respondent's Characteristics							
mobility: lived in different city or state	5,337	1.61	0.49	1	2	1 = same city	2 = lived in different city or state after age 16
Educational Attainment	5,339	2.63	0.77	1	4	1 = Primary 2 = H.S.	3 = College 4 = Post grad
family income in 1998	4,721	1.73	0.76	1	3	1 = \$0-\$34.9 K 2 = \$35-\$74.9 K	3 = \$75-\$150 K+
Age	5,343	3.31	1.76	0	7	0 = 18, 19 1 = 20-29	3 = 40-49 7 = 80-89
<i>Dependent Variable</i>							
Racial Tolerance	5,357	0.49	0.19	0.00	1.00		
Multilevel Structure							
total # of individuals	5357						
total # of counties	201						
average # counties per cluster	27						
min # individuals per county	1						
max # individuals per county	104						

Mobile16	Frequency	Percent
.	20	0.4%
samecity	2,071	38.7%
mobile	3,266	61.0%
Total	5,357	100%

Family Income 98	Frequency	Percent
.	636	11.9%
>34k poor/working	2,149	40.1%
35-74kmiddle	1,678	31.3%
75-150k+upper	894	16.7%
Total	5,357	100%

Age	Frequency	Percent
.	14	0.3%
18-19	64	1.2%
20-29	824	15.4%
30-39	1117	20.9%
40-49	1139	21.3%
50-59	835	15.6%
60-69	579	10.8%
70-79	511	9.5%
80-89	274	5.1%
Total	5,357	100%

Education	Frequency	Percent
.	18	0.3%
Primary	274	5.1%
H.S.	2,110	39.4%
College	2,276	42.5%
Post-grad	679	12.7%
Total	5,357	100%

2010 Summary Statistics							
Table 8							
	N	mean	sd	min	max	coding	
Level2: County Level Measures							
<i>Segregation Measures</i>							
Isolation (White)	4,273	0.77	0.14	0.21	0.98		
Dissimilarity (White:Black)	4,273	0.45	0.16	0.00	0.84		
Interaction (White:Black)	4,273	0.07	0.08	0.00	0.49		
Entropy (8 racial groups)	4,273	-0.81	0.33	-1.59	-0.13		
<i>Social Demographic Indicators</i>							
population density per square mile	4,273	1,439	5,390	4	69,944		
percent urban	4,273	76%	26%	0%	100%		
percent foreign	4,273	10%	9%	0%	48%		
percent Black	4,273	10%	11%	0%	63%		
percent White	4,273	71%	19%	11%	98%		
20 year change in White population	4,273	0.08	0.24	-0.87	1.14		
2000 total population (logged)	4,273	12.45	1.52	7.61	16.10		
<i>Social Inequality Indicators</i>							
household gini index	4,273	0.45	0.03	0.34	0.60		
ratio of Black Poverty to White Poverty, log	4,273	0.8	1.14	-7.47	2.43		
percent with no savings or dividends	4,273	77%	6%	58%	93%		
percent unemployed	4,273	9%	3%	1%	19%		
Level 1: Respondent's Characteristics							
mobility: lived in different city or state	4,265	1.62	0.48	1	2	1 = same city	2 = lived in different city or state after age 16
Educational Attainment	4,267	2.71	0.77	1	4	1 = Primary 2 = H.S.	3 = College 4 = Post grad
family income in 1998	3,773	1.97	0.82	1	3	1 = \$0-\$34.9 K 2 = \$35-\$74.9 K	3 = \$75-\$150 K+
Age	4,263	3.57	1.77	0	7	0 = 18, 19 1 = 20-29	3 = 40-49 7 = 80-89
<i>Dependent Variable</i>							
Racial Tolerance	4,273	0.53	0.18	0.00	1.00		
Multilevel Structure							
total # of individuals	4273						
total # of counties	324						
average # counties per cluster	13						
min # individuals per county	1						
max # individuals per county	71						

Mobile16	Frequency	Percent
.	8	0.2%
samecity	1,603	37.5%
mobile	2,662	62.3%
Total	4,273	100%

Family Income 06	Frequency	Percent
.	500	11.7%
>34k poor/working	1,331	31.1%
35-74kmiddle	1,220	28.6%
75-150k+upper	1,222	28.6%
Total	4,273	100%

Age	Frequency	Percent
.	10	0.2%
18-19	55	1.3%
20-29	578	13.5%
30-39	686	16.1%
40-49	773	18.1%
50-59	828	19.4%
60-69	693	16.2%
70-79	395	9.2%
80-89	255	6.0%
Total	4,273	100%

Education	Frequency	Percent
.	6	0.1%
Primary	146	3.4%
H.S.	1,616	37.8%
College	1,844	43.2%
Post-grad	661	15.5%
Total	4,273	100%

2000 Null Models				
Table 9				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Dependent Variable=Racial Tolerance				
Level2: County Level Measures				
<i>Segregation Measures</i>				
Isolation (White)	-0.11** (0.04)			
Dissimilarity (White:Black)		-0.01 (0.03)		
Interaction (White:Black)			-0.11 (0.06)	
Entropy (8 racial groups)				-0.05*** (0.01)
<i>Social Demographic Indicators</i>				
population density per square mile				
percent urban				
percent foreign				
percent Black				
percent White				
20 year change in White population				
2000 total population (logged)				
<i>Social Inequality Indicators</i>				
household gini index				
ratio of Black Poverty to White Poverty	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)
percent with no savings or dividends	-0.34*** (0.06)	-0.32*** (0.06)	-0.28*** (0.06)	-0.31*** (0.06)
percent unemployed	0.53* (0.26)	0.79** (0.26)	0.84*** (0.25)	0.46 (0.26)
Level 1: Respondent's Characteristics				
mobility				
lived in different city or state				
educational attainment				
High School	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
College	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Post-Grad	0.09*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
family income in 2006				
35-74kmiddle	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)
75-150k+upper	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)
age				
20-29	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
30-39	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
40-49	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)
50-59	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)
60-69	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)
70-79	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)
80-89	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)
Constant	0.83*** (0.06)	0.70*** (0.05)	0.68*** (0.05)	0.68*** (0.04)
variance Level 2	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
variance Level 1	0.033	0.033	0.033	0.033
ICC	0.038	0.039	0.036	0.036
Observations	4,703	4,703	4,703	4,703
Number of groups	201	201	201	201

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

2010 Null Models				
Table 10				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Dependent Variable=Racial Tolerance				
Level 2: County Level Measures				
<i>Segregation Measures</i>				
Isolation (White)	-0.09** (0.03)			
Dissimilarity (White:Black)		0.03 (0.02)		
Interaction (White:Black)			-0.04 (0.05)	
Entropy (8 racial groups)				-0.03** (0.01)
<i>Social Demographic Indicators</i>				
population density per square mile				
percent urban				
percent foreign				
percent Black				
percent White				
20 year change in White population				
2000 total population (logged)				
<i>Social Inequality Indicators</i>				
household gini index				
ratio of Black Poverty to White Poverty				
percent with no savings or dividends	-0.22*** (0.07)	-0.16* (0.06)	-0.13 (0.07)	-0.18** (0.06)
percent unemployed				
Level 1: Respondent's Characteristics				
mobility				
lived in different city or state	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
educational attainment				
High School	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
College	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Post-Grad	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
family income in 2006				
35-74kmiddle	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)
75-150k+upper	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)
age				
20-29	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)
30-39	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)
40-49	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)
50-59	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)
60-69	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)
70-79	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)
80-89	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)
Constant	0.89*** (0.07)	0.76*** (0.06)	0.75*** (0.06)	0.76*** (0.06)
variance Level 2	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
variance Level 1	0.030	0.030	0.030	0.030
ICC	0.030	0.033	0.033	0.031
Observations	3,758	3,758	3,758	3,758
Number of groups	322	322	322	322

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

2000 Results							
Table 11							
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Dependent Variable=Racial Tolerance							
Level2: County Level Measures							
<i>Segregation Measures</i>							
Isolation (White)			0.06 (0.10)	0.09 (0.12)	0.25 (0.14)		
Dissimilarity (White:Black)					-0.10** (0.04)	-0.11** (0.04)	
Interaction (White:Black)						-0.40** (0.14)	-0.28* (0.13)
Entropy (8 racial groups)				-0.05 (0.03)			-0.06** (0.02)
<i>Social Demographic Indicators</i>							
population density per square mile							
percent urban							
percent foreign							
percent Black		-0.02 (0.04)				0.21* (0.10)	0.08 (0.08)
percent White	-0.09*** (0.03)		-0.13 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.24* (0.11)		
20 year change in White population							
2000 total population (logged)							
<i>Social Inequality Indicators</i>							
household gini index							
ratio of Black Poverty to White Poverty	-0.01 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
percent with no savings or dividends	-0.34*** (0.06)	-0.31*** (0.06)	-0.34*** (0.06)	-0.30*** (0.06)	-0.32*** (0.06)	-0.23*** (0.06)	-0.25*** (0.06)
percent unemployed	0.37 (0.27)	0.82** (0.27)	0.33 (0.28)	0.40 (0.29)	0.41 (0.28)	0.66* (0.26)	0.43 (0.27)
Level 1: Respondent's Characteristics							
mobility							
lived in different city or state							
educational attainment							
High School	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
College	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Post-Grad	0.09*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
family income in 2006							
35-74kmiddle	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)
75-150k+upper	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)
age							
20-29	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
30-39	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
40-49	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)
50-59	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)
60-69	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)
70-79	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)
80-89	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)
Constant	0.81*** (0.05)	0.69*** (0.05)	0.79*** (0.06)	0.64*** (0.12)	0.67*** (0.10)	0.56*** (0.07)	0.67*** (0.08)
variance Level 2							
variance Level 1							
ICC							
Observations	4,703	4,703	4,703	4,703	4,703	4,703	4,703
Number of groups	201	201	201	201	201	201	201

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

2010 Results							
Table 12							
Dependent Variable=Racial Tolerance	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Level2: County Level Measures							
<i>Segregation Measures</i>							
Isolation (White)			0.14 (0.09)	0.12 (0.10)	0.27* (0.12)		
Dissimilarity (White:Black)					-0.05 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.03)	
Interaction (White:Black)						-0.49*** (0.14)	-0.44*** (0.13)
Entropy (8 racial groups)				0.04 (0.03)			-0.04* (0.02)
<i>Social Demographic Indicators</i>							
population density per square mile							
percent urban							
percent foreign							
percent Black		0.03 (0.03)				0.33*** (0.10)	0.24** (0.08)
percent White	-0.08*** (0.02)		-0.17** (0.07)	-0.23** (0.08)	-0.28** (0.10)		
20 year change in White population							
2000 total population (logged)				0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
<i>Social Inequality Indicators</i>							
household gini index							
ratio of Black Poverty to White Poverty							
percent with no savings or dividends	-0.24*** (0.06)	-0.18** (0.07)	-0.23*** (0.06)	-0.28*** (0.07)	-0.25*** (0.07)	-0.12 (0.07)	-0.13 (0.07)
percent unemployed							
Level 1: Respondent's Characteristics							
mobility							
lived in different city or state	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
educational attainment							
High School	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
College	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Post-Grad	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
family income in 2006							
35-74kmiddle	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)
75-150k+upper	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)
age							
20-29	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)
30-39	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)
40-49	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)
50-59	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)
60-69	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)
70-79	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)
80-89	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.15*** (0.03)
Constant	0.88*** (0.07)	0.78*** (0.06)	0.85*** (0.07)	0.96*** (0.11)	0.86*** (0.10)	0.70*** (0.07)	0.76*** (0.08)
variance Level 2	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
variance Level 1	0.030	0.030	0.030	0.030	0.030	0.030	0.030
ICC	0.028	0.033	0.027	0.025	0.025	0.027	0.028
Observations	3,758	3,758	3,758	3,758	3,758	3,758	3,758
Number of groups	322	322	322	322	322	322	322

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

CHAPTER IV

SUBSTANTATIVE APPLICATION II:

COLORBLIND ATTITUDES THROUGH CLASS AND MERITOCRACY

Introduction

This chapter engages another aspect of racial attitudes: colorblind racism. I explore if racial Whites' colorblind attitudes are affected by segregation and social inequality. According to Bonilla-Silva (2001, 2003a, 2003b), colorblind racial ideology is based on the avoidance of racial terms and denies the social structures that reproduce racial inequality. As a result, colorblind came to be seen as a positive racial sentiment. People are drawn to a colorblind racial ideology because it appears neutral and fair. The ideology allows individuals to appear tolerant and rational while taking a covert stance on racial issues. The statement, "I do not see race," is meant to represent an alliance with racial equality. While intentions are well meaning, it is still representative of the difficulty in engaging racial discourse.

The persuasive tone of (racial) colorblindness discretely allows for all racial matters to appear irrelevant. It allows for a justification of a race-positive social position by avoiding racial discourse. At the individual level, if one does not have to consider or care about race, then one does not need to engage tense topics such as racial discrimination. In juxtaposition, there is less anxiety discussing what everyone has in common. This is not necessarily a negative approach, but it becomes the default approach when addressing racial issues. What we all have in

common becomes a means to ignore what we do not have in common—the invisibility of (racial) privilege. Racial discrimination is usually misaddressed as a feeling or slight misunderstanding. It is discredited because there appears to be no objective truth. If individuals are faced with systematic challenges, the solution is to work through them. This approach can work out for some, but then tokenism or model minorities are used to explain away issues of racism in the U.S. (Guinier 1994; Hartlep 2013). These solutions are centered on merit and circumvent racial discourse by addressing racial problems as solely an individual-level occurrence.

As a result of subjugating racism as merely an individual problem, we conflate our privileges as merit (McIntosh 2012). We prevent ourselves from exploring our privilege by misidentifying privileges as our personal character strength and strong moral judgments. Hence, it is difficult to see that structural inequalities are connected to individual privileges when we solely individualize problems (see chapter one). Consequently, meritocracy deemphasizes racial problems and hides the process of structural class inequality; it becomes touted as a colorblind solution to racial inequality.

Colorblind Racism

The theory of colorblind racism has four frameworks: (1) abstract liberalism, (2) naturalization, (3) cultural racism, and the (4) minimization of race (Bonilla-Silva 2003b). It is common for these frames to be used in conjunction with each other to circumvent topics of racism.

Abstract liberalism embraces individualism, universalism, egalitarianism, and meliorism. Abstract liberalism also includes economic liberalism which embraces a sense of choice and political liberalism embraces a sense of equal opportunity for all. This framework allows individuals to appear rational and fair while embracing social inequality.

Naturalization is a framework for arguing that racism is natural occurrence. Explanations about racial inequality are premised on tautologies about social phenomenon. "Things are the way they are." "It just is." These explanations are common when used to describe willing (residential) segregation or willing separateness. If minorities do this too and willingly, then racism cannot be the explanation.

Cultural racism embodies all the elements of overt racism, but replace race with moral righteousness. These claims are sustained through claims of morality, responsibility, honesty, ethics, and hard-work. The claims are neutralized from race and easily lead to racially tinged judgements.

The minimization of racism frame acknowledges and discredits racism at the same time. Because racial discrimination is perceived to not be as punitive or as overtly physical, then racism today is bearable and solvable by the individual. The relative argument, "It's better now than in the past," minorities are hypersensitive to race, or minorities are always using the race card as an excuse become ways to minimize the significance of race.

In addition, the credibility of these frames lies in that they are communicated at *any* level of emotion. The range of emotions to express these frames includes indifference, sympathy, pity, concern, matter-of-fact, entitlement, and disdain. These sentiments are prefaced with long or incoherent explanations about how the individuals see themselves as fair, how they should not be forced to do anything, how their personal accounts absolve them from racism, and how they have progressive notions. In addition, these frames are rarely presented as absolutes which allows distancing of adamant feelings. Instead, examples about minorities are usually discussed with diminutives: a little bit, some, not everyone. These exceptions and abstract storylines become the central argument for the respondents' opinions rather than focusing on the norm of their life experiences.

Meritocracy and Class

Meritocracy was already prevalent before the 1960s and was seen as a solution even during periods of overt racism (Guinier 2015). Right after the Civil War, meritocracy was seen as a viable solution for newly freed Blacks. Dubois (1903:40) criticized Booker T. Washington and Frederick Douglas' support for meritocracy and for not encouraging African Americans to demand their rights as American citizens. President Andrew Johnson claimed freed slaves had gained their rights. DuBois (1903) recognized that African Americans had not attained economic freedom, let alone self-determination. Racial equality appeared complete because freedmen were *seen* as citizens and there were Black members in congress. There was no

enforcement of political power, civil rights, and access to higher education for freed Blacks. While there was the Freedmen's Bureau established to create a representative agency for freed slaves, this was dismantled after a decade (1861-1868)¹ since it was rendered unnecessary and defunded through the military. The main argument for meritocracy was that the freed people could now work and attain an education if they desired.

During a 1946 survey,² roughly half (54%) of the people surveyed supported equal access to employment opportunities. In the same survey, 89% of Whites agreed that Blacks deserve as good an education as Whites. Plessy vs. Ferguson was eliminated ten years later, but this pattern of racial tolerance still permeates today. The idea of a fair outcome appears agreeable, but the challenge remains in attaining that outcome.

As seen in chapter two, if we lessen wealth disparities, then anti-racial sentiments are minimized which is a positive outcome. At the same time, we cannot say if enough people worked hard and most people were employed, racism would not exist. Economic equity will help, but it will not solve racism. Furthermore, addressing class disparities as the only problem limits analysis of social problems.

As Allport (1954) writes:

"Nor is it correct to consider bigotry against even [Blacks] in [U.S.] as a wholly economic phenomenon, though it is here that Cox's argument is strongest. While it seems obvious that many people derive advantage from underpaying [Black] workers

¹ There were also other agencies in place to help freed slaves in the South. Clothes, money, books, and teachers were sent to the South which provided temporary relief. The Bureau was terminated within a decade and the lands became government property that were leased to freedmen.

² Q: Do you think [Blacks] should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job, or do you think white people should have the first chance at any kind of job? (qtd in Allport 1954: 74)

and rationalizing the injustice through theories concerning their “animal nature,” still the theory is more complex. White employees in factories, or white tenant farmers, are simply exploited, but no ritual of discrimination has developed against them. In sociological studies of certain Southern communities, for example, it turns out that on an objective scale of “class,” [Blacks] are no lower than the [W]hites. Their cabins are no smaller, their income is no less, their household facilities are the same. Yet their position socially and psychologically is lower” (205).

In understanding exploitation among Black and White tenant farmers, Allport argues that even when class status is the same among both groups, there are still social and psychological differences that class similarities cannot capture.

This is the tension on the debate between class and race: whether class takes precedence when addressing social policy solutions for economic and racial inequality. While class nor race supersede one another in importance, the tension arises when class differences become supplemented as the main solution to racial discrimination.

In part, Wilson (2012) drew more attention to this debate when he first published (in 1980) with his work’s contentious title, “The Declining Significance of Race.” Wilson’s work examines economic and occupational mobility among the Black population and between Blacks and Whites. Wilson demonstrates that there is a growing Black middle-class and a disproportionate, large Black underclass. Second, his research shows that this class divide among the Black population continues to grow. The author argues that occupational mobility is more empirically significant than race especially in the 1990s as compared to earlier periods.

In Wilson’s (2011) response to critiques about his work, the author argues that the research is not meant to address topics such as environmental racial inequality, capital punishment, and residential segregation inequality. He strictly engages

topics of occupational mobility regarding class and race. Empirical critiques to his work have addressed how (1) despite controlling for class differences, these differences do not address asset differences among race (2) affirmative action programs are needed for educational opportunities even for middle-income students, and (3) in the 1980s, Black males were more likely than White males to experience downward mobility. Wilson (2011) himself adds that there is a lower and decreased rate of return on education for Blacks, “Thus, despite some improvements during the 1990s, by 2007, the income ratio of young Black college-educated males [as compared to White college graduates] was significantly below the ratio of 1977” (62).

Along with the first critique, it can be added that minorities were heavily impacted by the 2008 economic crisis which lowered their net worth comparable to Whites (qtd in Bonilla-Silva 2015). One last critique would add that focusing on income convergence ignores unemployment and underemployment rates—which are higher among non-whites (Bonilla-Silva 2015). In his response piece, Wilson (2011) acknowledges the importance and continual support for policies (both race and class base, which Wilson terms the latter race-neutral policies) that contribute to occupational mobility.

Wilson’s (2011) proposed solution is that the nation needs to create jobs in areas with highest joblessness, both private and public. While this is an important solution, we run into the same problem when addressing racial equality: people can agree this is a solution, but how this will be attained will also pose policy challenges.

In addition, the challenge with race-neutral policies that attempt to address social-welfare problems are that they usually become racially tinged. In compiling findings on Whites' racial attitudes, Bobo and Fox (2003) identify principal politics as based upon race neutral values and ideologies that target fairness or individualism. Principal politics helps explain the phenomenon of Whites increasing support for racial equality and their reluctance in supporting federal policies that would bring about such changes. By linking attitudes to policy preferences, their overview demonstrates that support for principal politics are related in opposition towards racially tinged policies and racially oriented policies (e.g. busing, affirmative action, bilingual education, federal aid, and residential integration).

Meritocracy as Equal Opportunity

Defining Fairness

When addressing remedies for racial discrimination, the consistent challenges are determining what is considered equality, how to measure equality, and how to implement equality of opportunity (for as long as needed). The attempts to remedy racial discrimination always go back to identifying equal opportunity: how do we address racial discrimination by being fair to everyone? The literature on distributive justice took shape in the 1970s to address theoretical approaches on the concept of fairness as a reaction in applying ant-discrimination laws in a race-neutral approach.

Distributive justice examines how the subject perceives the *outcome* of an allocation (as opposed to procedural justice which examines how the subject

perceives the *requirements* which determine the outcome). This research in social psychology has come from studies on organizations (topics include job satisfaction, organizational commitment, evaluation of authority, performance, and withdrawal) (Colquitt et al 2001). Distributive justice is a micro-level approach examining the allocation of resources. These fairness evaluations of reward distributions are commonly debated between equity and equality (Molm et al. 2003). Equality focuses on equal outcomes and equal treatment whereas equity focuses on producing equal outcomes which allows for varying inputs (Moore 1991).

The principles of distributive justice describe how outcomes are allocated (Cook and Hegtvedt 1983). (1) Relative equality states that the outcomes should be proportional to the inputs based on individual's material contributions. (2) Objective equality is based on equal allotted amounts to each recipient. (3) Subjective equality is based on the material needs rule which argues that the well-being of individuals is prioritized in a group. (4) Condition of equilibrium addresses feelings and perceptions of fairness and aligns more with status-value theory (5) Equality of opportunity reflects ideas of retributive and compensatory justice, and is the most difficult to apply due to the complexity in defining opportunity.

Affirmative Action Debate

The arguments for merit and fairness in the colorblind frames replicate the legal arguments presented against affirmative action.

Through the legal cases on affirmative action, there were several arguments against its implementation (Fullinwider 2017). First, if federal laws interfere with

equal opportunity, then reverse discrimination is an inevitable outcome. Affirmative action was seen as reverse discrimination because it perpetuated Jim Crow discrimination: the argument being that we could not remedy discrimination with more discrimination and harm innocent individuals. Second, preferential racial treatment would not work because it would benefit minorities least harmed by past wrongs and would burden White young males least responsible for past wrongs. Hence, rather than applying justice, this would violate rights and reduce merit to race. Third, we could not have a two-class theory of equal protection i.e. the country cannot counter the 14th amendment that 'no person shall be denied equal protection under the law'.

Likewise, through the legal cases on affirmative action, there were several arguments supporting its implementation (Fullinwider 2017). First, affirmative action would begin to address unearned advantages by Whites. In order to create a more just distribution of benefits, these short-run violations are acceptable: the outcomes are of interest to the nation. Second, gender preferences would improve the overall fairness of job selections. Third, the focus should be on structural integration if we want strong future leaders.

Justice Brennan, also on the Bakke case of 1978, addressed Justice Powell's deciding vote and argued we should not compare Jim Crow to Affirmative Action: Bakke would not be treated as a second class citizen, this would not instill pervasive harm, and Whites would not be instilled as an inferior caste (Dworkin 2002). The same rule applied to different circumstances would not always offer the same results. Justice Brennan added there is also the possibility that Bakke would have

probably been denied admission even if these slots did not exist (ibid). Last, we do not sue against sex, age, veterans, ability, or class (poor or working) for reverse discrimination. There are attempts to defund the programs and weaken social programs to address these inequalities, but we do not call them discriminatory.

Equal Opportunity as Loss

The frames of colorblind racism rely on the idea that equality of opportunity has been attained. There is the assumption that we should not be unfair to Whites because attaining equality for minorities will result in an inevitable loss for Whites—it will come at the expense of Whites. Yet, this implies that it can continue to be unfair to minorities—being such that social inequality is simply seen as tough luck. While those with wealth are seen as well deserving despite the history of land accumulation (Yates 2016). Having wealth also implies intelligence: you worked extremely hard to get what you possess (even if you do not exert yourself) (Khan and Jerolmack 2013).

In addition, when there are attempts to mediate racial discrimination, backlash from poor White communities is always imminent (Isenberg 2016). Because there is a conflation of racial privilege as class privilege, poor White communities believe they do not have White racial privilege and that racial privilege is minimized useless due to their class position. It is then perceived that if Whites are economically disadvantaged, then racial discrimination cannot exist or cannot take precedence. As a result, they do not identify with Whites' economic advantage that is attributed to historical inequalities (Lipsitz 1998).

Bonilla-Silva demonstrates that colorblind racism is premised on individualism. The fear of losing is not instilled by equality, but by a capitalistic structure that encourages us to continue material gains. The idea of losing becomes stigmatized. Yet minorities are always pressured to wait, be patient, be understanding, and to concede to bureaucratic norms (premised on White habitus) (Bonilla-Silva 2003a). Obtaining equality will not mean that anyone will lose what they already possess, but the abstract perception of loss is in losing what you *could* possess.

Methods: Part I

The colorblind theory demonstrates that arguments claiming issues of race are in the past are associated with conservative attitudes. To help test this idea, I will use a subset of questions available in this 2008 General Social Survey as proxies of conservative attitudes.

I will use a subset of questions on class differences in the U.S. and questions on support for government social welfare. These questions will be proxies for financial attitudes and attitudes on social welfare. I will also use a set of questions on immigration since these can be racially tinged even though race is not explicitly mentioned in the questions. In order to maintain consistency with question coding, I will code the questions in a positive direction so an increase in a value demonstrates that respondents care about a topic.

*Research Question*³

Are respondents who think that race matters today also likely to agree that government financial welfare is necessary, class divisions are too large, and that immigrants are good for the country?

Hypothesis

Pro government intervention, pro immigration, and anti class conflict attitudes will predict that race is a relevant issue in 2008.

Data

To help us answer the research question, this paper will test the 2008 National Opinion Research Center-General Social Survey (GSS) panel using structural equation modeling (SEM). Models were estimated using Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) in the MPLUS 7.0 program. This analysis is a combination of factor analyses and multiple regression path analyses.

The 2008 GSS panel has questions targeting social inequality attitudes which address several forms of tolerance (e.g. race, class, immigration). There are questions on tolerance, color-blind attitudes, government intervention, and class measures concentrated in the 2008 data. Other years in the decade explore some of these topical modules (2000 has questions on the U.S. multi-ethnic, 2002 has questions on prejudice, 2010 has questions on immigration and gender), but 2008 is

³ This question was recoded: Are colorblind attitudes predicted by with the anti- government intervention, anti-immigration, and pro-class division attitudes?

the only year in for the social inequality topical module and the only year in which color-blind questions were asked.

In the 2008 GSS module, 77% of the sample is classified as racially White. After dropping all racially Black and Other individuals, the sample is 54% female, ages 20-89 (median age is 52), 74% had attended high school with all White or mostly White population, and 55% had more years in school than a high school education (n=1165).

Confirmatory Factor Analysis Model

Table 1 lists the final questions (the indicators) considered for the factors, and Table 2 lists the descriptive information for the factors. The scales⁴ were created using the indicators and are then used as the factors in the hierarchical confirmatory factor analysis model. These factors are labeled exogenous since they are predicted by a set of scores based upon the indicators (the question with its score total). In regards to a confirmatory factor analysis model, all factors are exogenous (Kline 2004). The error terms are independent; this means that the error in one factor is not affected by another factor's score. The constructs that measure the strength of the main factor (F5 anti-Colorblind) are first order factors. The second order factor is the common direct cause of the first order factors. As a result, the correlations among the first-order factors are explained by the second order factor (F5 anti-Colorblind). In other words, the anti-colorblind racial attitudes factor

⁴ See chapter two for a description on the scale construction

is seen as a composite that is caused by external variables (F1-F4). All factors have a referenced variable which allows for a direct effect of the factor on one of its indicators to equal one.

In a CFA model, to test the assumption of normality, one looks at the kurtosis and skewness of the factors. Kurtosis for the observed factors is acceptable at a value up to three and values greater than eight are problematic. Kurtosis affects a model's variances and covariance scores. Skewness for the factors is acceptable when it is close to a value of zero. When the requirements for kurtosis and skewness are met, these values follow the maximum likelihood assumptions of normality. The kurtosis for the factors range from 2.30 to 2.83 which are acceptable values of normality. Factor two violates the skewness assumption. In the best fit model, this factor was dropped due to skewness and because the two indicators, although parsimonious, was not suitable for the model. There was a third indicator for factor two, but while increasing its predictability, actually lowered the loadings. Overall, factor two was not reliable and was dropped from the model.

Table 13		
Structural Equation Modeling: Confirmatory Factor Analysis		
Variable	2008 GSS Questions	
F5	Race	
	ractired	I'm tired of hearing people talk about racial problems in the U.S. today.
	racexcus	For African Americans to succeed they need to stop using racism and slavery as excuses.
	noracism	African Americans do not need any special consideration because racism is a thing of the past.
	racresent	I resent any special considerations that Africans Americans receive because it's unfair to other Americans.

Table 13	
Structural Equation Modeling: Confirmatory Factor Analysis	
Variable	2008 GSS Questions
F1	<p>Immigrants</p> <p>immameco There are different opinions about immigrants from other countries living in America. (By "immigrants" we mean people who come to settle in America.) Immigrants are generally good for America's economy.</p> <p>immcrime There are different opinions about immigrants from other countries living in America. (By "immigrants" we mean people who come to settle in America.) Immigrants increase crime rates.</p> <p>immjobs There are different opinions about immigrants from other countries living in America. (By "immigrants" we mean people who come to settle in America.) Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in America.</p>
F2	<p>Undocumented Immigrants</p> <p>undoccol What about "Undocumented aliens," that is those who have immigrated to this country illegally? Should they be entitled to attend public universities at the same cost as other students, or not? (1) yes (2) no</p> <p>undocwrk What about "Undocumented aliens," that is those who have immigrated to this country illegally? Should illegal immigrants be entitled to work permits, or not? (1) yes (2) no</p>
F3	<p>Government Financial Intervention</p> <p>goveqinc1 It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes</p> <p>helpnot Should government do more or less</p> <p>helppoor Washington should do everything possible to improve the standard of living of all poor Americans; they are at Point 1 on this card. Other people think it is not the government's responsibility, and that each person should take care of himself; they are at Point 5.</p> <p>helpsick In general, some people think that it is the responsibility of the government in Washington to see to it that people have help in paying for doctors and hospital bills. Others think that these matters are not the responsibility of the federal government and that people should take care of these things themselves.</p>

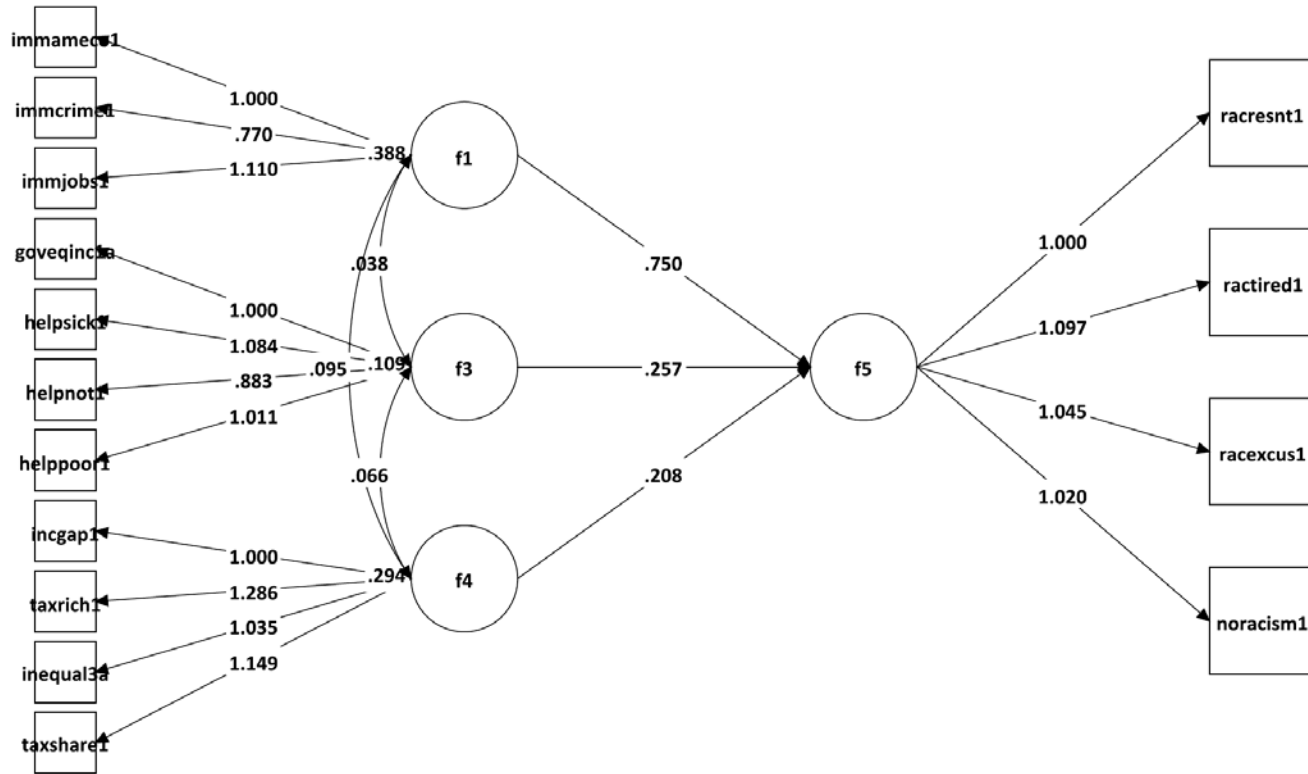
Table 13	
Structural Equation Modeling: Confirmatory Factor Analysis	
Variable	2008 GSS Questions
Class Inequality	
F4	<p>incgap To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Differences in income in America are too large. (Strongly agree, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)</p> <p>taxrich Generally, how would you describe taxes in America today for those with high incomes? Taxes are ... much too high, too high, about right, too low, or much too low</p> <p>inequal3 Inequality continues to exist because it benefits the rich and powerful. (Strongly agree, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)</p> <p>taxshare Do you think people with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes, the same share, or a smaller share? (Much larger share, larger share, same share, smaller share, much lower share)</p>

Table 14
Structural Equation Modeling: General Social Survey 2008 Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Summary Statistics

	factors	eigen value	cronbach's alpha	n	mean	standard deviation	range	kurtosis	skewness	coding
F5	<i>Colorblind Race</i>	2.03	0.78	1161	2.09	0.69	1--4	2.83	0.41	high number = agrees that race does matter
F1	<i>Immigrants</i>	1.33	0.71	1161	3.06	0.83	1--5	2.77	-0.14	higher number = immigrants are good for the economy, do not steal jobs or cause crime, and deny negative stereotypes
F2	<i>Undocumented Immigrants</i>	1.02	0.70	1161	1.26	0.38	1--2	2.30	0.95	high number= undocumented immigrants should be allowed access to higher education and work permits
F3	<i>Government Financial Intervention</i>	2.18	0.81	767	2.82	0.98	1--5	2.35	0.08	higher number=people in favor of government intervention helping poor
F4	<i>Class Inequality</i>	1.45	0.68	1161	3.56	0.70	1--5	2.67	-0.16	high number= believe there is class inequality

Figure 1 Confirmatory Factor Model: 2008 GSS Anti-Colorblind Racial attitudes as predicted by Race-Neutral Attitudes



F5=Race Matters (Anti-Colorblind) racial attitudes factor
 F1= Immigration Attitudes factor
 F3= Government Social Support factor
 F4= Class Inequality factor
 *only significant paths are shown

SEM EFA Model Fit Table 14a	
χ^2 Model Fit	357.072***
CFI	0.928
TLI	0.910
RMSEA	0.053
SRMR	0.046
DF	84

SEM EFA Results Table 14b		
F5 ON	Estimate	Variances
F1	0.75*** ▲ (0.075)	0.388*** ▲ (0.047)
F3	0.257** ▲ (0.118)	0.109*** ▲ (0.025)
F4	0.208** ▲ (0.071)	0.294*** ▲ (0.029)
F4 WITH		
F1	0.095*** ▲ (0.016)	
F3	0.066*** ▲ (0.011)	
F3 WITH		
F1	0.038*** ▲ (0.010)	

note: average results over 10 data sets

Confirmatory Factor Model Results

According to Table 14a, all the test statistics are a good fit: the Chi-Square minimization is non-significant, the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and the Tucker Lewis Index (TLI) is above .95, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) is at .05 (ideally would be below .05), and the standardize root mean square residual (SRMR) is also below .05. The CFI and TLI measure the improvement in model fit from the baseline model to the hypothesized model ranging from 0-1. In addition, TLI can extend outside of numbers greater than one and penalizes complex models. The RMSEA and SRMR can be conceptualized as the “misfit” indices which is why we want low values (Byrne 2011). The model uses multiple imputation to account for the missing items in the government factor three.

The Race Matters (anti-Color-Blind) model is a good fitting model according to the model fit indices. Based on the results, the anti-Color-Blind factor is predicted by Pro-Immigrant Prejudices, Pro-Government Financial Intervention, and Anti-Class Inequality. This model helps corroborate the theory that colorblind attitudes can be predicted by conservative attitudes. In other words, racially White identified individuals who say race is in the past are likely to support meritocracy through class values (i.e. class inequality is normal) and have conservative immigration and conservative government spending on social welfare attitudes.

Methods: Part II

See chapter two regarding methods for a hierarchical linear model. Data will be the same as used in the confirmatory factor model analysis.

Results

In the null models, we see that segregation does not have an effect on the race matters (anti-colorblind) dependent variable. The only item that is consistent is the effect of the percent urban on the dependent variable. This effect carries over into the final models. As previous literature using OLS models has shown, percent urban has a positive effect on racial awareness. Percent White was consistent with the effects presented in chapter three where the percent White decreases the anti-colorblind dependent variable (in models 1 and 4). Increases in educational was also consistent in predicting increases in the anti-colorblind dependent variable. What is interesting is that age was *not* a significant predictor in increasing racial awareness nor was income a consistent predictor. These non-findings are important because it supports the colorblind ideology as the “new racism”. The overt and more traditional forms of racism, as seen in chapter three, are shown through age and income: being older and being in a wealthier class predicts lowered racial tolerance. Thinking that race still matters in 2008 is not predicted by age nor is it easily predicted by income.

Conclusion

Coming across colorblind attitude subset is difficult since the most replicable racial attitudes tend to reflect an overt racial ideology. While the ICC ranges from 2.4% to 3.1% meaning that the variance attributed to contextual variables is low, the final models are still worthwhile. Since the questions asked were a specific module i.e. they were a subset from the main survey only asked that year, the

sample size is acceptable, but not strong—in 2008 the sample is about 1,000 compared to the sample sizes in chapter three which are about 4,000 respondents. The 2008 final models revert back to findings of OLS models that show urban is significant, I would argue, due to a lack power in the model. If the sample were increased, we would probably see the effect of urban disappear and demonstrate findings consistent the social inequality and segregation measures in chapter three. In the 2000 and 2010 study (chapter three), the average racial tolerance was split down the middle (0.5) whereas the average for 2008 anti-Colorblind racial attitude is only about one third (0.3). Although Obama ran for election in 2008, we did not see a moderate increase in the average racial attitudes in 2010.

2008 Summary Statistics						
Table 15						
	N	mean	sd	min	max	coding
Level2: County Level Measures						
<i>Segregation Measures</i>						
Isolation	1,162	0.77	0.14	0.21	0.98	
Dissimilarity (White:Black)	1,162	0.45	0.16	0.00	0.84	
Interaction (White:Black)	1,162	0.06	0.07	0.00	0.42	
Entropy	1,162	-0.81	0.33	-1.59	-0.13	
<i>Social Demographic Indicators</i>						
population density per square mile	1,162	1,284.97	4,188.04	1.88	69,944.23	
percent urban	1,162	75%	26%	0%	100%	
percent foreign	1,162	10%	9%	0%	48%	
percent White	1,162	71%	19%	11%	98%	
20 year change in White population	1,162	0.08	0.24	-0.87	0.96	
2000 total population (logged)	1,162	12.43	1.54	8.02	16.10	
<i>Social Inequality Indicators</i>						
household gini index	1,162	0.45	0.03	0.36	0.60	
ratio of Black Poverty to White Poverty	1,162	0.89	0.62	-2.41	2.43	
percent with no savings or dividends	1,162	77%	6%	58%	91%	
percent unemployed	1,162	9%	3%	4%	19%	
Level 1: Respondent's Characteristics						
mobility: lived in different city or state	1,162	1.61	0.49	1	2	1 = same city 2 = lived in different city or state after age 16
Educational Attainment	1,162	2.70	0.75	1	4	1 = Primary 2 = H.S. 3 = College 4 = Post grad
family income in 1998	1,064	1.99	0.81	1	3	1 = \$0-\$34.9 K 2 = \$35-\$74.9 K 3 = \$75-\$150 K+
Age	1,158	3.69	1.71	1	7	1 = 20-29 3 = 40-49 7 = 80-89
<i>Dependent Variable</i>						
Racial Tolerance	1,162	0.34	0.24	0.00	1.00	
Multilevel Structure						
total # of individuals	1,162					
total # of counties	206					
average # counties per cluster	5.6					
min # individuals per county	1					
max # individuals per county	23					

Mobile16	Frequency	Percent
samecity	452	38.9%
mobile	710	61.1%
Total	1,162	100%

Family Income 06	Frequency	Percent
.	98	8.43%
>34k poor/working	356	30.64%
35-74kmiddle	358	30.81%
75-150k+upper	350	30.12%
Total	1,162	100%

Age	Frequency	Percent
.	4	0.3%
20-29	140	12.0%
30-39	185	15.9%
40-49	203	17.5%
50-59	259	22.3%
60-69	181	15.6%
70-79	119	10.2%
80-89	71	6.1%
Total	1,162	100%

Education	Frequency	Percent
Primary	31	2.67%
H.S.	456	39.24%
College	503	43.29%
Post-grad	172	14.80%
Total	1,162	100%

2008 Null Models

Table 16

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Dependent Variable=Race Matters				
Level2: County Level Measures				
<i>Segregation Measures</i>				
Isolation (White)	-0.11 (0.07)			
Dissimilarity (White:Black)		0.02 (0.06)		
Interaction (White:Black)			-0.03 (0.13)	
Entropy (8 racial groups)				-0.00 (0.04)
<i>Social Demographic Indicators</i>				
population density per square mile				
percent urban	0.16* (0.06)	0.16* (0.06)	0.16* (0.06)	0.16* (0.06)
percent foreign				
percent Black				
percent White				
20 year change in White population				
2000 total population (logged)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
<i>Social Inequality Indicators</i>				
household gini index				
ratio of Black Poverty to White Poverty	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
percent with no savings or dividends	-0.21 (0.16)	-0.12 (0.14)	-0.09 (0.16)	-0.11 (0.15)
percent unemployed				
Level 1: Respondent's Characteristics				
mobility				
lived in different city or state	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
educational attainment				
High School	0.07 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)
College	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)
Post-Grad	0.27*** (0.05)	0.27*** (0.05)	0.27*** (0.05)	0.27*** (0.05)
family income in 2006				
35-74kmiddle	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
75-150k+upper	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
age				
30-39	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
40-49	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
50-59	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
60-69	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
70-79	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
80-89	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)
Constant	0.67** (0.22)	0.46** (0.17)	0.43** (0.17)	0.44* (0.17)
variance Level 2	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002
variance Level 1	0.051	0.051	0.051	0.051
ICC	0.032	0.031	0.032	0.032
Observations	1,056	1,056	1,056	1,056
Number of groups	206	206	206	206

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

2008 Results							
Table 17							
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Dependent Variable=Race Matters							
Level2: County Level Measures							
<i>Segregation Measures</i>							
Isolation (White)			0.30 (0.23)	0.18 (0.23)	0.39 (0.28)		
Dissimilarity (White:Black)					-0.04 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.07)	
Interaction (White:Black)						-0.55 (0.31)	-0.51 (0.30)
Entropy (8 racial groups)				0.14* (0.06)			-0.01 (0.04)
<i>Social Demographic Indicators</i>							
population density per square mile							
percent urban	0.16* (0.06)	0.16* (0.06)	0.17** (0.06)	0.18** (0.06)	0.17** (0.06)	0.14* (0.07)	0.14* (0.06)
percent foreign							
percent Black		0.05 (0.08)				0.38 (0.20)	0.32 (0.18)
percent White	-0.12* (0.06)		-0.36 (0.19)	-0.45* (0.19)	-0.42 (0.23)		
20 year change in White population							
2000 total population (logged)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)
<i>Social Inequality Indicators</i>							
household gini index							
ratio of Black Poverty to White Poverty	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
percent with no savings or dividends	-0.28 (0.16)	-0.15 (0.16)	-0.31 (0.16)	-0.39* (0.17)	-0.31 (0.17)	-0.12 (0.16)	-0.13 (0.16)
percent unemployed							
Level 1: Respondent's Characteristics							
mobility							
lived in different city or state	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
educational attainment							
High School	0.07 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)
College	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)
Post-Grad	0.27*** (0.05)	0.27*** (0.05)	0.27*** (0.05)	0.28*** (0.05)	0.27*** (0.05)	0.27*** (0.05)	0.27*** (0.05)
family income in 2006							
35-74kmiddle	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
75-150k+upper	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
age							
30-39	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)
40-49	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
50-59	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
60-69	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
70-79	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
80-89	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)
Constant	0.78*** (0.23)	0.48** (0.17)	0.80*** (0.23)	1.05*** (0.25)	0.78*** (0.23)	0.48** (0.17)	0.52** (0.18)
variance Level 2	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.002	0.002
variance Level 1	0.051	0.051	0.051	0.051	0.051	0.051	0.051
ICC	0.031	0.031	0.028	0.024	0.029	0.030	0.029
Observations	1,056	1,056	1,056	1,056	1,056	1,056	1,056
Number of groups	206	206	206	206	206	206	206

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: SEGREGATION, SOCIAL INEQUALITY, RACIAL ATTITUDE TRENDS

Introduction

My research approach makes several unique contributions. First, I expand upon the traditional application of region and segregation by transposing these measures with county and residential segregation measures. Traditional geographic measures entail metropolitan and percent population measures. My research can be seen as an extension of regional and urban findings. When I conduct a regional analysis, I also find the South significant (tables not included), but my contribution was to understand how racial tolerance permeates the counties sampled in the U.S. While overt racism in the South has been confirmed, I expand this empirical application of racial attitudes by focusing on the commonalities across counties.

Second, these measures are incorporated into a multi-level model which partitions variance for individual and context level variables. As noted by Krysan's (2000) overview of attitude literature, context and demographic factors are often neglected in this research. Exploring racial attitudes alongside contextual factors emblematic of social inequality illuminates underemphasized predictors among the contact hypothesis, group threat, and cultural theory hypothesis.

Third, I corroborated the colorblind theory using a structural equation model. This allowed me to show that one's perception of social inequality in the country helps predict preferences for a colorblind ideology.

Fourth, I show that having a racially diverse population (in absolute terms) helps increase racial tolerance, supporting the contact hypothesis. We see that the percent White decreases racial attitudes meaning that diversity does minimize racial stereotypes. By taking the inverse of the percent White, we find that having a mix population is beneficial for alleviating racial attitudes.

Last, the findings also demonstrate support for the group threat hypothesis through increased inequality (difference in wealth). In addition, I do not find the traditional support for the group threat hypothesis i.e. larger presence of the Black population increases racial resentment is not supported. Based on the previous literature, there is evidence for all three theories: contact, group, and cultural theory. Because I include the segregation index and social inequality indicators, this demonstrates that all three theories can be true at the same time.

Theoretically, I demonstrate that cultural theory can co-exist with either contact or group threat theory. Cultural theory aligns with Allport's contact hypothesis condition that social structure and cultural patterns will impact contact. In turn, the models present predictors for contact and group threat theory. Cultural theory is reflected through the social conditions that shape racial relations. Hence the ideas of learning of a white habitus, learning to embrace meritocracy, and denying privilege are learned cultural norms in the U.S.

The Segregation Debate

There is a misconception that cultural groups or ethnic enclaves are seen as willing segregation and therefore, segregation has positive outcomes. This argument poses two problems: 1) inaccurate application of segregation and 2) a denial of

racial inequality. Segregation was a legal means of separation by disenfranchising communities of color. Embracing enclaves or ethnic neighborhoods battle marginalization by centralizing resources and support. The idea of willing segregation negates the history of segregation, city planning, and generational wealth disparities (Lipsitz 1998, Massey and Denton 1993). Moreover, the term willing segregation could be used in the residential segregation literature, but even then, it does not exist. The literature recognizes the restrictions upon choosing one's neighborhood even with affluent options (Bruch 2014). We do not say affluent neighborhoods embrace segregation, though they benefit *more* from residential segregation patterns: the problem with current segregation revolves around how government resources are enacted around neighborhoods (Lipsitz 1998, Massey and Denton 1993).

Voluntary Segregation Misnomer

Just as race is seen to be an issue of the past so is segregation. In colorblind racism, residential segregation is viewed as a simple result of agency: we choose where we live—we choose segregation so segregation is not all that terrible (note the diminutive).

“Whites proclaim that people should live wherever they want and that segregation is sometimes by choice; that is, that people want to ‘self-segregate’ and that no one should force anyone to do what they do not want to do. Thus Whites’ explanations are ultimately justifications for our current racial situation as they see no reason for any kind of intervention to even ameliorate the extent of racial inequality” (Bonilla-Silva 2015: 1364).

This visible distinction is taken at face value and are explained as a natural phenomenon. Residential ethnic enclaves, cultural groups, minorities sitting together during lunch are seen as voluntary segregation through colorblind racism.

The assumption being if minorities cared about integration they would be willing to move into a White neighborhood, they would not create cultural groups, and they would first sit with Whites. All these statements require a denial of White space and norms instilled by structural inequality. Through a denial of racial privilege, these cultural norms are taken for granted.

Additional research supporting a colorblind explanation is presented through in-group favoritism. Greenwald and Pettigrew (2014) argue that most harmless discrimination is a consequence of in-group favoritism. They state:

“The most parsimonious and plausible explanation is that, indeed, discrimination more often takes the form of ingroup favoritism than outgroup hostility”(678). The authors elaborate, “However, we do claim that much discrimination occurs without hostile intent; it occurs either as a consequence of social structures (such as the self-sustaining properties of segregation in schools, homes, work-places, and institutional discrimination) or as a consequence of mental processes that lack animus (such as norms, similarity–attraction, and the judgment processes that we labeled illusory individuation) (Greenwald and Pettigrew 2014: 679).

The authors recognize that discrimination exists and support affirmative action policies, but because discrimination is individually unintentional (i.e. no one person can be blamed or structural inequality), then there is a need for a better suited theory. Under the colorblind racism theory, this is the minimization of race frame e.g. racism exist but it’s not that bad (no one can be blamed) and abstract liberalism e.g. the solution is out-group helping such as supporting affirmative action. This literature is not contentious because it supports idea of homophily. We can add that literature on social mobility is closely related since it discusses limitations on class mobility.

Allport (1954) also acknowledges a type of homophily, in the contact hypothesis. One condition of the theory argues that positive experiences with equal or high

status individuals to oneself evokes acceptance of the individual. The challenge is that Greenwald and Pettigrew's (2014) individual level explanation is the same used in colorblind language to *deny* affirmative action implementation. Furthermore, we have a lack of agency at the first level (i.e. denial of how privilege functions), and we have structural inequality disconnected from the individual.

Demographic Segregation Trends

The demography literature tends to focus on Black and White segregation, and more recent literature focuses on the multi-ethnic context (Fischer et al. 2004, Frey and Farley 1996, Logan et al. 2004). From 1950-2000, the literature suggests an overall decline in Black segregation. In reality, while the overall segregation for the Black population declined, it increased at other geographic levels (Fischer et al. 2004, Lichter 1985). Thus, the decline of Black segregation is not always reflective of higher integration (Logan et al 2004, Massey and Denton 1993, Massey and Gross 1991) since it is dependent on the geographical area being analyzed.

In demography, the data interpretation depends on the geographical unit of analysis and the referenced racial group. For instance, Lichter (1985) re-examined research demonstrating high levels of integration during the 1970s by aggregating county level data to regional data. The author demonstrates that both races, Black and white, experience levels of deconcentration in the Northeast (mid 1970s-1980). In the 1970s, the White population moved for the first time to less densely settled counties while the Black population grew in counties that already consisted of densely populated Black populations. As a result, declines in intra-county segregation were offset by increases at the inter-county level.

From 1980-2000, it appeared that whites in metropolitan areas were increasingly living in diverse neighborhoods, but in reality these neighborhoods were already predominately white (Logan et al. 2004). Thus, the appearance of integration from 1970-1990 reflected the fact that whites were still able to maintain low levels of contact with Black neighbors (Krivo and Kaufman 1999, Massey and Gross 1991). As a result, Black-white desegregation was likely when the Black population was small. Between 1970 and 1990 was seen as a time of declining racial segregation even though residential segregation between blacks and whites remained high in most metropolitan areas (Fischer et al. 2004). The authors concluded that segregation had been decreasing at the tract by tract level and at the city-suburb level, but White-Black segregation increased at the metropolitan level in 1990.

Findings within multi-ethnic segregation patterns also support and expand upon Black and white segregation patterns. For example, desegregation is unlikely in places where there are large proportions of minorities present (Krivo and Kaufman 1999) and higher levels of segregation tend to be found in larger metropolitan areas (Logan et al. 2004, Wilkes and Iceland 2004). Massey and Denton (1989) also concluded that Blacks consistently experience hypersegregation during the 1980s within large urban areas. While the Black population was drastically more segregated than Latinos or Asians from 1980-1990, the Latino population experienced continued increases in segregation and the Asian population experienced increases in segregation (Frey and Farley 1996). Furthermore, from

1990-2000, Black-white segregation levels declined within multi-ethnic metropolitan areas (Frey and Myers 2005).

Interestingly, there are ultimately higher levels of segregation by race and ethnicity than by income (Farley 1977, Fischer et al. 2004, Wilkes and Iceland 2004) even though there tends to be lower residential segregation when the minority group's income is closer to that of whites' income (Logan et al. 2004).

Declining Segregation

Research from the Manhattan Institute (Glaeser and Vigdor 2012) argues that declining segregation patterns demonstrate that segregation measures are irrelevant indicators of social inequality (since social inequality is still persistent). Rugh and Massey (2014) also find that Black segregation and isolation and metropolitan areas have decreased, but remain high from 1970 to 2010. Massey et al. (2009) explore decreasing segregation patterns by race and demonstrate that city level segregation has increased and tract level segregation, while decreasing, remains high. In addition, county level segregation for Black-White dissimilarity has remained relatively constant since the 1950s. Counter to the Manhattan Institute, the authors emphasize the importance between race and class due to increasing segregation by class despite a decreasing segregation patterns: "This new configuration does not mean either [race and ses segregation] will become unimportant. Indeed, it may simply mean that racial and socioeconomic segregation will become more important in combination than apart [...]" (Massey et al. 2009: 7). In line with Massey et al. (2009), I argue that physical integration without structural integration does not

alleviate social inequalities. With my models (in chapter three), I demonstrate that segregation *and* social inequality is significant, despite these decreasing trends.

Addressing Segregation through Class

There was the acknowledgement of colorblind laws when affirmative action (1970s) was implemented into the workplace (Fullinwider 2017). Many companies had (race-neutral, colorblind) policies in place. To address this problem, if a policy maintained the status-quo, companies had to justify or eliminate the policy. Quotas were only implemented when companies would not follow-their affirmative action goals. The quota system, as a second resource, was useful in labor, but when adopted in Universities, this method was not easily upheld; universities were told to adopt a race-neutral approach when recruiting students.

In support of the race-neutral approach, the academic mismatch theory argues that you should not place unqualified students with qualified students because they won't succeed. If you implement affirmative action in universities (law schools), this will do more harm than good since minorities suffer from high attrition rates and fail the bar exam at a higher rate than Whites (Sander 1997). Reardon et al. (2015) counter this argument by arguing that basing college admissions solely on socioeconomic status will not diversify a college population as much as a race base policy and that affirmative action will not create systematic academic mismatch.

Arguing against a race-neutral approach Kidder and Gándara (2015) study demonstrates that the University of California has not been able to attain the level of diversity before the ban on affirmative action. Despite multiple efforts to increase

diversity through race-neutral measures—need based financial aid, partnerships with minority schools, academic preparation programs—these rigorous efforts were not successful. This included discussion about the percent plan which attempted to recruit any student who graduated in the top ten percent of their high school class, took college preparatory curriculum, and took the college entrance exam would be allowed preferential treatment into a state university. This method worked immediately in Texas because it has a large number of highly segregated high schools, but this method did not work in California.

Social Inequality: Dependence on Merit and Scapegoating

Part of the group threat theory is premised on economic tensions exacerbating racial tensions. As a result, class differences tend to be erroneously personified through race (Allport 1954, Heinrich 2012). In the 1950s, we see patterns of group (racial) threat based coincide with class threats. During this time, Whites with *lower* socio-economic levels held more anti-Black racist sentiment than did high socio-economic status Whites (Allport 1954). Anti-Semitism was common among *high* socio-economic status Whites because low-income Jews were seen as class threat. In addition, while the South is known for more overt racism than other regions, the Northeast and Midwest demonstrated anti-Semitism attitudes.

Class divisions become personified through (impoverished) groups bringing down economy become the explanation for high unemployment rates and economic crisis. The results of capitalism are usually personified through race, not by its

inherent structure of crisis, unemployment, and poverty. The following quote exemplifies the connection between the personification of class through race:

“In light of the imposition of capitalism—its crisis-prone development, often catastrophic in its effects upon individual lives, its constant calling into question all living conditions and circumstances—there occur time and time again forms of blinkered negation of fetishism: “guilty” parties are sought behind anonymous capitalist machinery that can be made responsible for the misery. [...] Thus, in the various capitalist societies, a personalization of fetishistic relations can be observed time and time again. Among such forms of personalization is anti-Semitism; however, it cannot be reduced to such personalization” (Heinreich 2012: 186).

Thus, it becomes easier to blame racial groups for economic crisis and unemployment since it allows for quick identification of national economic problems. Capitalism justifies itself by being irrational even though it claims an extreme emphasis on rationality (Harvey 2014). Through, denial of capitalism’s subjectivity, individuals appear completely at fault for not working hard enough or not maintaining enough persistence to gain employment stability. The security that capitalism appears to offer is hidden through accumulation by dispossession. Consequently, capitalism requires perpetual exploitation in order for wealth to accumulate: without exploitation there would be no profits. Thus, Capitalism cannot offer everyone a fair chance to accumulate wealth: one person’s loss is another person’s gain. Despite these limitations, meritocracy is seen as an individualized and attainable solution to racial inequality. As a result, meritocracy becomes believable despite capitalism’s inherent contradictions.

Future Research: Minority Attitudes

Krysan’s (2000) review of national surveys (General Social Survey, the National Election Studies, and the Race and Politics Survey) argues that studying non-White

attitudes is also a neglected source. Future research should continue to examine racial attitudes for minorities. Some studies show that interracial contact alters White attitudes, but Black individuals do not experience the same shift in attitudes (Powers and Ellison 1995, Robinson and Preston 1976, Sigelman and Welch 1993). Using the descriptive information from the charts in Appendix A as compared to Appendix B, we can confirm these research findings.

In contrast, Oliver and Wong (2003) find evidence of the contact hypothesis at the neighborhood level for Blacks, Latinos, and Whites. Oliver and Wong (2003) and McDermott (2011) both use HLM models to analyze the Multi-City Survey of Urban Inequality which focuses on four metropolitan areas. McDermott (2011) finds that Blacks, Latinos, and Asians hold lower stereotypical views about their own race as compared to Whites, but hold higher stereotypes about other races as compared to Whites. In addition, all three minority groups support affirmative action policies more than Whites.

In contrast, there are also findings that those who benefited from affirmative action, in the U.S., also supported the ban on affirmative action claiming that social equality had been attained (Fobanjong 2001: 69, 159). Minorities also internalize colorblind ideologies and adopt tokenism ideologies that uphold the status quo. It will be interesting to see if segregation and class also predict the extent that minorities adopt these ideologies.

Although, my research did not test minority racial attitudes due to the GSS small sample size, I was able to gather descriptive information on racially Black respondents. As can be noted from appendices A and B, we can begin to compare

trends between overall Black and White GSS respondents. Please note the years in the graphs because they reflect the availability of the questions.

In the trend graphs¹, we see that 10% of racially White individuals support affirmative action in employment opportunities whereas 40-50% of racially Black individuals demonstrate a higher, but declining support for affirmative action (graph 1). If we look at graph three, there is a *decline* in the total percent of Black respondents who believe affirmative action does not hurt Whites and there is an *increase* in White respondents who think affirmative action does not hurt Whites. Interestingly, Whites low support for affirmative action and the acknowledgement that it does not hurt Whites counter each other (i.e we would expect to see more support for affirmative action hurting Whites). Yet, this is also emblematic of colorblind racism abstract liberal frame where people are for integration, but cannot conceive of a structural integration process that they approve. In turn, we see Blacks decreasing support for affirmative action coincide with the idea that affirmative action also harms Whites. In addition, there is decreasing trend for Blacks who acknowledge racial discrimination and barriers to education. (Again, the total percent are higher than the White respondent sample.) Hence, internalized racism demonstrates a growing acceptance of a dominant ideology.

Furthermore, the descriptive information shows that 50% of White respondents agree that racial inequality is not a result of the Black population lacking motivation

¹ The answers were coded in support of the question asked. Respondents who answered highly favor or favor a question were combined. Non-European ethnicities were dropped from the White race sample (same as in chapter two). Total represents respondents of the same race, including respondents who answered indifferent, don't know, do not favor, and highly not favor were included in the total.

(remains constant with a slight increasing trend), yet the acknowledgement of racial discrimination and barriers to education remains constant with a slight decreasing trend. Whereas the trend for Black respondents has an overall negative direction for graphs 6-8, which shows a more consistent pattern compared to the White respondent graphs.

Last, we see that roughly 50% of the racially Black sample are okay with living in a neighborhood that is 50% White or having a family member marrying someone who is White (graphs 4 and 5). In contrast, 20%-30% of the racially White respondents are okay with living in a neighborhood that is 50% Blacks or having a family member marrying someone who is Black.

2050 Future Implications

A combination of high diversity levels, low White isolation, and low wealth disparities are important variables when considering approaches for structural integration. The decade findings from chapter three represents a continuum of the separate, but equal ideology. People can agree that integration is beneficial, but the implementation process becomes unclear. In part, as I argue in chapter one, this challenge arise from denying our privileges and not correctly identifying them. Our racial privileges become hidden through a colorblind frame that naturalizes social inequality. Throughout time, even before the Civil Rights, we are encouraged to adopt meritocratic values to address structural inequality. The colorblind ideology is lucrative because it allows for a seemingly safe position on racial inequality by protecting privilege through merit. Moreover, I focused on affirmative action

because the judicial arguments contesting its practice paralleled the arguments upholding a colorblind ideology. Similarly, we are also seeing these colorblind explanations in segregation.

An individual's experience in diverse communities is important in minimizing stereotypes and increasing racial tolerance, but diversity without structural integration will have limited results for all races. Overall, while we see decreasing patterns of residential (racial) segregation, we have to be cautious in conflating this as a representation of structural integration. For example, if we examine segregation patterns in education, we are seeing increases in school segregation for minorities (Orfield and Frankenberg 2014).

This research helps to caution against conflating diversity, by itself, with structural integration. In 2050, the White population is predicted to be 46% of the U.S. population followed by Latinos (30%), Blacks (13%), Asian (8%), American Indian Alaskan Native (1%), Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander (0.3%), and mixed (4%) (see table below)². Simply with the appearance of diversity, the country will not default to a system of equality. Even in 2050, the White (racial) population is still the largest racial category (46%). The misperception that Whites will be a minority (number wise) only occurs if you add the minority categories together. If Whites and People of Color do not adopt a colorblind racial ideology, then there is a possibility for a new democratic representation that does not replicate the

² Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division
Table 4-H Projections of the Population by Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin for the United States:
2010 to 2050 High Net International Migration Series (NP2009-T4-H)
Release Date: December 16, 2009
<https://www.census.gov/population/projections/data/national/2009/2009hnmsSumTabs.html>

structures of inequality. Yet, if minorities continue to be impacted by poverty at the same rate as today, then this will parallel the political minority experience we see in South Africa.

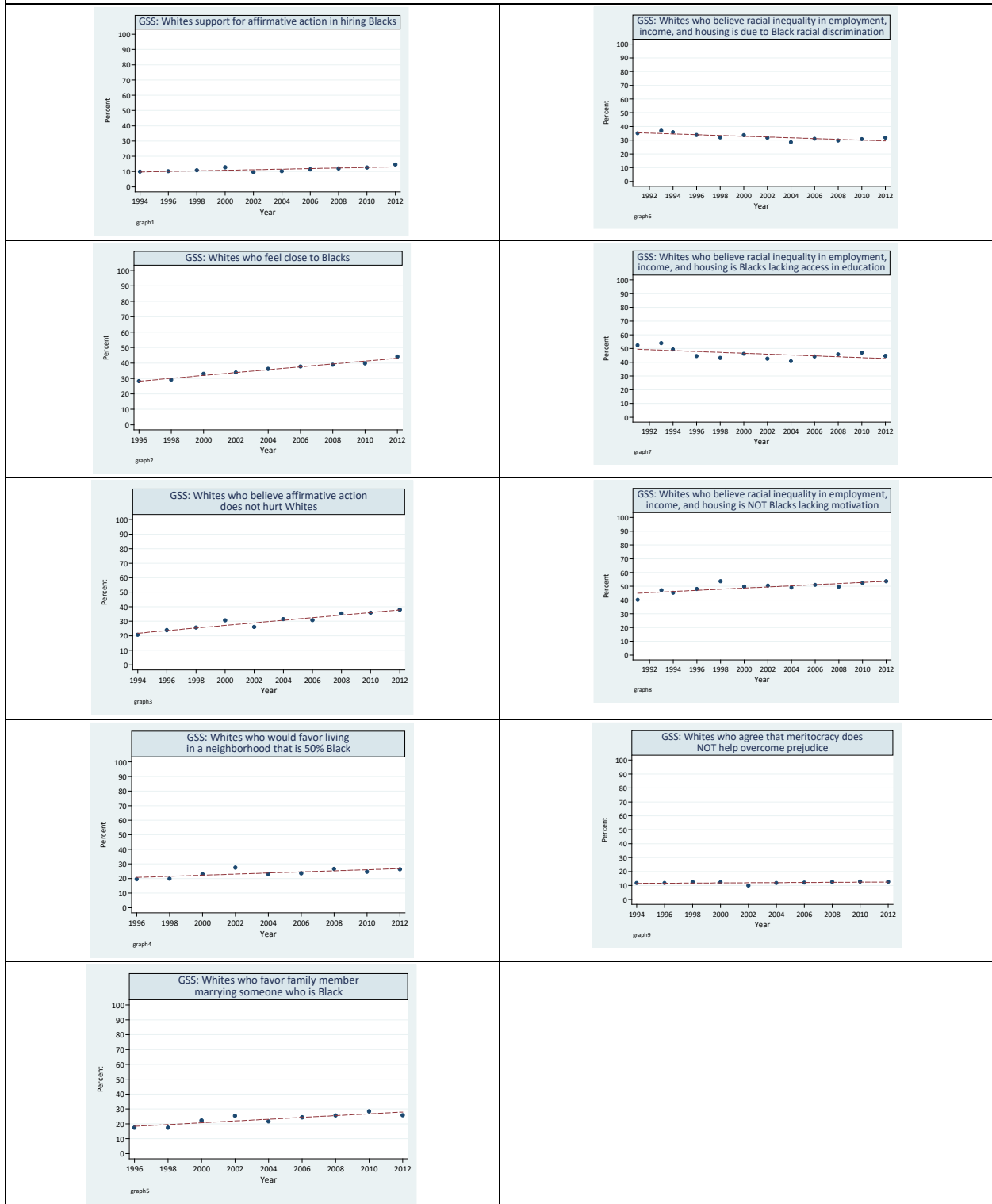
Figure 2: U.S Census Bureau

U.S. Population Projections Numbers in thousands	2010		2020		2030		2040		2050	
One race	306,971	98%	339,124	98%	372,566	97%	406,351	97%	441,594	96%
White	248,137	79%	269,785	78%	292,161	76%	314,414	75%	337,631	74%
Black	40,105	13%	44,852	13%	49,533	13%	54,097	13%	58,678	13%
AIAN	3,206	1%	3,801	1%	4,388	1%	4,989	1%	5,624	1%
Asian	14,922	5%	19,930	6%	25,561	7%	31,745	8%	38,358	8%
NHPI	601	0%	756	0%	923	0%	1,106	0%	1,303	0%
Two or More Races	5,534	2%	7,563	2%	10,046	3%	13,047	3%	16,582	4%
Total	312,504		346,687		382,612		419,398		458,176	
Non-Hispanic	261,586	84%	277,503	80%	291,752	76%	303,605	72%	314,649	69%
White Alone (white-hispanic)	197,219	63%	200,601	58%	201,301	53%	198,621	47%	194,104	42%
Hispanic	50,918	16%	69,184	20%	90,860	24%	115,793	28%	143,527	31%
Total	312,504		346,687		382,612		419,398		458,176	

U.S. Descriptive Information Table 18		
Year	2000	2010
# Counties	3219	3221
Total U.S. Population	285,230,516	312,471,327
U.S. White Population	194,586,740	196,844,498
U.S. % White	68%	63%
wtd county Isolation (White)	0.76	0.71
wtd county Dissimilarity Index (All Minorities:White)	0.40	0.38
wtd county Dissimilarity Index (Black:White)	0.51	0.48
wtd county Interaction (Black:White)	0.071	0.078
wtd county Entropy (seven racial categories)	-0.79	-0.89

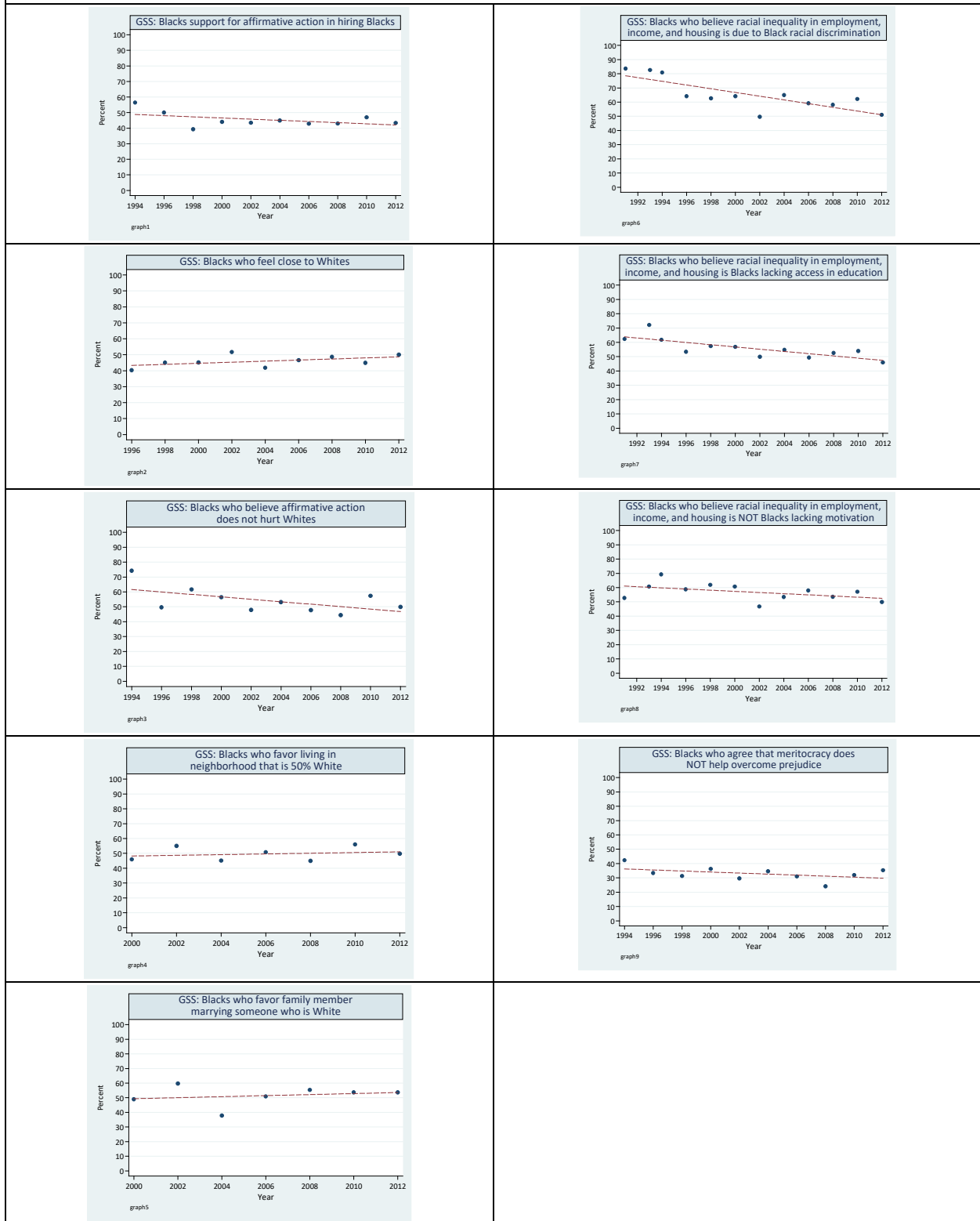
APPENDIX A

RACIAL WHITE ATTITUDES 2000-2010



APPENDIX B

RACIAL BLACK ATTITUDES 2000-2010



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