

Chapter Eight: Inter-group Relations

General Inter-Group Relations - Books

Note: Excluding coalitions, there are not enough books in this section to warrant the use of sub-categories similar to those utilized for journal articles.

Burns, Peter F. 2006. *Electoral Politics Is Not Enough: Racial and Ethnic Minorities and Urban Politics*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Examines how and why government leaders understand and respond to African Americans and Latinos in northeastern cities with strong political traditions. Focusing on four medium-sized northeastern cities with strong political traditions, *Electoral Politics Is Not Enough* analyzes conditions under which white leaders respond to and understand minority interests. Peter F. Burns argues that conventional explanations, including the size of the minority electorate, the socio-economic status of the citizenry, and the percentage of minority elected officials do not account for variations in white leaders' understanding of and receptiveness toward African American and Latino interests. Drawing upon interviews with more than 200 white and minority local leaders, and through analysis of local education and public safety policies, he finds that unconventional channels, namely neighborhood groups and community-based organizations, strongly influence the representation of minority interests.

De Genova, Nicholas P., and Ana Yolanda Ramos-Zayas. 2003. *Latino Crossings: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and the Politics of Race and Citizenship*. New York: Routledge.

Despite being lumped together by census data, there are deep divisions between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans living in the United States. Mexicans see Puerto Ricans as deceptive, disagreeable, nervous, rude, violent, and dangerous, while Puerto Ricans see Mexicans as submissive, gullible, naive, and folksy. The distinctly different styles of Spanish each group speaks reinforces racialized class differences. Despite these antagonistic divisions, these two groups do show some form of *Latinidad*, or a shared sense of Latin American identity.

Jennings, James. 1994. *Blacks, Latinos and Asians in Urban America: Status and Prospects for Politics and Activism*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.

This volume of essays by scholars and activists examines recent urban rebellions and riots in terms of the political relations between Blacks, Latinos, and Asians. It describes the particular status of relations between these communities of color, factors explaining conflict and consensus, and future prospects for these groups in urban America.

Mindiola, Jr., Tatcho, Yolanda Flores Niemann, and Nestor Rodriguez. 2002. *Black-Brown. Relations and Stereotypes*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Race relations in twenty-first-century America will not be just a black-and-white issue. The 2000 census revealed that Hispanics already slightly outnumber African Americans as the largest ethnic group, while together Blacks and Hispanics constitute the majority population in the five largest U.S. cities. Given these facts, black-brown relations could be a more significant racial issue in the decades to come than relations between minority groups and Whites. Offering some of the first in-depth analyses of how African Americans and Hispanics perceive and interact with each other, this path finding study looks at black-brown relations in Houston, Texas, one of the largest U.S. cities with a majority ethnic population and one in which Hispanics outnumber African Americans. Drawing on the results of several sociological studies, the authors focus on four key issues: how each group forms and maintains stereotypes of the other, areas in which the two groups conflict and disagree, the crucial role of women in shaping their communities' racial attitudes, and areas in which Hispanics and African Americans agree and can cooperate to achieve greater political power and social justice.

Inter-Group Attitudes - Articles

Cain, Bruce, Citrin, Jack, and Cara Wong. 2000. "Ethnic Context, Race Relations, and California Politics." June. *Public Policy Institute of California*. http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/report/R_800BCR.pdf (February 13, 2009).

California's increased ethnic diversity has generated heated controversies and complex policy debates. In *Ethnic Context, Race Relations, and California Politics*, Bruce Cain, Jack Citrin, and Cara Wong explore the relationship between ethnic diversity and various policy questions, including whether or not ethnicity should be used as a criterion for distributing public benefits. Focusing on the ethnic composition of a neighborhood and the racial attitudes of its residents, the authors find little evidence that these attitudes are shaped by ethnic context or that ethnic group relations are particularly troubled in diverse neighborhoods. The authors conclude that ethnic tensions in California are not preordained to increase as the state continues to cope with its changing demography.

Gay, Claudine. 2006. "Seeing Difference: The Effect of Economic Disparity on Black Attitudes toward Latinos." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 982-97.

Rapid growth in the size of the Latino population has increased the ethnic diversity of urban neighborhoods, transforming the residential experiences of many black Americans. The competition for scarce resources is considered a central force in black-Latino relations and a source of anti-Latino sentiment among blacks. This article examines how the level and the distribution of economic resources within diverse areas affect black attitudes toward Latinos. Drawing on a multilevel dataset of individual racial attitudes and neighborhood characteristics, the analysis reveals that the relative economic status of racial groups is an important influence on black attitudes. In environments where Latinos are economically advantaged relative to their black neighbors, blacks are more likely to harbor negative stereotypes about Latinos, to be reluctant to extend to

Latinos the same policy benefits they themselves enjoy, and to view black and Latino economic and political interests as incompatible. While the results suggest that diversity without conflict is possible, they make clear that the prospects for intergroup comity depend on some resolution of blacks' economic insecurities.

Jackson, Byran O., Elisabeth R. Gerber, and Bruce E. Cain. 1994 "Coalitional Prospects in a Multi-Racial Society: African-American Attitudes toward Other Minority Groups." *Political Research Quarterly* 47(2): 277-94.

This paper analyzes the coalitional perceptions of African-Americans after incorporation in their city's dominant political condition. Our research addresses two main questions. First, how do African-Americans view their coalition prospects with other major racial and ethnic minority groups? Here we focus on the perceptions of African-Americans in one city, Los Angeles, toward Latinos and Asian-Americans, and compare their attitudes with those of blacks in other cities. Second, how do these coalitional perceptions fit into a fuller model of political attitudes? This analysis provides us with evidence of generational differences in coalitional perceptions and supports the hypothesis of coalitional entropy.

McClain, Paula D., Carter, Niambi M. Carter, Victoria M. DeFrancesco Soto, Monique L. Lyle, Jeffrey D. Grynawski, Shayla C. Nunally, Thomas J. Scott, J. Alan Kendrick, Gerald F. Lackey, and Kendra Davenport Cotton. 2006. "Racial Distancing in a Southern City: Latino Immigrants' Views of Black Americans." *Journal of Politics* 68(3): 571-84.

The United States is undergoing dramatic demographic change, primarily from immigration, and many of the new Latino immigrants are settling in the South. This paper examines hypotheses related to attitudes of Latino immigrants toward black Americans in a Southern city. The analyses are based on a survey of black, white and Latino residents (n=500). The results show, for the most part, Latino immigrants hold negative stereotypical views of blacks and feel that they have more in common with whites than with blacks. Yet, whites do not reciprocate in their feelings toward Latinos. Latinos' negative attitudes toward blacks, however, are modulated by a sense of linked fate with other Latinos. This research is important because the South still contains the largest population of African Americans in the United States and no section of the country has been more rigidly defined along a black-white racial divide. How these new Latino immigrants situate themselves vis-à-vis black Americans has profound implications for the social and political fabric of the South.

Oliver, J. Eric, and Janelle Wong. 2003. "Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(4): 567-82.

This article examines how out-group perceptions among Asian Americans, blacks, Latinos, and whites vary with the racial composition of their surroundings. Previous research on the contextual determinants of racial attitudes offers mixed expectations: some studies indicate that larger percentages of proximate out-groups generate intergroup conflict and hostility while others suggest that such environments promote interracial contact and understanding. As most of this research

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has been directed at black-white relations, the applicability of these theories to a multiethnic context remains unclear. Using data that merge the 1992–1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality and 1990 Census, we find that in neighborhood contexts, interethnic propinquity corresponds with lower levels of out-group prejudice and competition, although intergroup hostility is higher in metropolitan areas with greater minority populations. Further tests suggest that these results do not occur from individual self-selection; rather ethnic spatial and social isolation bolster negative out-group perceptions. These findings suggest the value of residential integration for alleviating ethnic antagonism.

Sanchez, Gabriel R. 2008. "Latino Group Consciousness and Perceptions of Commonality with African Americans." *Social Science Quarterly* 89(2): 428-444.

Objective: Currently, Latinos and African Americans constitute more than one-quarter of the U.S. population. The sheer size of these groups suggests an opportunity for increased political influence, with this opportunity providing the incentive for greater social and political interaction between them. The objective of this article is to determine the role of Latino group consciousness in the formation of attitudes toward African Americans. **Methods:** Utilizing data from the 1999 Washington Post/Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation National Survey on Latinos, a multivariate ordered logit model is employed to test the relationship between Latino group consciousness and perceptions of commonality with African Americans. **Results:** Results show that group consciousness in the form of Latino internal commonality and perceived discrimination are contributors to Latino perceptions of commonality with African Americans. **Conclusion:** This analysis demonstrates that before any meaningful political alliances can be formed between the nation's two largest minority groups, Latinos may need to develop strong levels of pan-ethnic identity.

Stein, Robert, Stephanie Shirley Post, and Allison L. Rinden. 2000. "Reconciling Context and Contact Effects on Racial Attitudes." *Political Research Quarterly* 53(2): 10-12.

The inter-group contact hypothesis states that interactions between individuals belonging to different groups will influence the attitudes and behavior between members of these different groups. The two dominant measures of inter-group contact are context (i.e. size of a minority group within a specified geographic area) and individual behavior (i.e. personal contact between members of the majority and minority groups). The contextual and behavioral measures of contact produce divergent findings. The contextual contact literature finds that whites residing in areas with high concentrations of minority populations have significantly more negative attitudes toward minorities and minority based public policies than whites residing in areas with low concentrations of minority populations. The behavioral contact literature finds that inter-group contacting among majority and minority populations significantly reduces prejudicial attitudes and opinions about minorities and minority based policies. In this paper we examine both contextual and behavioral measures of the contact hypothesis as they influence white attitudes toward immigrant populations (i.e., Hispanics) and white policy positions toward immigration policies. We offer and test an explanation for the literature's divergent findings.

Coalition Formation and Conflict - Books

Alex-Assensoh, Yvette M., and Lawrence J. Hanks, eds. 2000. *Black and Multiracial Politics in America*. New York: New York University Press.

America is currently in the midst of a major racial and ethnic demographic shift. By the twenty-first century, the population of Hispanics and Asians will increase significantly, while the black population is expected to remain relatively stable. Non-Hispanic Whites will decrease to just over half of the nation's population. How will the changing ethnic and racial composition of American society affect the long struggle for black political power and inclusion? To what extent will these racial and ethnic shifts affect the already tenuous nature of racial politics in American society? Using the literature on black politics as an analytical springboard, *Black and Multiracial Politics in America* brings together a broad demography of scholars from various racial and ethnic groups to assess how urban political institutions, political coalitions, group identity, media portrayal of minorities, racial consciousness, support for affirmative action policy, political behavior, partisanship, and other crucial issues are impacted by America's multiracial landscape.

Behr, Joshua G. 2004. *Race, Ethnicity, and the Politics of City Redistricting: Minority-Opportunity Districts and the Election of Hispanics and Blacks to City Councils*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Why do cities with similar minority populations vary greatly in the adoption of minority-opportunity districts and, by extension, differ in the number of elected Hispanic and black representatives? Through in-depth research of the districting processes of more than 100 cities, *Race, Ethnicity, and the Politics of City Redistricting* provides the first nationwide study of minority-opportunity districts at the local level. Joshua G. Behr explores the motives of the players involved, including incumbent legislators, Department of Justice officials, and organized interests, while investigating the roles that segregation, federal oversight, litigation, partisan elections, and resource disparity, among others, play in the election of Hispanics and blacks. Behr's book documents-for both theorists and practitioners-the necessary conditions for enhancing minority-opportunity districts at the local level.

Betancur, John. 2000. *The Collaborative City: Opportunities and Struggles for Blacks and Latinos in U.S. Cities*. New York: Routledge.

This edited collection examines joint efforts by Latinos and African Americans to confront problems faced by populations of both groups in urban settings (in particular, socioeconomic disadvantage and concentration in inner cities). The essays address two major issues: experiences and bases for collaboration and contention between the two groups; and the impact of urban policies and initiatives of recent decades on Blacks and Latinos in central cities.

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Pulido, Laura. 2006. *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Laura Pulido traces the roots of third world radicalism in Southern California during the 1960s and 1970s in this accessible, wonderfully illustrated comparative study. Focusing on the Black Panther Party, El Centro de Acción Social y Autonomo (CASA), and East Wind, a Japanese American collective, she explores how these African American, Chicana/o, and Japanese American groups sought to realize their ideas about race and class, gender relations, and multiracial alliances. Based on thorough research as well as extensive interviews, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left* explores the differences and similarities between these organizations, the strengths and weaknesses of the third world left as a whole, and the ways that differential racialization led to distinct forms of radical politics. Pulido provides a masterly, nuanced analysis of complex political events, organizations, and experiences. She gives special prominence to multiracial activism and includes an engaging account of where the activists are today, together with a consideration of the implications for contemporary social justice organizing.

Rich, Wilbur C. 1996. *The Politics of Minority Coalitions Race, Ethnicity, and Shared Uncertainties*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

This important new volume analyzes relations among America's minority groups, specifically the prospects of political coalitions among those usually unrelated groups: African Americans, Asian-Americans, Latinos, Jews, Arab-Americans, and Native Americans. At the end of the 20th century, the United States is faced with a situation where minority groups are no longer assimilating but rather are moving toward separate mini-societies, complete with separate languages, cultures, and economies. Even if society accepts the notion that cultural pluralism is consistent with democratic principles, the possibility of political "hyper-pluralism" (endless and nonproductive conflicts among groups) is disturbing. This volume, therefore, attempts to address the concerns, examining the background of minority organizations, voting behavior issues, and coalitional possibilities. This volume will be of interest to scholars and students alike in American government and ethnic and minority politics.

Ríos, Diana I., and A. N. Mohamed. 2003. *Brown and Black Communication: Latino and African American Conflict and Convergence in Mass Media*. Westport, CA: Greenwood Press.

Though Latinos and African Americans have lived together in large cities as neighbors, there is much that is still misunderstood between them. Those who live in non-diverse locales have only news and entertainment representations on which to base their information about the two cultures. This new collection of essays brings together the latest interdisciplinary works by scholars examining conflicts and convergences among Latinos and African Americans in mass-mediated and cross-cultural contexts. Contributions in the form of both empirical and critical ethnographic research present compelling works in cross-cultural relations, news, entertainment, news media, education, and community relations. *Brown and Black Communication* challenges those who do not think that significant projects and key research have been conducted on the two largest ethnic communities in the United States. Of certain appeal to both scholars and those with more applied needs in media, education, and public policy, this challenging collection offers a range of perspectives on two widely diverse bodies of American people.

Coalition Formation and Conflict - Books

Rodríguez, David. 2002. *Latino Political Coalitions: Struggle and Challenge*. New York: Routledge.

This study examines Latino national political coalitions in the United States with a focus on Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. It argues that Latino national political coalitions are an avenue of political empowerment for the Latino Community, but face social, economic, and political challenges in the Latino community.

Saito, Leland T. 1998. *Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

California's San Gabriel Valley has been called an incubator for ethnic politics. Located a mere fifteen minutes from Los Angeles, the valley is a brave new world of multiethnic complexity. Here Latinos and Asian Americans are the dominant groups, rather than the minorities they are elsewhere in the United States. Politics are Latino-dominated, while a large infusion of Chinese immigrants and capital has made the San Gabriel Valley the center of the nation's largest Chinese ethnic economy. The white population has dropped from an overwhelming majority in 1970 to a minority in 1990. Leland T. Saito presents an insider's view of the political, economic, and cultural implications of this ethnic mix. He examines how diverse residents of the region have worked to overcome their initial antagonisms and develop new, more effective political alliances. By tracing grassroots political organization along racial and ethnic lines, *Race and Politics* focuses on the construction of new identities, especially the pan-ethnic affiliation "Asian American."

Vaca, Nicholas C. 2004. *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and What It Means for America*. New York: Rayo.

As Latino and African Americans increasingly live side by side in large urban centers, as well as in suburban clusters, the idealized concept of a "Rainbow Coalition" would suggest that these two disenfranchised groups are natural political allies. Indeed, as the number of Latinos has increased dramatically over the last ten years, competition over power and resources between these two groups has led to surprisingly antagonistic and uncooperative interactions. Many African Americans now view Latinos, because of their growth in numbers, as a threat to their social, economic, and political gains. Vaca debunks the myth of "The Great Union" and offers the hope he believes each community could learn from, in order to achieve a mutually agreed upon agenda. More than simply unveiling the problem, *The Presumed Alliance* offers optimistic solutions to the future relations between Latino and Black America.

Villareal, Roberto E. and Norma G. Hernández, eds. 1991. *Latinos and Political Coalitions: Political Empowerment for the 1990s*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group.

This collection of essays is the first complete study of Latino political coalitions, which are steadily gaining strength in U.S. politics. Elaborating on *Latino Empowerment: Progress, Problems, and Prospects* (Greenwood Press, 1988), an earlier collection by the same editors, this volume explores such issues as the media, language policy, the labor movement, and voter mobilization in the context of coalition building. The contributors detail how coalitional politics have become a major avenue of empowerment for the Latino community.

Coalition Formation and Conflict - Articles

Jones-Correa, Michael. 1995-1996. "New Directions for Latinos as an Ethnic Lobby in U.S. Foreign Policy." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 9: 47-86.

Changes in US trade and immigration policies have generated long-term interests for Cuban- and Mexican-Americans. The unlikely coalition between Cuban- and Mexican-Americans is expected to be the key factor in the future of Hispanic foreign policy. However, ideological affinity and symbolic unity of Hispanic pan-ethnicity cannot provide Hispanic-Americans with the firm foundation for coalition-building necessary to confront policy issues. Instead, it will be common interests that will guide ethnic involvement in foreign policy.

Kaufmann, Karen M. 2003. "Cracks in the Rainbow: Group Commonality as a Basis for Latino and African-American Political Coalitions." *Political Research Quarterly* 56(2): 199-210.

The focus of this paper is on mass attitudes and propensity of blacks and Latinos to build electoral coalitions. The theoretical argument is that perceived commonality between Latinos and African-Americans is essential to constructing mass political alliances. Using recent public opinion data, this research explores the levels of perceived commonality between blacks and Latinos and in particular studies the process by which Latinos come to feel close to blacks. This paper tests four main hypotheses: pan-ethnic identity, acculturation, perceived discrimination, and group consciousness. Findings suggest that pan-ethnic identity is a robust predictor of Latino/black commonality, but that long-term Latino political acculturation, in its current form, is unlikely to result in particularly high levels of closeness to blacks.

McClain, Paula D., and Albert K. Karnig. 1990. "Black and Hispanic Socioeconomic and Political Competition." *American Political Science Review* 84(2): 35-45.

Many U.S. cities are becoming significantly multi-minority. How does the significant presence of one minority group affect the other minority group? This research explores the question of socioeconomic and political competition between blacks and Hispanics in U.S. urban centers. Based on data from the 49 U.S. cities of over 25,000 population with at least 10 percent black and 10 percent Hispanic in 1980, findings indicate that while there is little evidence of general black and Hispanic socioeconomic and political competition, Hispanics appear to prosper less well socioeconomically and politically in cities with black majorities or pluralities.

Meier, Kenneth J., Paula D. McClain, J. L. Polinard, and Robert D. Winkle. 2004. "Divided or Together? Conflict or Cooperation between African Americans and Latinos." *Political Research Quarterly* 57(3): 399-409.

This article examines the political relationships between Latinos and African Americans in 194 multiracial school districts. The empirical results indicate that at times the relationship between

Latinos and African Americans is competitive and at times it is complimentary. When scarcity is a factor, such as in administrative and teaching positions, gains by one group often result in losses by another. When the focus changes to policy questions where scarcity is not a factor (e.g., student performance), both groups gain at the same time.

Meier, Kenneth J., and Joseph Stewart, Jr. 1991. "Cooperation and Conflict in Multiracial School Districts." *Journal of Politics* 53(4): 1123-33.

This study examines politics in 118 multiracial urban school districts. It starts with an examination of the logic of the "rainbow coalition," suggested as feasible by both academics and politicians. A rival hypothesis based on social distance theory would suggest more intergroup conflict than would the rainbow coalition thesis. Using elections to urban school boards, we find evidence consistent with the notion that Anglos will coalesce with Latinos rather than Blacks. The evidence suggests that in future research the power thesis should be a coequal rival hypothesis with the rainbow coalition thesis.

Sonenshein, Raphael J., and Susan H. Pinkus. 2002. "The Dynamics of Latino Political Incorporation: The 2001 Los Angeles Mayoral Election as Seen in "Los Angeles Times" Exit Polls." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 35(1): 67-74.

In light of the June 2001 mayoral election in Los Angeles, California, in which Latino candidate Antonio Villaraigosa lost to James K. Hahn by 54 percent to 46 percent, the writers examine the kinds of coalitions that would foster Latino incorporation and discuss the prospects of electoral success for Latinos. They indicate that the surge of Villaraigosa's campaign demonstrated that liberal coalitions between and among Latinos, African-Americans, and liberal whites will continue to play a competitive part in minority struggle. They conclude that if ideology becomes less focused than it has been before, then group interest, shaped by leadership, may play a larger role in elections.

Yaffe, Jerry. 1994-95. "Prospects and Barriers to Successful Latino and African-American Coalitions." *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* 8: 61-82.

This article addresses the prospects and barriers to interethnic and interracial issues-based (as compared to candidate or electoral, organizational, or community) coalitions. It describes and analyzes the history of Latino underrepresentation in the vast local government workforce of Los Angeles County, California in order to reveal interethnic and interracial intolerance and discrimination towards Latinos. These attitudes, reflecting some of the historical, political and racial perceptions towards Latinos in California, play a significant role in restricting the possibility of interethnic or interracial issue-based coalition.